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EDITORIAL NOTE.

This number completes the first year's issue of this magazine. It has won for itself, on its merits, a distinct place among the monthlies of the country. Its original articles and book reviews have been written by representative men. Its monthly bibliography is a valuable and unique feature. Its "Goodly Words" department has been appreciated by all who turn to the Mystics for a peculiarly edifying style of literature. Its translations and reprints of English and American journals have made its readers acquainted with much of the best current religious thought. Each month's number has brought an instalment of the famous papers on Agnosticism, and, as an appendix, a part of "The Concise Dictionary of Religious Knowledge," of which, during the year, 500 pages have appeared, and these have been separately bound. Thus the magazine has fulfilled its obligations and promises, and it expects to be equally true in future to its mission, to give the best thought of our times on religious themes, and to present some standard religious work which readers will be glad to possess in separate bound form on completion in the supplement to the magazine.

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THE MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

VOL. 2.

APRIL, 1890.

No. 1.

FOR THE MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE; OR, ENGLISH LIBERALISM.

BY J. W. MENDENHALL, D.D., LL.D.,

Editor of *The Methodist Review*, New York City.

THE hypothesis of the physiological unity of the race is sufficient to excite general interest in the philanthropic enterprises of nations and in the productive movements and energies of individuals called to prominent leadership in the revolutions of the ages. Events such as Parliaments inaugurate or as the single hero, such as Stanley, initiates deserve more than commonplace consideration, because they emphasize the relationship of humanity, and are often the standing proofs of a providential government over the world. A gross materialism would compel us to interpret the nation and the individual leader as the products of natural agency; but there is a force in the world that, itself not natural, utilizes all the material of humanity and nature in the accomplishment of its purposes, and in vain has he read history who has not traced its supreme influence in events, agencies, and results. Bound together by one origin and by the same fate, nations but fractions of the whole, all go up or down as one people rises or falls, as an individual sinks or attains the heights of manhood, for in Pauline language "the members should have the same care one for another." Hence, an incident or achievement in India or Iceland, in Egypt or Ireland, in Patagonia or Mexico, concerns us; hence, our interest in such questions as English Federation, French Republicanism, Italian Unity, German Imperialism, Grecian Expansion, Russian Aggression, American Civilization, Irish Nationality, and African Christianization.

As political movements of national proportions command the attention of thinkers and observers, so do the human instruments by which such movements are controlled and executed, information concerning such leaders being usually accepted as indispensable to the understanding of the movements themselves. For while great events involve providential ideas and signify a providential

leadership or inspiration, the actual human relationship to the event is so important that the one is almost impossible without the other. Divine influence, though usually invisible and unrecognized when visible, is as manifest in civilization as in religion, and is as potential in shaping governmental policies as in directing the more orderly progress of the Christian Church. The political field abounds in providential monuments; statesmen are as much called of God as apostles; and the civil hero is sometimes as conspicuous as the martyr of God.

In every nation, therefore, there are those who in the lower sense by the nation's choice or their own, but in the higher sense called of God, become the exponents of great national ideas or projects and international aspirations and settlements. They stand for political truths, just as Angelo stood for art and Shakespeare for poetry. Such men, instinctively assuming the divine purpose and endowed with a genius for executing what they undertake, convert their ideas into realities and reduce their projects to achievements, outgrowing the local reputation with which they commenced and emerging among the world's heroes and benefactors. If the age to which they belong does not sufficiently recognize their merits, posterity is quite likely to build them a monument and record their virtues. Sometimes the divinely-commissioned leader is only the image or reflection of ideas native to the national consciousness and originating in contemporaneous impulses, in which case he comes forth to administer them and incorporate them with the nation's growth and history. Other men, more profound in original power, and in advance of their age, invent policies just as the mechanic invents a machine on the general ground of utility, and devote their lives to their advocacy and success. Whether one is the official administrator of a national idea, or the inventor of a national

scheme, so far forth as it is implicit with the moral elevation of man, he must have a place in the thought of the world as one of its friends and philanthropists. Abraham Lincoln represents more than the American idea of the political unity of a nation; he stands as the exponent of the higher idea of the freedom of man, and is, therefore, honored in all lands. Bismarck's scheme for the consolidation of the provinces and dukedoms of Germany in an Empire reflects more than individual statesmanship; it is the monument of a divine proposal to blood-related people. Victor Emmanuel, clipping the wings of Papal ambition, and unifying Italy, accomplished a majestic work, and must be enrolled on the list of the world's great men.

To this class of divinely-called statesmen belongs William Ewart Gladstone, at present the *unofficial* Premier of the English people. Historically speaking, he has occupied an exceptionally high place in English political movements and in the world's social and moral revolutions. He has been a participant in the world's structural changes, often inducing them by his aggressive purpose, and always supporting them when they were grounded in ethical consistency. Outside of our national history there is no living man, whether statesman, Christian, or literary character, whose name thrills the American people like that of Gladstone, or in whose life, labors, and achievements we are more profoundly interested, or to whom we feel more deeply indebted.

His biography is too lengthy to be dictated in a single paper, but that the fundamental work of his life may be appreciated, it is necessary briefly to recall some of the facts and incidents of his career. The first impression that he makes upon us is that he is *greater than any office* in the gift of government. It is a question if office has not gained more from Mr. Gladstone than he has gained from office. The advantage of office was the opportunity it offered him for the execution of a national idea, but the service he rendered the office, or the country through the office, more than equalled the personal result. Especially is this true of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, which, having occupied a number of times, he thoroughly reformed in its business methods, and which enabled him to regulate the expenditures of the nation with wonderful exactness, and usually to the advantage of the treasury. He gained in reputation as a financier, but the nation gained in a wise economy and in a safe administration of its resources. Whether the subject was income-

tax or reduction of duties, Mr. Gladstone was ready with facts and figures and demolished suspicions, routed enmities, and won the majority to his measures. A writer says: "His budgets were looked forward to as the greatest of Parliamentary events." With statistics he bayoneted all opposition. Legislation was based on arithmetic; it became a mathematical science, and political economy was transformed into a mathematical art. Scheming, legerdemain, coalition of unnatural forces, and Conservative sneers yielded to the inexorable mathematics of the financier. The common politician had nothing to do in the presence of the budget-maker.

Nor less beneficial were the services of Mr. Gladstone as Vice-President of the Board of Trade, as a member of various Cabinets, as ordinary member of Parliament, and as the Premier of the Empire. Devotedly attached to duty, every position he occupied was honored with his time and labors, and success was almost sure to be realized.

The second impression he makes is that he is a *man of sympathy and conscience*. Recognizing the rights of others, he is as much opposed to political injustice as to moral wrong; and believing in humanity, he would rather extend legislative sympathy to the poor and unfortunate than oppress them. His sympathies, broad and deep, are, however, neither injudicious in their expression nor unregulated in their activity. A man of large benevolence which compels him to join his efforts in behalf of the suffering, his conscience is still larger, and this compels him to seek the *right* in every case, and when found he cannot be easily induced to abandon it. His sympathy prompts to action, his conscience regulates its expression. In political conflicts and differences and in reported cases of colonial oppression and international troubles he has delayed action in order to know what was the right thing to do, showing a careful and judicious mind.

In 1851 Mr. Gladstone visited Naples, and learning that Ferdinand II. had imprisoned seventy-six parliamentary deputies and punished more than twenty thousand persons for their political opinions, he wrote a condemnatory letter to the Earl of Aberdeen, excited in Europe a feeling of indignation toward the King, and secured either the release of the prisoners or a modification of the unjust sentence in execution. The humanity of Mr. Gladstone protested against the inhumanity of the Italian King. Later in his career he was requested by the Earl of Derby to visit the Ionian Islands, to hear

the complaints of the people against a continuance of the English protectorate, which had been established over them in 1815, and to judge of the reasonableness of their demand to be annexed to Greece. The sympathetic heart of the commissioner could not refuse the pathetic appeal of the islanders, and British rule ended. One of the wicked wars of England was the "opium war," fought to perpetuate the traffic in opium with China, whose people and rulers were opposed to it. It is needless to say that Mr. Gladstone denounced the war with eloquent fury, as unjust, diabolical, and selfish. We have only to remind our readers that the Turkish massacres in Bulgaria in 1877 aroused Mr. Gladstone's indignation to such an extent that he declared for the independence of Bulgaria and the destruction of the Ottoman Empire, the former result being soon realized.

These incidents exhibit the sympathetic temper, the conscientious judgment, and the justice-loving spirit of the man, who in his age is undertaking a task never essayed by any statesman of his day, and whom the enemies of righteousness most cordially hate and would destroy.

The parentage of Mr. Gladstone is proof of the influence of heredity in the transmission of the positive characteristics of his manhood. Sir John Gladstone—his father—was a Liverpool merchant and the owner of a plantation and slaves in an English Colony. As a business man he was successful. From him the son inherited that business capacity, energy, and economy which so well fitted him for the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. His mother was in the line of the Plantagenets, from whom he seems to have received those qualities of mind and heart which attach him to the suffering, and which attach the multitudes to him. He was born December 29th, 1809. Early in life he consecrated himself to hard work and showed an inclination to a life of usefulness and devotion to his fellow-man. He entered the school at Eton when twelve years old, displaying a marked literary taste for a child, and became a student at Christ Church, Oxford, at the age of twenty, graduating with high honor and great promise, and has lived long enough not to disappoint his friends or his own expectations.

With this natural or inherited investiture and the intellectual training received in his early years, and *with an eye on the Premier-ship*, he entered public life, contesting in 1832 for a seat in Parliament. He was elected, and within two weeks after the opening of Parliament he made his maiden

speech, captivating the Commons by his eloquence and displaying the masterly qualities of prophetic leadership. From this time forward, or for more than fifty years, he has been identified with the political movements of England, occupying the highest official positions, sometimes, as at the present, merely as member of the House, sometimes as member of the Cabinet, sometimes as Premier; but at all times as a conspicuous figure in political reconstructions and as the author of much of the wise and general legislation of the kingdom.

While Mr. Gladstone is now recognized as the exponent of English Liberalism, and will occupy a place in history as a Liberal, it should be stated that in his early political life he was a staunch Tory or Conservative, opposing all those measures which originated in the camp of the Radicals and denouncing any proposed departure from Conservatism as irreligious, unwise, disloyal, and injurious. Like Saul of Tarsus, he defended the old, aristocratic dispensation with unstinted loyalty and matchless eloquence, exhausting his learning, wisdom, resources, and skill for the defeat of those Liberal projects which he afterward so powerfully aided to establish. Like Saul, he was converted, and abandoned the old, illiberal party for the progressive spirit and the benevolent purpose that characterized early English Liberalism. This political conversion, not so sudden as the religious change of Saul, not only startled the Conservatives, when they were compelled to recognize it, but afforded them the opportunity, which they have never ceased to improve, to charge the Commoner with a vacillation of purpose which unfits him for the legislative realm. The answer to the charge is that, having abandoned Toryism, *he never has been induced to return to it* and has never wavered in his devotion to the vital principles of Liberalism. He was a Conservative because he inherited its doctrines; because he was educated in that party; because for the time being it offered preferment; but in mature years and with growing sympathies he broke away from the wide-bound aristocracy of the Empire, and has stood forth, always and everywhere, as the champion of human rights.

In considering Mr. Gladstone, therefore, we are considering the impulses, projects, and achievements of English Liberalism, or touching the consciousness and revealing the history of England's better political life and progress. He is the personality of Liberalism, the incarnation of its profoundest prophesies. Many of its ideas, plans, details, and movements were in their early stages

the speculations of Gladstone alone. He originated them, and, like original ideas, they had to run the gauntlet of investigation, criticism, and persecution, and he himself suffered denunciation and ridicule. A sovereign idea can take care of itself, even though the human instrument by which it is introduced perishes. In this case, however, Gladstone has lived to execute his purposes, in spite of the opposition, and compelled the English people to acknowledge that in his advanced legislation he has made no mistake. His ideas are vital forces in the nation's political and social life, and he lives to inaugurate other new and advanced measures for his country. Thus it has happened more than once that the idea or speculation of the statesman has become the common property of the nation. So far forth, also, as it may have affected other people, or reflected an international sentiment or aspiration, or reached out into the great religious realm of man, the world has taken it up and incorporated it with its activities. To trace the expansion of liberal ideas from their individual beginning as political speculations into national proportions and international sentiments is, perhaps, the chronological order in which they should be viewed, and certainly an excellent plan for properly estimating Mr. Gladstone and his work.

In a shorter way and from another standpoint his work may be pronounced *political*, embracing merely its civil aspects, and *religious*, including its moral tendencies and bearings on the general religious progress of the Empire, all of which will become manifest in the discussion of the more prominent principles he has sought to promote.

In nearly every great policy or political movement of Mr. Gladstone one or more of these elements enter, at times leaving us in doubt whether he had in view merely the national purpose or the still larger international result, and whether his action was *per se* political, or he secretly contemplated the religious effects that followed. Studied in their purely national or political phases, they are of vast importance, but appear all the richer and more valuable as they assume an international or religious aspect.

In this study the question of Church Disestablishment must have precedence, since it involves more than any single question in the circles of English thought, and since it is both political and religious. On its religious side Disestablishment is a *principle*; on its political side it is a *policy*. Its exposition and defence as a principle or the consideration of the ethical soundness of the

thing itself preceded all legislative enactments looking to its accomplishment. If Establishment is right in principle, any policy having Disestablishment in view is wrong in principle. The determination of the ethical quality of Establishment or Disestablishment was absolutely necessary to the determination of policies respecting either. Principle first, policy afterward; this is the natural order of progress.

It is evident, too, that legislation affecting the Church in Great Britain will affect it in Europe, Asia, and Africa, since State Churchism abounds on all the continents; hence, such legislation cannot be purely of a local character. In a lofty sense the Parliament of the Empire legislates for the Church throughout the world. The only question is whether the Church requires any legislation at all in its behalf from the State, and whether the secular power should not confine itself to political settlements, leaving ecclesiastical matters to the Church at large. In the United States the Church is almost beyond the province of legislation; it has no recognition in the Constitution, except the recognition of its freedom. In the Old World it is otherwise, a free Church being almost unknown. European nations take as much interest in their Churches as they do in their armies and navies, for the one are as vitally related to the State as the other, and are maintained by taxation, as are the others. This view of things is doubtless the fruit of Roman Catholic teaching, which, while it did not merge the priesthood and magistracy into one, as under the patriarchal economy, made the State responsible to the Church, controlled its legislation, and regulated its movements and social life. In these days the Church is made responsible to the State, Parliaments often discussing doctrinal questions, bishops occupying seats therein by an *ex officio* right or privilege, and legislation affecting the activities and methods of Church propagandism projected and secured in the same political spirit and by the same political methods as animate and secure political legislation itself. The doctrine that the State is responsible to the Church, or the doctrine that the Church is responsible to the State is mischievous in character, contrary to the New Testament ideal of the Church's relation to the world, and results, when enforced, in practical stagnation of the kingdom of God.

Inasmuch as a free Church is the exception and a State Church the rule in all the world, the legislation of Great Britain on this subject is of international interest and importance. Continually and by virtue of

the union of Church and State in the Empire, the politician or statesman of England is compelled to consider not only many questions growing out of the union, but also the question of union itself. This he cannot avoid if he would, and the Liberal would not if he could. It is as prominent in English politics as any other question. He legislates respecting the Church as regularly as he legislates respecting the army and navy.

Deeply imbedded in politics as it is, it is also a current question with the citizen, the amount of whose taxes turns upon the relation of the State to the Church, and whose membership in the Church is often determined by the amount of his taxes. It involves the rights of Dissenters and non-conforming bodies, or, in the still larger sense, the right of private judgment in religion and the right of alternate choice in Church affiliations and responsibilities. It is a question so broad, so deep, so vital, and affecting so many relations, that it alike interests the politician, the statesman, the citizen, the taxpayer, the religionist, and the poorest individual in the kingdom.

Looking over the history of Parliamentary reforms, it is found that ecclesiastical legislation has been not only in the forefront as all important, but also that it has been suggestive of other Parliamentary movements, since it has included the political and religious interests of the Empire. Even that legislation which was intended to be purely political finally involved the religious interest of the State. Wedded by ties not easily broken, State legislation was religious and Church legislation was political. Parliament became an ecclesiastical body, and the Church Council was a Parliament.

Entering Parliament in 1832, Mr. Gladstone soon discovered the supremacy of the Church question in English politics and that he must not only be familiar with it, but also be prepared to defend the alliance or initiate a movement for separation. Recalling his home training, his early surroundings, his collegiate education, and the Church influence upon him, we are not surprised that he stood for the defence of the union. In this defence he was radical to the extreme; he was a Conservative bigot, or a bigoted Conservative. He early opposed the admission of Dissenters into the universities of England, on the ground that the latter were religious and the dissenting principle was foreign and hostile to the religious principle. In 1837 he resolutely condemned the proposition of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to abolish Church

rates, regarding it as an attempt to undermine the religious character of the nation. In 1838 he issued a book, entitled "The State in its Relations to the Church," in which he supported State-Churchism not, as a writer says, from Paley's idea of *utility* or from Warburton's idea of a *contract* between the two, but from the idea that the nation is an individual and that religion is as necessary to it as to man himself. He insisted that "the duties of governors are *strictly and peculiarly religious*," and that the State is as responsible as an individual for its acts and the use of its liberties. In attributing personality to the State, he indulged in a political fiction, which for the time made him popular with his party, since it had exhausted its resources in the defence of the Establishment. This was a new argument, but exceedingly vulnerable. In advocating a national religion as the condition of a religious nation, he was on the old ground, and in a sense he was justified in it; but when he converted the State into an individual, to be treated, governed, and held responsible, and to be rewarded and punished as an individual, he assumed more than he could intelligently, historically, or scripturally support. Let us not be misunderstood. There is not one set of ethical principles for the individual and another set of ethical principles for the State. Right is right, and wrong is wrong, whether committed by the individual or the State. Slavery is as wrong in the one as in the other; Sabbath-observance is as proper for the one as for the other. But the law that prohibits wrong and enforces virtue in the individual will prevent wrong and secure virtue in the State. The recognition of the personality of man and the enforcement of ethical principles in his life are results sufficient in themselves to guarantee the same in the State. The State will be Christian if its citizens are Christians; legislation respecting the people will be effective; legislation regulated by fictions will be superficial and forceless.

The book of Mr. Gladstone produced a profound sensation, Lord Macaulay congratulating its author upon its ability, but mercilessly exposing the weakness of its argument. In 1840 he published another work, entitled "Church Principles Considered in their Results," in which he defended the Sacraments and Apostolical Succession in an attractive style, but by arguments that he afterward abandoned.

In these defensive positions of Mr. Gladstone he exhibits the religious spirit or maintains the necessity of State-Churchism

from religious grounds, which is to his credit. However vulnerable the positions themselves, it must be allowed that, like Saul of Tarsus, he was governed by the highest religious motives in their advocacy, and seemed to be more concerned about the fate of religion than the future of the State.

Gradually even Mr. Gladstone began to see the untenableness of his own positions and the illiberality of the Conservative party, and gradually he snapped the ties which held him to that party. The great change that came over him in these respects can be explained on the ground of the growth of his sympathies, of a widened observation of the condition of society, of a profound reverence for scriptural truth, and of an enlarged study of human rights. A Tory and a High Churchman by education and traditional influence; a partisan in politics and religion by the necessities of the situation; it was not to be expected that he would surrender everything at once and go to the opposite party. It took time to complete the change. The moment came, however, when standing for himself and consulting his conscience, he broke away from aristocratic rule and disavowed not only his printed utterances, but all allegiance to the ideas he formerly and so brilliantly advocated. He was a Conservative to the time of the death of Sir Robert Peel, opposing the admission of Jews to Parliament, the endowment of Maynooth College, because it was Roman Catholic, and the Reform and Disestablishment of the Irish Church, which at so early a day had been proposed to the English people. He attributes this part of his career to the Oxford influence, for he says: "I did not learn at Oxford that which I have learned since—namely, to set a due value on the imperishable and inestimable principles of human liberty." Henceforth he is a liberty-loving man, favoring the doctrine of human rights in religion as in politics, supporting in 1847 in Parliament a bill for the removal of the disabilities of the Jews, in 1848 a bill for Roman Catholic relief, and in 1850 opposed the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill on the ground that it was inimical to religious liberty. These incidents show the progress of Mr. Gladstone from Conservatism to Liberalism.

Logically, therefore, he was committed to the principle of Disestablishment; *religious-ly*, he must earnestly and prayerfully desire it; *politically*, he is walking in that direction as fast as English Liberalism will keep up with him. The Disestablishment of the Irish Church was proposed by him in 1868, bringing upon him the fury of the Conserv-

atives and the ungracious charge that he was in league with the Pope to destroy Protestantism in Ireland. On March 1st, 1869, his bill for the Disendowment and Disestablishment of the Irish Church was brought forward and finally passed in the House of Commons by a majority of 114. Seeing the drift of things, the House of Lords acquiesced, and the bill was a law. Thirty million pounds, or nearly one hundred and fifty million dollars, were liberated by this law, the interest of which has been used in various ways for the benefit of the kingdom.

The wedge of Irish Disestablishment opened the way to the larger question of English Disestablishment. Immediately it was declared, if Disestablishment is right as a *principle*, it ought to be applied in England as well as in Ireland; and if it is merely advantageous as a *policy*, financial, political, or religious, England should have the benefit of it as well as Ireland. This phase of the question really precipitated a crisis in English history. It meant little less than the political, not to say religious reconstruction of the Empire; and, as usual in such cases, the Conservatives pronounced the first step toward Disestablishment as a perilous innovation, involving in its finality the destruction of the Empire. In the debates in Parliament on the subject it was advocated for Ireland largely on the ground of expediency, which is the better way to insure the attention of the average statesman; but Mr. Gladstone did not fail to weave the ethical with the expedient, and exhibited a decided inclination to Disestablishment on general and religious principles. Come, therefore, it must in England. Resistance of it is of the nature of an objection to the inevitable. Initiated by Mr. Gladstone in Ireland, its consummation in England will be the triumph of one of the settled policies of his life. It is conceded that in a recent campaign manifesto he intimated that it will probably not be realized in his lifetime, which is only another way of saying that its success is at hand, whether he is the instrument of its triumph or not.

The chief objection to Disestablishment is, strangely enough, not ethical, nor religious in any sense, nor of the nature of an expediency, nor even political, except as the partisan spirit can make advantage of it; but wholly and exclusively *financial*. So fundamental a question has been reduced to a ledger account. It is purely a matter of *money*. If Disestablishment could be effected without disendowment, even the Conservatives would vote for it and the English clergy, secure in their livings,

would not oppose it. No one can show that the Establishment is an ideal condition or secures the greatest activity, and, therefore, the largest efficiency on the part of the Church; but as it makes ministerial support certain, the ministry favor it and promise religious support to the State, if the State will grant political support to the Church. Thus the clergy and the politicians unite for financial reasons.

Disestablishment means the reduction of the immense salaries of the bishops and the adoption of an entirely new financial system in Church affairs; it means a more active ministry, in order to secure their support, and greater efficiency on the part of the Church to take the world. Masses cannot be legislated into a religious life; multitudes are not made Christians by being enrolled on Church books or by being taxed to support the Church. Disestablishment, striking at avarice in the clergy and promising more enthusiastic devotion to the purposes of the Church, is a remedy for the evils of the religious condition of England, which Mr. Gladstone has not been slow to perceive, and which he is ready at any time to apply. Himself committed to Disestablishment, it must become the shibboleth of English Liberalism.

We in the New World know nothing of the personal disadvantages that arise from the political connection of Church and State and do not perceive how obstructive it is of Gospel success. The State-Church idea is dominant in every nation in Europe. The idea of a national religion supported by general taxation is an inheritance, and all nations cling to it as a necessity both to religion and government. The example of the United States in maintaining a free Church is practically lost on Europe, and considered, if considered at all, a hazardous and even foolish and irreligious experiment. To break the spell of the idea and destroy the influence of the inheritance, a leading nation of the Old World must declare against it and show the possibility of a free Church in the State and a free State in the Church. This is an ideal condition to be attained some time in the Old World through the leadership and example of one of the older nations. England has the magnificent opportunity of effecting a dismemberment between two ideas that do not organically unite, but which have been forced into seeming unity for ages to the disadvantage of both; and Mr. Gladstone may be the man to initiate the experiment. English Liberalism when again in power and inspired by its leader will without doubt decree the downfall of

the coalition and set the Church free. Christendom will rejoice in the emancipation.

Some one has said that Mr. Gladstone is a "*Liberal* in politics and a *Conservative* in religion." Interpreted correctly, this is quite true. He is liberal in political legislation, because he is opposed to oppression; liberal in Church government, because he believes in the right of private judgment in religion; liberal in social privileges, because he hates aristocracy; and liberal in the extension of human rights, because he claims for himself only what he is willing to grant others. He is conservative in the maintenance of religious truth, because it does not change; conservative in his faith in the Bible, because it is true; conservative as to scientific attacks on religion, because he regards them false; and conservative in his views on Popery, because it is a superstition. In a recent article in the *Nineteenth Century* he explained the first chapter of Genesis with a breadth of learning, a thoroughness of research, and a conclusiveness of argument that not only astonished the Established clergy, but also infuriated Huxley and the whole brood of materialistic thinkers in the Empire. He is the champion of religious rights in politics and of political rights in religion.

We next consider what we style the *foreign* or *international policy* of Mr. Gladstone, or the attitude of English Liberalism in its unofficial as well as legislative aspects and purposes toward the world. China shuts itself in by a stone-wall, and has been opposed to intercourse with nations; England goes out of herself and is in pursuit of the whole world. To the spectator who is a student of the motives governing the exclusive spirit of the one and the grasping energies of the other, the policy of the one seems as selfish and inhuman as that of the other. China cares only for herself. Cold, unsympathetic, bloodless, the world may perish, and the Chinese will shed no tears over the catastrophe. On the other hand, England, impressed that she has a mission to the world, is seeking two things: (a) actual ownership or territorial possession of the world, in carrying out which she already has a title to one-third of the habitable globe; (b) political dominion or authority. It may be allowed that in its final form or result the English conquest of foreign countries has proved a benediction to them; in most cases a Christian civilization where it did not obtain has been established; tyranny has been overthrown and a mild monarchical government instituted; and, on the

whole, the race has been improved by the dominance of English rule. Properly, however, to estimate English rule, the *motives* underlying it rather than or in addition to the results that have followed it must be considered. In these conquests it is clear that the commercial rather than the religious spirit of England was uppermost; she visited the countries in question not as a missionary, but as a speculator and politician; she conquered not by the Bible, but by the sword; she was not after the souls of men, but after their riches, their services, their thrones. The colonial spirit of England is a mercenary spirit; she is a Shylock in her conquests. The introduction of the Christian religion among the peoples whom she has forced to drop on their knees before her bayonets is no atonement for her robbery of their individual rights and her extinction of their national life.

The question now is whether this policy of aggression, annexation, and absorption shall continue, or whether England shall not be satisfied with her ill-gotten possessions and devote herself to her development; whether the centrifugal ideas and forces shall be supreme, or whether centripetal purposes shall prevail; whether the federation of the bulky empire and the autonomy of the colonies shall not be instituted, or whether other worlds shall be conquered and added to the English crown. These are great questions, whose solution cannot be postponed to the remote future.

Two men have stood as representatives of these two policies, each the leader of his party, each successful in his sphere. The one our readers recognize as the Earl of Beaconsfield, who believed in wars, annexations, and a brilliant foreign policy; the other is the untitled Gladstone, who believes England has enough, who has more than once condemned her method of acquisition, and who seems anxious lest she cannot take proper care of what she claims as her own. Hence, Mr. Gladstone is opposed to war, except for self-preservation. He opposes aggression, is unwilling to take advantage of a weak people, and favors the internal development of the Empire. When Lord Palmerston sent a fleet to the Piræus to settle the "Pacífico affair" of 1850, Mr. Gladstone in his place in Parliament denounced the action with exhaustive energy, describing the Foreign Secretary as a man of "insular temper" and disposed to quarrel with other countries. The Crimean War was on its face a protest against the aggressions of Russia, but in its depths it meant the preservation of the Ottoman Em-

pire. When the latter was secured Mr. Gladstone opposed the continuance of the war for the sake of "military honor," and Russia was saved a greater humiliation than the war party of England was disposed to inflict. As Americans, we must remember that the settlement of the "Alabama Claims" was accomplished under Mr. Gladstone's conciliatory administration, though he suffered political denunciation on account of it. These events are proofs of Mr. Gladstone's foreign temper or his indisposition to be engaged in foreign broils.

On the other hand, Beaconsfield gloried rather in war-clouds than in sunsets; he drew the sword on any pretext, or made one when none could be found; he oppressed unfortunate peoples and shook the continents with the cannon's roar. "Jingoism" was popular under the Jewish Prime-Minister. The English people grew tired of it, however, for it involved them in debt for a time or loaded them with new taxation, and the popular vote in 1880 was against it. Since then Mr. Gladstone's peace-spirit has brooded over the Empire and home projects have occupied the thought of English statesmen, except as foreign complications disturbed it. Under Mr. Gladstone the disastrous Soudan campaign occurred, and that Christian hero, General Gordon, lost his life; but the Prime-Minister was driven into it by a temporary revival of "jingoism" and the military cry of the *London Times*. He was opposed to it from the beginning, and suffered the loss of the campaign rather than the loss of his convictions. When England's India possessions were unjustly threatened by Russia, Mr. Gladstone bristled like a giant and prevented war by a brave demeanor; but this was to defend rightful authority, not to extend English possessions. He believes in arbitration as a means of settlement of international differences, as his proposition concerning the affair at Penjdeh shows, but arbitration failing, he will defend England's *honor* with the sword. Steadfast in this principle, he has been accused of a want of patriotism, as when favoring Disestablishment in Ireland he was charged with being a Jesuit. Not believing in the wholesale butchery of a people, nor in the oppression of the weak and the few, nor in the annexation of territory not lawfully acquired, he has been called a traitor and a false friend of the Government. Yet, as it is studied, the Gladstone idea of governmental relations to other countries and peoples commends itself as being eminently Christian in spirit, as free from malice, as promotive of peace

and the general happiness of mankind. Unlike the average statesman, he has injected Christianity into politics and governs his individual life by an educated conscience, which restrains him from war and energizes him for peace. He believes in home, and legislates for its purity; in the Church, and legislates for its activity; in the country, and legislates for its development; in mankind, and legislates for peace; in eternity, and legislates as one who must give an account. In him behold the Christian statesman!

Perhaps the most prominent work of Mr. Gladstone is still in an unfinished state. At first blush it appears entirely *national* in spirit, but its deepest color is of an international hue, inasmuch as in its operations it includes many peoples and may finally affect the policies of all nations respecting the administration of government. In so far as it is international it is also religious, for it is difficult to separate the religious from the humane or the universal. Without circumlocution we refer to the policy of the internal development of England's possessions and the contemplated autonomy of the colonies, or the *federation of the Empire*. Liberalism is the synonym of political liberty, which in its largest sense embraces the idea of self-government both for the individual and the State. If self-government is necessary to the highest manhood, it is difficult to see that it is not necessary to the most perfect Statehood. Mr. Gladstone's sympathy sets this kind of logic on fire. As he was opposed to oppression in the Soudan, Egypt, and South Africa, so is he opposed to it in Scotland, Australia, Canada, and Ireland. He believes in human rights in the colonies as in the parent country. He is not an aristocrat at home or abroad. Springing from the middle classes, he has refused titles and honors from the Queen and placed himself on record as the friend of the multitudes. A Democrat in impulse, principle, and action; a Liberal from conviction and inspiration; he is a hater of shams, of vain display, of regalia, and of that spirit of caste which is a corruption of heathenism and out of place in a Christian civilization. From the highest motives, therefore, he recently urged and secured the passage of a Franchise Bill, which added two million voters to the suffragists of the Empire, four hundred thousand of them residing in misruled Ireland.

The great test of Liberalism is in the proposed settlement of the "Irish Question," a question as harassing to the statesmen of England as the "Southern Question" has

been to the politicians of the United States. This problem involves several features, and before it is solved will test several things: Ireland itself as a province of the Empire; Liberalism as a political principle, and the Empire as a federation. The tremendous fact is that the Empire is more at stake in this problem than the political party that proposes to solve it or the single country whose political interests require consideration. The problem is an old one. Stated properly, it is human freedom and imperial oppression in conflict again, to be solved not by the sword, as heretofore, but by the peaceful method of legislation. Solved it must be, solved it will be, Mr. Gladstone preferring the legislative method, while the Conservatives, until recently, preferred the military method. The preliminary conflict, therefore, is a conflict of method, which, it is hoped, will be settled in favor of the wiser and more peaceful one of legislation. The real conflict over the principle at issue will soon follow, which, it is hoped, in its immediate application will guarantee human rights to a long-oppressed people and finally the largest liberty to all the colonies of the Empire. To secure the autonomy of the colonies or provinces and at the same time preserve the integrity of the British Empire is a task requiring no little political genius and wisdom; but Mr. Gladstone in his Parliamentary seat is as truly committed to it as when Premier, and amid many embarrassments it is making progress toward accomplishment. The time is not distant when that mammoth Empire must go to pieces, or submit to a political reconstruction or a modification of the monarchical principle and an extension of constitutional rights and privileges, and none sees this fact more clearly than the aged legislator who unmolested would prevent colonial rebellions and insure the future of the State.

The Tories or Bourbons of England usually have refused to face the issue until it was forced upon them, and even now show a sad lack of statesmanship in crying for the Empire *as it is*. The cry is for partisan purposes and raised to perpetuate themselves in power. An appeal to the voters to stand by the "union" or the *forced* agreement between England and Ireland has in it a flavor of loyalty, which for the time being is refreshing to the people at large, and meanwhile the charge of disloyalty is hurled at the Liberals with a precision of stroke and a certainty of effect that places them at a disadvantage. The disadvantage, however, will only be temporary, for the aristocracy favors the "union" for commercial

reasons chiefly, while the Liberals favor "autonomy" for political, humane, and religious reasons. Autonomy does not imply dismemberment of the Empire, as is represented by the Conservatives, but is its only ground of safety, as the Liberals will finally show. When the motives of the two parties shall be clearly understood and when "autonomy" shall appear as the only bond of union between the colonies and the parent country, the Conservatives will not have standing room in the kingdom, for all classes, inspired by that loyalty which is the outgrowth of the instinct of self-preservation will rally to the party that devotes itself to the stability of the kingdom on a basis that will endure. Mr. Gladstone, perceiving that the idea of federation is more important than the jingoism or foreign policies of his predecessors, is in part employing himself in the study of this problem, evincing a courage of conviction and a fullness of loyalty that must win at last the applause of the nation. Charitable in spirit and conciliatory in method, he is eager to harmonize the relations and interests of England and the colonies, and favors at once the enlargement of their political freedom under the safeguards of imperial unity, while the Tories, blind to the signs of the times, as well as the order of history, oppose every movement and denounce all such legislation as dangerous to imperial existence.

Professor J. R. Seeley, Professor of History in the University of Cambridge, once suggested to the statesmen of England the United States as a political model of federation; but a writer in the *British Quarterly* (October, 1884) pronounces the suggestion untenable, the model inapplicable, and the execution of any such system of federation impossible. He very clearly shows that the geographical and political condition of the New World favored federation, and, indeed, suggested it as the normal form of civil government, but assumes on very insufficient grounds that the conditions of the British Empire forbid the idea of federation within its limits. As a specimen of his reasoning, and showing the inwardness of the opposition to governmental reform, and that it springs from the combined motive of selfishness and fear, he says that if the colonies shall have the right of representation in the English Parliament, the combined vote of the colonial representatives will exceed the strictly English vote, and hence England will be ruled by her colonies! As this would amount to foreign dictation, England would not submit to it; and as autonomy is in the direction of the indepen-

dence of the colonies, it must not be allowed; hence, the colonies must be denied representation at Westminster and be denied an autonomous form of government. The spirit of selfishness has large expression in this conclusion.

But it is clear that the autonomy of the colonies, or self-government, as in Canada, is the condition of federation, and federation is a necessity to the preservation of the Empire in any form. Colonial dissolution, or home rule, is the alternative before England to-day.

The "Home Rule" idea, or the restricted autonomy of Ireland, is uppermost in English politics, and must have speedy settlement on a lasting basis. Perhaps it is true that England has oppressed and misruled Ireland more than any other of her eighty colonies, and with the least justification; if so, it is fitting that the great battle for colonial self-government, bordering on independence, should be fought primarily in her interest. The history of this misrule is too long to be reported here, but it may be sufficiently illustrated by a few examples and by the general tenor of English legislation, which, on the whole, has been repressive of the national instinct of the Irish people and subversive of their proprietary rights.

In monarchical countries in which the union of Church and State is a legal compact the predominant reason for any great national movement is usually both political and religious; political in that the participants are citizens; religious in that their faith is involved. This combination of influences has entered into all the struggles in England or Ireland, producing in the latter a hateful system of landlordism, on the one hand, and a vigorous national spirit in the Irish, on the other. Christianity appeared in Ireland as early as the second century, but not until St. Patrick invaded it, A.D. 432, did the religious element dominate or seek control in the civil affairs of the island. St. Patrick, a bold aggressor and a devout religionist, invaded the country in the spirit of a military missionary, and by processes with which readers of Roman Catholic history are familiar soon converted the people to a form of religion which proved to be the germ of Catholicism, or the source of nearly all their subsequent woes. In those early days a religious conflict immediately ensued, the *Protestant* spirit opposing the rule or religion of St. Patrick, and St. Patrick enforcing his rule with vengeance and oppression. The two contesting principles—the one in its final form papistical, the

other incipiently and progressively Protestant—have appeared in nearly all the internal Irish conflicts for the past fourteen centuries, entering the social and domestic life of the people, and arraying class against class, and dividing the north of Ireland from the south by a religious gulf too wide to be crossed and too deep to be filled up. We must not forget the *origin* of divided Ireland as we study it in its present forlorn condition.

In course of history England annexed Ireland to the Crown, and at once resolved that papal influence should decline and the island become Protestant in its faith and government. This was an extreme position, because its execution implied the use of force, to which the spirit of religion is a remonstrance. Not until Henry VIII. was the purpose of the religious reformation of Ireland formally attempted by bayonetic means, since which the purpose has been steadily pursued, except when the reigning family, as that of Mary, were Catholic in religion. In 1595 O'Neile, an Irish patriot, headed an insurrection against English rule, but, like all Irish rebellions, it ignominiously failed. Suppressed under the reign of Elizabeth, the *penalty of confiscation* of the lands of Catholics for rebellion was first ordered, and has never been repealed. A severe penalty it was, as we shall now see, and always executed on the least provocation. For this untimely and hot-headed insurrection, England confiscated 600,000 acres of land in Ireland, and distributed it among English dukes and lords, humiliating the Catholics to the verge of despair. Under James I. they recovered their rebellious spirit, and expressed their wrath in another insurrection, but it was as promptly suppressed, and 800,000 acres were confiscated in the north of Ireland and given to the Protestants. *Protestant* Ireland was thus established in the north, and separated from the south. Under Cromwell insurrections were frequent, and 5,000,000 acres were confiscated, and the Catholic population driven into the sea. Unsubdued, in 1641 another Irish rebellion of still larger proportions was inaugurated; the Catholics murdered 27,000 Protestants, and proposed to expel the remainder from the island. This continued for eight years, when in 1649 Cromwell appeared on the scene, crushed the mad rebellion, rescued the Protestant faith from extinction, and confiscated the lands of the Catholics. Before the rebellion the Irish owned two-thirds of Ireland; after the rebellion they owned *one-third* only. Under William III., in 1690, insurrections

again occurred, and confiscations were again ordered amounting to 1,060,000 acres, enough, one would think, to paralyze all further attempt at freedom from English rule. In the last three hundred years *seven and one-half millions of acres* have been confiscated from the insurrectionary Catholics, a part given to the Protestants, but the most of it reserved for the English gentry, who at once instituted an oppressive rental system which their successors have modified only to the extent of adding increased burdens upon the already impoverished tenant-farmers of the island. This is the origin of the present system of landlordism as it obtains in Ireland, against which the people are rebelling.

The word "landlordism" is itself concentrated history, and stands for the mischief of centuries, or the quintessence of English misrule. It is like other historic words, such as feudalism, slavery, etc., that signify oppression, disregard of human rights, and total blindness to the necessities of the deserving poor. It is the synonym of a great historic and current wrong which drains Ireland of its wealth, robs the people of many inalienable rights, and which has for its object the extinction of all national aspirations, and is, therefore, as cruel as it is unjustifiable. Ten thousand English landlords control the real estate of Ireland; they own it, rent it, and live from the proceeds. Statistics have assigned to Lord Dillon 89,000 acres; Lord Digby, 30,000; the Marquis of Ely, 48,000; the Earl of Arran, 36,000; the Earl of Devon, 33,000. Eighteen Englishmen own 484,000 acres, and receive an annual rent of £413,000, or nearly five dollars per acre, which the land rarely produces. There are in Ireland to-day 600,000 tenant-farmers working under this system because there is no other, and suffering all its woes because there is no remedy except the remedy of revolution, on the one hand, or autonomy, on the other. Is it any wonder that the cry of revolution is in the land? Is it any wonder that Mr. Gladstone proposed autonomy as a prevention of revolution? Is it any wonder that English Liberalism concedes that something must be done?

In answer to the question, Why so much agitation in Ireland? W. O'Connor Morris, an Irish landlord and county court judge, replies: "Confiscation of property from 1846-50; emigration to the United States; evictions; and *education* of the Irish people." Note that all these causes are *recent*. The great historic cause of general confiscation he does not urge in explanation, but

landlordism, on the one hand, and education, on the other, are the promoting influences of the demand for self-government. But for landlordism emigration, on a large scale, would not occur; but for landlordism evictions could not be enforced; and but for education the demand for the abolition of the system would have no positive influence. It is not greed or ambition, but the enlightened judgment of the people that pleads for reform and autonomy. The plea cannot be suppressed, even by bayonets.

Evidently the English Government must do something, or stand guilty before the civilized world of a great wrong, growing greater and more inexcusable with every passing year. Has it never done anything? The right of Ireland to make laws for herself, Mr. Gladstone declared in his great speech of April 8th, 1886, was not denied until George II. In the reign of Edward I. Ireland had a Parliament, whose powers were abridged by Henry VIII., and whose tenure was made dependent on the English sovereign's pleasure. In 1542 the union of England and Ireland was completed, Ireland reserving to herself a Council, with almost plenary and independent powers. Under Cromwell the two Parliaments—English and Irish—were united, and yet Ireland retained a Constitution and a body nominally understood to be a Parliament. In this mixed state of affairs confusion in legislation or mutual trespassing on inherent rights so often occurred that long intervals elapsed between the sessions of the Irish Parliament. Under George II. the agitation of the Parliamentary question resulted in the concession of an Irish Parliament, but it was stripped of nearly all power and legislative function. In 1782 a crisis was reached, and Grattan, impelled by a national spirit which bore everything before it, demanded an independent Parliament, or an Irish House of Lords and an Irish House of Commons, and practically secured his motion. This Parliament, originating from a national impulse and promising millennial results, existed only eighteen years, perishing more from its own indiscretions than from outward antagonism. It could not govern Ireland; it came in boisterous conflict with the English Parliament; it favored coercive acts, contrary to the spirit that originated it; it was the Parliament of a minority and accomplished nothing, and so expired. From 1782 to 1800 was Ireland's opportunity for self-government, but, to its misfortune, it did not improve it, and so lost a century of time.

Prior to 1832 England was aristocratic in principle and legislation, but the Reform

Bill was passed that year, and England veered toward the democratic faith. That year dates the rise of democracy, or the birth of modern Liberalism in England. Since that year the Conservative Party, observing the signs of the times, has now and then leaned toward a policy of pacification regarding Ireland, the admirers of Beaconsfield proclaiming him as the friend of the Irish; but the claim is premature. He did oppose emigration, and denounced "Cromwellianism" as a remedy for Ireland's grievances, which were negative positions, easy enough to take. As for affirmative work, it is said he favored governmental regulations like those under Charles I., and in 1852 he did propose the confiscation of the landlords' estates, but coupled it with "retrospective compensation," a plan like that of the Hon. Mr. Chittenden's to free the slaves in the United States and compensate the owners. Such a proposed deliverance from landlordism meant no disrespect to English landlords, who perhaps agreed to it. Lord Salisbury's existing government has effected little toward a solution of the problem.

We are brought, therefore, to consider the man who has sincerely and without subterfuge or guile manifested a redemptive interest in Ireland, and a wholesome regard for the integrity of the Empire of which Ireland is a part. Mr. Gladstone's unofficial as well as official temper toward the unhappy country is the best proof of his determination to alleviate the ills of its inhabitants, and, at the same time, to meet imperial obligations from the highest political motives. Go no further back than 1870, when his first Land Act was passed, which, mitigating some evils, proved, as it was enforced, to be insufficient for its purpose, as an instance of his conciliatory position on the great question. This was followed, in 1881, by another Land Act, which lowered the rents and made it possible for tenants to purchase homes. By these acts the *rental* value of Ireland has been reduced one-fifth, and the *selling* value more than one-third, a land reform quite generous in its provisions, and all but satisfactory for the time being.

Landed rights are one thing; human rights are another. Gaining the former, the Irish have demanded the latter, and with a voice of thunder, which has been heard in Windsor Castle and Westminster. In 1871 Isaac Butt precipitated the "Home Rule" question into the arena of politics, and began an agitation which, continuing to the present time, is prophetic of great structural changes in colonial relations to the Empire. Others soon became interested in the patri-

otic project, among them Joseph Gillis Biggar and Charles S. Parnell, the latter of whom is now its acknowledged leader, and temporary dictator of the English Parliament. On a visit to New York in behalf of starving Ireland a few years since, Mr. Parnell stated his mission to be twofold: (1) To secure for Ireland a place among the nations; (2) to obtain relief for her hungry people. That the nationality of Ireland is the ultimate object of the Home Rule agitation no observer will doubt; but an autonomous relation to England is all that can be expected now. Restricted autonomy is accepted as a preparation for and a step toward complete nationality. What with Fenianism, Dynamitism, and Daggerism—cruel instruments of agitation—and conciliatory legislation, mobbish conventions, Land Leagues, National Leagues, the use of the press, and American sympathy, the Home Rule idea has taken proportions that make it the great political issue in English elections, and the great legislative subject before Parliament.

Ireland is tired of being ruled from Downing Street; she wants to be ruled from Dublin Castle; and, to meet this national want, Mr. Gladstone, April 8th, 1886, proposed to the House of Commons the establishment of an Irish Parliament, under restrictions compatible with the integrity of the British Empire. He frankly stated that the coercion of the Irish had been tried for fifty-three years and proved a failure; he might have added that the policy of the confiscation of their lands, carried on for three hundred years, had also proved a failure. He now believed that a recognition of their rights, accompanied with an expression of confidence in their patriotism, would be of advantage to them and not less so to England. Though the proposition was defeated, and Mr. Gladstone was retired from office, the great policy of colonial autonomy which he advocated stands as another monument of Mr. Gladstone's superior political genius, and will finally be adopted by the English people as their only safety, and the condition of their future prosperity.

It is not surprising that a proposition of this character, involving far-reaching political changes, should be opposed by those whose interests would be unfavorably affected by it, and that its author should be maligned, reviled, and misrepresented, in order that the project might be overthrown. The aristocracy opposed it because it meant death to landlordism, of which they were the supporters; royalty, including the Queen, opposed it because it signified an abridg-

ment of political sovereignty; the Conservatives opposed it more on partisan grounds than anything else; some Liberals, headed by Lord Hartington and Joseph Chamberlain, opposed it, hoping thereby to become leaders of the party, or of a coalition; other Liberals, like George Otto Trevelyan, opposed it because of a sincere fear of its radicalism, and that it was not expedient; some of the Ulster Protestants opposed it because they imagined it meant the downfall of Protestantism and the installation of Papal rule in Ireland, while other Protestants favored it because it would contribute to Protestant intrenchment in the land; the Christian press generally opposed it because of the mirage of the Papacy, while the Methodist *Times* advocated it because of its love of liberty, but some Nationalists were dissatisfied with it because of its exclusion of Irishmen from Westminster.

Summing up the arguments of the opposition, it is clear that they were selfish and partisan, and did not affect the principle at issue. The Home Rule idea will prevail, if it cannot be assailed on stronger grounds than those used four years ago. In a general way it has been said that Ireland is incapable of self-government, which to some extent may be true; but a similar charge of incapacity was raised in the United States against the proposition to confer the right of suffrage upon the emancipated African. England is responsible for the inability of Ireland to govern herself, and the sooner she restores the ability of self-government to that people the better.

The Marquis of Lorne says England cannot suffer an independent government to be erected within two hours of her shores! Would Ireland be more dangerous than France? This shows a fear unbecoming a great nation and a selfishness, not foreign to English diplomacy, little less than criminal. Ireland must be deprived of rights and liberties because she is too near England! He also says the Roman Catholics of Ireland have all the liberties of English subjects except the right to inherit the throne, a statement made in inexcusable avoidance of facts, for Ireland is the land of oppression. He also says that Home Rule in Ireland means final separation and independence, or the disintegration of the Empire. Possibly this, but what of it? Ireland is as much entitled to independence as England herself, and the time will come when English rule will end in India, Australia, Africa, and Ireland. Finally, the Marquis revives Lord Russell's suggestion to divide Ireland into four provinces—viz., Ulster, Munster, Lein-

ster, and Connaught, with restricted autonomy to each; but why divide Ireland? Endow *united* Ireland with limited self-government, grant her a Parliament of her own, and she will be satisfied, and the British Empire will endure a while longer.

What other projects it will be the duty of English Liberalism, through Mr. Gladstone or others, to originate and execute, we shall not surmise, further than to hint that its future, like its historic, work will be for the confirmation of liberty and the rights of man. It is not premature to predict that under Liberalism the destruction of the House of Lords, as a legislative body, will be accomplished. The Upper House, as it is called, consists of five hundred and seven members, who have inherited their membership or received it as a gift from the throne, and who, therefore, are in no way related to the people over whom they rule. H. Labouchere, M.P., says no man can *inherit* the right to legislate. This is sound doctrine, its utterance at this time not only establishing the courage of its author, but indicating which way public opinion will finally drift in conservative England. Not without show of proof is it charged that the Lords are obstructionists to progress, education, and liberty, for seven different times they opposed the emancipation of the Jews, and have acquiesced in progressive legislation only when their existence was threatened. It was reported by the Conservatives some time ago that if the House of Commons should pass a Home Rule Bill the House of Lords would refuse concurrence and defeat it. For these and other reasons antagonism to the existence of the Upper House is growing; and, after disposing of the Irish question, should Mr. Gladstone or other Liberals make the abolition of that House a political measure, stirring times might be expected in England, for it would bring on revolution of some kind.

Studying Liberalism and Mr. Gladstone, as its exponent, in this way, we are surprised that both are so misunderstood, or so wilfully misrepresented by those who certainly know better. Herbert Spencer says the Liberals are "Tories of a new type." He praises the early Liberals by saying that they "stood for individual freedom *versus* State coercion," but now they constitute the party of coercion! In proof of this astounding statement, he enumerates several proposed acts of legislation, among them these: "Education shall be made gratis," instead of compelling pupils to pay for instruction, which would confine the schools to the rich! libraries shall be free; museums shall be

open to the public; government should grant aid to art and science; these are the coercive measures of English Liberalism! Governmental aid to education is oppression! It is like saying that giving a cup of cold water to a thirsty man will injure his health. Yet Herbert Spencer, the eminent scientist, is guilty of drafting this accusation.

Let Mr. Gladstone go on; let English Liberalism continue to *coerce* the people into education, liberty, self-government, and righteousness, and the British Empire will have peace. The Liberalism that disestablishes the Church, rebukes "jingoism," and confers upon other people the right of nationality; that frowns upon cruelty and oppression, and defends itself only when in the right; that opposes war except for self-preservation, and legislates for the millennium; that transforms the colonies into republics, and the mother-country into a theocracy, may justly expect the approval of the enlightened earth and the benedictions of a gracious, all-observing, and world-governing Providence.

FOR THE MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

CATHOLICISM AND PROTESTANTISM.

BY RICHARD ROTHE.

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(Continued from the March number, page 353.)

II.

GENETIC CONCEPTION OF PROTESTANTISM.

CATHOLICISM has, in its fully explicit portraiture, exhibited itself as the degeneracy of Christianity even to unrecognizableness. As just this did it also demonstrate itself historically. Notably does the fifteenth century show itself historically an epoch in this regard, especially its second half. It came ever clearer to consciousness that the apprehension of Christianity on which Catholicism rests is one that contradicts the being of Christianity, that it was not a question of defective application, but that the principle itself was ineffective, inasmuch as no help was to be found in mere amendments of the prevailing system against the evils which oppressed Christendom, but help was to be sought only through alteration of the principle itself, by the complete breaking off of the previous course of historical development. Where the new course of develop-

ment was to take hold was not doubtful ; just there where the false had begun. Recurrence, therefore, must be had to the origin of Christianity ; the new structure was to be erected according to the standard of the documentary testimony of the original form of Christianity—*i.e.*, of the HOLY SCRIPTURE.

The incompatibility of Catholicism with Christianity came into view from two sides at once, though not quite separately : the one experience was of more objective, world-historical nature, an experience on the side of the *ethical* consciousness ; the other of more individual, subjective nature, an experience on the side of the *religious* consciousness. The *secular*—*i.e.*, intrinsically human consciousness in Christendom fell out with the extant Christianity, as it was then fashioned—*i.e.*, as it had fashioned itself in Catholicism. This falling out showed itself especially in connection with the *humanistic culture* of the fifteenth century. From this point of view the then existing Christianity appeared as crass superstition, as unworthy idol worship. From hence there proceeded two tendencies : the one let Christianity entirely fall in its own convictions and fixed itself as religious unbelief. The other had a living sentiment of the intrinsic sympathy of Christianity with this Humanism ; it recognized that the extant Christianity was not properly the true, the genuine Christianity. This recognition was helped by the means which Humanism offered. At the same time this tendency recognized the possibility of a rediscovery and restoration of the original genuine Christianity by means of the recurrence to the historic source of the knowledge of it, to the Holy Scripture. This breach of the ethical consciousness with Catholicism came to pass in the consciousness that this *pure* Supernaturalism was foreign to Christianity, that Christianity is an *ethical*—*i.e.*, *ethically mediated* religion, one directed upon the ethical problem. The other experience was this : as Morality, so also Piety fell out with the extant Christianity, its breath failed it in Catholicism, it sought in vain therein the satisfaction of its deepest necessity—the necessity of man for an unconditional certainty of his reconciliation with God, together with a living consciousness of sin. Only in this is found an ultimate anchoring-ground for an existence worthy of man. In the *Church* the man who longed for a certainty of reconciliation sought in vain this certainty, which in the Middle Ages he had found there. In the deep anguish on account of his sins he becomes sensible that

the Church can afford him no guarantee therefor, as he assumes in the Middle Ages. He sees that a *foreign* guarantee avails nothing, but that the certainty is only possible as God's gift, yet, on the other hand, by mediation of the very innermost deed of the individual—that is, by the mediation of that act of trust which unconditionally surrenders itself to the Divine compassion, on the ground of the atonement for the sin of the world, which was effected once for all. This certainty is, therefore, only possible through Faith—namely, through faith in CHRIST, the Redeemer from Sin, only through an unconditional trust in Him, but also with absolute exclusiveness, in Him *alone*, JUSTIFICATION ONLY THROUGH FAITH. How this is the basis of all Christian piety, of all new life whatsoever through Christ, is the condition and the principle of all sanctification, that became now clear. In LUTHER's soul was given this new sunrise, this new revelation. This light arose, above all for Luther himself, in the *Holy Scripture*, especially in the Pauline epistles, and the new insight was at once originated and confirmed by the Scripture. This new Christianity, therefore, as well as that coming from Humanism, returned to the Holy Scripture, and took upon it its unshaken stand. This also determined its attitude to Catholicism. *One-sided Supernaturalism was broken.* The infinite *inwardness* of Christian devotion was recognized, the necessity of its perfect subjective truth. Therewith also there comes to light the enormous *difficulty* of the same, and the impotence of Man. The ideas of Sin and Grace receive a new weight, beside which Catholicism must taste thoroughly insipid and appear as mere Pelagianism.

These two points of view could not but give the impulse for a total revolution of principles, for a REFORMATION. Luther himself had no thought of it, but was soon constrained thereto. Both interests belonged essentially together, the *ethically* reformatory interest with its tendency toward the renewal of the form of the Christian *World* into a *genuinely* Christian one, and the *religiously* reformatory interest with its tendency toward the renewal of the genuinely Christian piety in the *Individual* after its primitive kind. Without the regeneration of *Piety* out of its deepest ground that *ethical* Christianity could become no genuinely *Christian* morality, and without an *ethical* tendency of Christianity, the regenerated Christian *Piety* could not give itself a true historical *constitution*, could find no soil in which it could strike root. This movement arose simultaneously from the

ethical tendency in the *Swiss* (Zwinglian), from the religious in the *Saxon* Reformation. *In and of itself* the *ethical* reformatory tendency is the more significant, it is the really *world-historical* one in that conjuncture; therefore the future really belongs to it; but in *that* moment of history the *religious* was necessarily the mightier. On its side was the immediately transporting power of that enthusiasm which comes out of the innermost deep of emotion, while in the nature of that other a certain sobriety was implied, which works slowly, but securely. The *Saxon* Reformation, therefore, was that which actually set the flame, and from the beginning drew that of *Switzerland* into its current and impressed its stamp upon it. But the *Saxon* Reformation could not but experience a counter-working from it, and only in the measure in which this took place could the *Saxon* movement have genuine results for the history of the world. In proportion, therefore, as the new movement entered into *History*, the *Swiss* tendency could not fail by degrees to predominate more and more over against the *Saxon*, to gain a powerful self-consciousness, to dispute the mastery with it and more and more to take it out of its hand. In themselves both tendencies belonged essentially together, their historical result was to be a unity. They, therefore, began with unity and concession. But for the continuance of this the condition was, that each should understand itself correctly and also understand the other. This condition was wanting, and *necessarily* wanting, especially on the *Saxon* side. Thus the two tendencies soon came *in conflict*, and thus out of the Reformation proceeded not *one* Communion, but a Duality of Communions, the REFORMED and the EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN.

What form now did the two Communions assume? In the idea of the new Christianity, which now came into view, there lay a very clear answer. If the distinctive essence of this Protestant Christianity consists in this, that it is *ethically* religious in distinction from being purely religious, it follows from this that the form of association which specifically corresponds to it is only the *ethically* religious, the *civil*, not the former one, the *ecclesiastical*. Protestantism is laid out for a *Christian State*, not a *Christian Church*, as also the result has shown. But new historical principles, at their first breaking forth, never have a perfectly clear consciousness of themselves. This clears up for them only very slowly. Of the New Thing that was to be, the Reformers at the beginning had by no means a

clear conception, and Luther much less than Zwingli. Nor indeed was any urgent necessity of such a conception felt at first, for at first the hope was that the movement would seize upon the whole Church. Men expected no new Communion, but hoped that the existing one would regenerate itself through a movement of Christian life, and in this amended form would furnish the suitable vehicle of the new Christian life. This hope soon disappeared. It became plain that those who followed the reformatory movement must first build their dwelling-house for themselves. Men now regarded it as beyond all doubt that this *must again have the form of a Church*, for the general prejudice was (as it yet is) that Christianity knows no other form of association than the ecclesiastical. Although the idea of Protestantism *in itself* is *this*, to be *non-ecclesiastical* Christianity, and the historical movement itself, which we call the Reformation, and of which *Church* amendment is only the first phase, goes essentially toward this result, to conduct Christianity out of its ecclesiastical into the *civil* form, yet the Reformers did not as yet have a distant presentiment of this, and as the idea of the State was *then* shaped it realized it *could not* be otherwise. The thought did not occur that Christianity was possible in another form than the ecclesiastical.

Toward the problem of founding a Protestant *Church*, the two fractions took an essentially different position. The Lutheran had a much less lively interest for it, and therefore was far from applying to it any such well-considered and energetic work as the *Swiss*. *Luther* had predominantly in view the immediate relation of the individual to God. He was therefore little concerned for the social organization of the justified by faith. Their common life was to order itself aright quite spontaneously. Subsequently it became evident that this was not so, and then nothing was left for Lutheran Protestantism except, abdicating all ecclesiastical independence, to commit itself, unpossessed of a house of its own, into the protectorate of the State, surrendering itself to its discretion. The *Swiss* and Reformed Protestantism built itself at once, with mature deliberation, after the standard of its Christian principles, a totality of forms of association, on the basis of which it was minded to maintain its Christian life, and ordained in these a definite power of government. Agreeably to its ethical tendency it planned this ecclesiastical commonwealth for the purpose of planting Christian morality in the midst of its

adherents, and these ordinances it also administered with serious energy.

The ethical reformatory tendency had not, in its attitude of criticism to the traditional Christianity, limited itself to any definitely bounded territory. Naturally it directed its criticism *first* to the point, which came the most sharply into conflict with its ethical consciousness and with the primitive form of Christianity, but *on principle* it reserved to itself the right in due time to *extend* this criticism *to the whole*, notably also *to the doctrinal definitions of the æcumenical Symbols*, the church doctrine of the Trinity and Christology. And, indeed, before long there were not lacking individuals who viewed these doctrines as not coincident with *real* Christianity, especially in Italy (the like occurred also in reference to the doctrine of Atonement, etc.). Had the Switzers been left to go their own course, they would certainly have also entered critically into *this* field, at least they would have endeavored to remodel it rationally. But the Swiss Reformation, in its course of criticism, was very early brought to a stand by the predominant influence of Luther and the Saxon Reformation. *Luther* had no interest in criticising this part of Doctrine. Indeed, it was just in these doctrines that he believed he saw the objective *point d'appui* for the individual's subjective flight of faith. The less he, of his own accord, was disposed to sunder himself from the elder Church, the more firmly he held to what he had still in common with her. Thus there came also into the Swiss Reformation a speedy stagnation which was not agreeable to its principle, and all the critical tendencies which addressed themselves to the non-soteriological doctrines were banished from *this* also, and were therefore constrained to essay the formation of a distinct ecclesiastical commonwealth. Thus there constituted itself *SOCINIANISM*, incomparably the most significant of the sectarian movements of Protestantism. Divorced from the totality of the Reformation, and confined to its predominantly negative aims, it was not capable of living, but its very extinction shows how it belonged to the Swiss Reformation. It transmitted the essence of its tendencies to the Reformed Church and arose in her as *ARMINIANISM* in a far more adequate form. Here it established its good right as an integral element of the Reformation movement.

Alongside of all these endeavors there runs from the beginning a very strange-seeming, but mighty tendency: *ANABAPTISM*, the most intensive and powerful mani-

festation of the reformatory principle, which in the Anabaptists works instinctively, but for that very reason blindly, in the manifoldness of the tendency lying in it, but also as *mere* Instinct, as rude natural force. On the one hand seized with a mighty feeling of the corruption of Christianity in the existing Church and the necessity of breaking completely with it by a *REVOLUTION*, and no less with a vivid conception that Christianity is to be realized in a *civil* order, in a *COMMONWEALTH OF GOD*, Anabaptism is yet, on the other hand, still too much *implicated in one-sided Supernaturalism*. Setting out from this exclusively supernaturalistic apprehension, Anabaptism saw the ultimate source of the corruption in this, that that fundamental medium which God had ordained for the immediate impartation of the Holy Ghost, *BAPTISM*, had hitherto been administered perversely in a manner contradictory to its idea. From this point of view the true personal Christianity appeared to it as an ecstatic state, and all genuine Christian knowledge as illumination by purely supernatural inspiration, by prophetic il-lapse. And the civic Kingdom of Christ, which is its goal, appears to it chiliastically as of purely supernatural kind. Thus it is no wonder, if it chooses the means for the introduction of this kingdom not according to an ethical valuation, resorts to absolutely anti-moral means, and in its pure supernaturalness converts itself into fleshly barbarism. Out of this fermentation there gradually deposited itself a pure precipitate, a *religious* element, which in the manifoldness of the Protestant principle occupies a well-warranted position, a *mystic* element, *MENNONISM* and *QUAKERISM*. Especially in the latter does Mysticism bear on its front a decisively Protestant character, on the one hand, in its intellectual sobriety, and, on the other, in its ethical tendency, the tendency to the universal ethical life, to purity of morals and disinterested public philanthropy.

In the smaller sects, the aftergrowth of the Reformation, the *Protestant* doctrinal system has also, in its turn, undergone the criticism of History. The new Churches which proceeded from the Church Reformation were no actually adequate realizations of that idea of Christianity which then arose upon Occidental Christendom, especially through the Holy Scripture. This soon came to the consciousness of individuals, and as time went on in ever-widening circles. Those who were vividly seized by this consciousness assumed very different positions. *Some* abdicated *altogether* the hope

of realizing Christianity in the form of a Church, with more or less clearness. They contented themselves with the existing churches, but came into a cool relation to them, and turned their Christian interest more toward the secular, ethical sphere, expecting and striving in this alone for the effective realization of the idea of Christianity. These formed the ever-increasing majority. This tendency was commonly the especial note of those who moved on with the current of culture, even those who had not let go the just estimate of Christianity, and a warm interest in piety. Others persisted in holding that Christianity is *only* Piety, and its realization only to be found in an *exclusively* religious community. They found it needful to build *Churches* which should better correspond to their conception of Christianity than those which had proceeded immediately from the Reformers. This problem was insoluble. The great majority of their contemporaries, those also who had remained consciously faithful to Christianity, had averted their interest from the CHURCH, and, on the other hand, the concrete apprehensions of Christianity, which embodied themselves in these new church founders, were but slightly objective, because they took their standing-point outside the channel of the great historical forward movement. They must therefore remain limited to a very narrow compass. What especially alienated these founders from the two main churches of the Reformation was the *compulsion of conscience*, which began to prevail from the first in these. Feeling the unevangelical character of this, they took a decidedly *anti-dogmatic* bent, and on principle renounced an authorized church doctrine, and therefore propounded no Symbols. But a Church without Dogma is a self-contradiction. These churches, therefore, from their birth bore in them the germ of their dissolution as *Churches*. Yet here appears a characteristic distinction; on one side the chief interest was the theoretical, the Christianly religious doctrine, on the other side the practical side of Christianity. A much greater vital force dwells in the communions which emphasize these latter interests than in the former, for these must make their existence depend on a system of peculiar doctrinal statements; but as these are supported by no binding authority, and are continually exposed to the corrosive influences of secular science, they must needs grow antiquated; thereby such churches find their root dead, and their collapse ensues. The ecclesiastical connections which incline to the practical

side are not only exempt from this danger, but they can also interpose positively and most effectively in the practical aims which constitute the real and main interest of the present universal movement within Occidental Christendom, without distinction of confession, a movement directed upon secular, *i.e.*, ethical Christianity.*

III.

FINAL RESULT OF SYMBOLICS.

Symbolics summons up before us a changing and apparently comfortless spectacle. We see how the new form, which the human consciousness received through the advent of Christ, has endeavored to bring itself in an ecclesiastical doctrinal conception to an absolutely and universally valid expression. The first great essay in Catholicism issued in a deep obscuration of what was specific in the Christian consciousness. Through the Reformation a mighty renewal of this was effected, and the newly-animated Christian consciousness forthwith repeated the first essay. This time also it succeeded only approximately, and thus on the same soil the essays renewed themselves in the most different directions, but not with growing success. The claims of the new essays on the antecedent formations of dogma were well founded. They missed what they had a right to desire. But the new essays turned out altogether unsatisfactory. All the essays which followed upon the great creations of the Reformation were incompetent to procure for themselves any general acceptance, and the later their origin, the more poverty-stricken, on one hand, and the more fantastic, on the other, is their aspect. Only in *that* proportion were they vigorous and of sensible significance in which they assumed an *undogmatic* bent. Thus History teaches us as follows: in *this* way the endeavor to establish in Christendom the full communicableness of Christian knowledge, from which all construction of Dogma has proceeded, has not led to the goal. The coinage of the contents of the Christian consciousness in ecclesiastically authorized doctrinal statements in Dogmas has not proved adequate to secure a community of Christian Knowledge, but rather only to divide it the more. Gradually and increasingly the capacity of constructing Dogmas has been exhausting itself. *The Dogma-building Function has no Future.*

* Here Rothe treats specially of the Socinians (who "are still of especial interest"), Arminians, Mennonites and Baptists, Quakers, Swedenborgians and Irvingites.

Of the now extant Christian doctrinal conceptions, no one will be able to conquer for itself the full inner assent of collective Christendom. No one, even in its own circle, will be able to maintain its prevalence, and that a new one should be formed that should succeed in this is not once to be imagined. The goal itself is not therefore unattainable: the attainment of a consummated community of actually Christian Knowledge, a mutual understanding respecting Christian truth within Christendom. It is only in the way hitherto pursued that it cannot be attained—namely, the way of an ecclesiastical positive formation of doctrinal statements and of any statutory doctrine whatever. But in the way of the development of free secular science the path is broken for it, and it will in due time be reached. In the same proportion in which History is yet removed from this goal, the positive church doctrines still maintain a relative indispensableness, and therefore a justification, according to the measure of their serviceableness; only the tendency of the churches must no longer be directed toward consolidating their doctrinal statutes, but toward a greater fluency (not a greater shallowness) of these. The churches must convince themselves that their doctrinal statutes may never become a barrier for the development of the free scientific knowledge of the world-historical fact on which they rest, of Jesus Christ, a conviction, it is true, which is only possible in Protestant Christianity. As far as this development is yet in arrears, so far should the churches hold their positive doctrines in honor as the means which as yet is most serviceable for mutual understanding, but they should concede that they are only a very relatively usable element for that purpose, and from generation to generation are losing more and more of their serviceableness.

IN MEMORIAM DR. EDWIN HATCH.

BY REV. PROFESSOR W. SANDAY, D.D.,
OXFORD.

From *The Expositor* (London), February, 1890.

I do not think that Dr. Hatch ever contributed to *THE EXPOSITOR*, but I should probably not be wrong in saying that few English writers would be better known to its readers. In more senses than one he was distinguished for what the late Dr. J. B. Mozley used, I believe, to call "under-

ground work." Much that he himself did never found its way into print, and the influence of his work was felt far beyond the circle to which it was originally addressed. He was one of those minds which do not simply move in the old grooves, but which enrich the age in which they live as much by the questions which they start as by those which they solve.

A striking feature in English history during the present century has been the influence from time to time, standing out like bright spots upon the map, first of one and then of another of its great schools. This influence has differed somewhat in kind. If Eton or Harrow can point to a brilliant roll of names, this has been due less to the stimulating energy of any one master than to the influence which the boys have exercised upon each other, the old *noblesse oblige* working among the select youth of the nation. Other schools have borne, and there are others again which seem likely to bear, more the impress of some one or two strong individualities. All the world agrees that it was Arnold who made Rugby. It would seem to have been Dr. Butler who first put his stamp upon Shrewsbury, and made it the home of our classical scholars. What Shrewsbury has been for scholarship, that—and in its proportion even more—has King Edward's School, Birmingham, been for theology. It is a fact, which another sad event has tended to make better known than it was, that in the inmost circle of our leading divines no less a trio than Dr. Westcott, Dr. Lightfoot, and Dr. Benson, the present Archbishop of Canterbury, all came from this school. I name them in the order of their seniority. Dr. Westcott went up to Trinity in 1843, Dr. Benson in 1848.* All three received their inspiration from James Prince Lee, who was headmaster from 1838 to 1848, when he became Bishop of Manchester. And yet the period when they were together was only the culminating point in the great days of the school. Prince Lee had received it in thoroughly efficient condition from Dr. Jeune (1834–1838), who left to take the headship of his old college, and afterwards rose to be Dean of Gloucester and Bishop of Peterborough. Dr. Jeune was a very able man and an excellent organizer; the first university commission owed much to him, and if he had lived he would probably have been an equally conspicuous figure upon the bench. He had already sent out

* Besides these, Dr. Lee had the rare distinction of seeing two of his pupils bracketed senior classic in 1845, Hubert A. Holden and Frederic Rendall, an able and original (may I not say, at times too original ?) contributor to *THE EXPOSITOR*.

a scholar in William Linwood,* who swept the board of university prizes at the beginning of his career, though the products of his pen in after life hardly came up to his early reputation. Nor did the school really decline under Prince Lee's successor, Edwin Hamilton Gifford (1848-1862), afterwards Archdeacon of London and Canon of St. Paul's, and better known still among scholars as the author of an admirable commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. One untimely death and the slowness with which fame is won may prevent it from possessing quite the same degree of lustre, but it was not a common school which produced at one and the same time Edwin Hatch, Robert William Dixon, the poet and historian of the Reformation, and Edward Burne Jones, the artist. It is curious to observe how the character of the school has altered. It has lost something in intensity—the trio first named impress all the more from the fact that their work lay so much along the same lines—but it has gained in variety and width of range. The originality and earnestness of purpose which the men of the younger generation have shown in their several spheres make it clear that there was a powerful influence behind them.

Edwin Hatch was born at Derby on September 4th, 1835, but by the removal of his family to Birmingham in 1844 he became a day-boy at King Edward's School. He entered the school at once, and was therefore for a time, during his passage through the lower forms, under Prince Lee; but five years and a half, till the midsummer of 1853, were spent under the headmastership of Dr. Gifford. Only within the last year the old headmaster came to reside near his pupil; and I owe it to his kindness that I have access to the school-lists of this period, which enable us to trace the young scholar's career in an interesting way. We find him at first on the modern side; but his promise was evidently discovered, and he was soon transferred to the classical department, where we watch him rising rapidly up the school, class by class, gaining prizes as he went, until he left with an exhibition to Pembroke College, Oxford, in 1853. School-lists are documents of a rather bare and undescriptive kind; still one or two characteristic things come out from them. In 1851 Bishop Lee gave £100 to found an annual prize "for a critical essay on a passage of the Greek Testament." Dr. Westcott was appropriately chosen as the first examiner;

and the form which the prize took, to which I do not know an exact parallel elsewhere, seems to give us a glimpse of the method by which he had been himself trained. It does not appear that Edwin Hatch won this prize, though he had previously won or been *proxime accessit* for the ordinary class-prizes in divinity. The tercentenary of the school was celebrated in 1852, when special prizes were given for two historical subjects. The first of these, open to the whole school, was gained by Dixon, with an essay on the "State of Literature in England in the Times of Edward the Sixth"—a subject which perhaps did something to implant the germ which afterwards developed into the great work with which the author's name is associated. The other prize, for which the first and second classes were not allowed to compete, was gained by Hatch with an essay on the "Social Condition of England" at the same period. Social economy and the times of the Reformation were subjects in which he retained an interest, though in his case they were only two amongst many, and two which he did not make so distinctively his own.

Towards the end of his school career young Hatch, whose parents were Nonconformists, fell strongly under the influence of Dr. J. C. Miller, who was at that time a power in Birmingham; and as a result of this he became a Churchman. It was owing to the same influence that he went up to Oxford. He followed his friend Dixon to Pembroke. Dr. Jeune's old connexion with the school drew the Birmingham men to his college. Among them were not only Dixon and Hatch, but Faulkner, a mathematician, who carried all before him in 1853-1855, and another Birmingham man, though not, as I understand, from King Edward's School, Birkbeck Hill, now so well known by his classical edition of the works of Johnson. In those days the undergraduates were allowed to choose their own table in hall, and the Birmingham men hung together in this way, not mixing much with the rest of the college. They were an able group, and ideas of all kinds fermented actively among them. Burne Jones had in the mean time gone up to Exeter, and it was probably through him that Hatch became acquainted with William Morris, who was at the same college. A little later Swinburne joined the circle from Balliol. The mention of these names will show in what direction ideas were setting. Hatch also was caught by them, but he had other interests as well of a profounder kind. He must have been the philosopher of his set. There

* Other Birmingham scholars of a still earlier date were Lord Lingen, Charles Rann Kennedy, Dr. Guest the antiquary, and Sir William Martin.

are in my hands a number of letters belonging to the later Oxford time. In these he is seen in frequent correspondence with the editors of the magazines of the day: the *Church Quarterly* (as it then was), the *London Quarterly*, the *London Illustrated*, *Bentley's Miscellany*, the *Examiner*, the *Record*. All the editors write in terms of great cordiality and respect. Hatch was vigorously engaged in supplying them with articles. "Ruskin," "Dante," "King Arthur," "The Romances of Chivalry," "Hymnology," "The State of Parties in Oxford," "The Neoplatonists," "Arabian Philosophy," "Grant," "Hegel," are among the subjects mentioned, and will give some idea of his range of thought. He had the idea of starting a magazine himself; and his negotiations with this object produced, amongst others, a very judicious letter from Messrs. Macmillan.

These distracting interests may have had something to do with the second class which fell to his lot in the final examination of Michaelmas, 1857. The first class in this list contained only two names, one being that of another Pembroke man, who added to it a first in mathematics, Dr. Moore, now Principal of St. Edmund Hall, and eminent as a critic of Dante. Hatch appears to have had an illness about this time, but his comparative failure was set down by contemporaries who knew how really able he was to some defects in scholarship. Scholarship in the narrow and technical sense is a thing in which it is difficult to make up lee-way; and I can well imagine that the years spent on the modern side at King Edward's School told their tale. In after years Hatch made himself a scholar in a sense by the application of rigorous inductive method and by philosophic thinking, though in this respect it might perhaps be possible to find a weak place or two in his armour. The winning in 1858 of the prize for the Ellerton Theological Essay, on the "Lawfulness of War," was some compensation for his disappointment.

Now came, as so often comes in the career of a young scholar, a period of struggle and difficulty: the brief but dreary tenure of a mastership at Cowbridge; ordination as deacon and priest, with ardent work at the East End, including much open-air preaching at Shoreditch; and along with this, anxieties of more kinds than one. Meanwhile old friendships were actively kept up, and it is clear that they were a source of comfort and support. Some slight jottings in a diary testify to this, and to the warm and enthusiastic feelings of the writer. The enthusiasm changed its colour somewhat as

life went on, but one can feel it behind the scientific work of later years, not untinted (alas!) by that occasional note of deep sadness which was another link between youth and maturity.

The ties which had stood the strain so well were however soon to be broken. In the autumn of 1859 Hatch set sail for America, where he had obtained an appointment as Professor of Classics at Trinity College, Toronto. This he held until 1862, when he accepted the rectorship of the High School of Quebec. With reference to this period I cannot do better than quote from a sympathetic sketch which appeared in the *Ottawa Daily Citizen*:

"In the same year (1862), on the foundation through the munificence of the late Dr. Joseph Morrin, of the College at Quebec, which bears his name, Mr. Hatch was appointed to the chair of classics and mental and moral philosophy therein, and continued to discharge the laborious and important functions incident to the two positions mentioned for many years. There are many of Mr. Hatch's students scattered over the Dominion, some of them eminent in the learned professions, and others filling high and responsible positions in the banking and commercial world, as well as in the public service, who will recall with melancholy interest their old professor's varied gifts of scholarship and immense stores of knowledge, together with the charming courtesy of the man, which was as apparent in his conversation as it was conspicuous in his character. In this latter connexion we have no doubt the surviving members of the 'original twenty-nine,' one or two of whom now reside at the capital, will long retain agreeable recollections of the professor's literary and musical evenings at his pleasant bachelor quarters on the Esplanade. . . . Dr. Hatch never forgot the country where he had passed so many pleasant years, and of whose rapid growth and advancement he had been a personal witness. For many years after his return to the mother country nothing afforded him so much pleasure as to meet, as he occasionally did in the great City of Colleges, old Canadian faces, and to converse with such visitors on matters and things touching the march of events in the 'New Britain' across the seas. Among other ties binding him to this country was his marriage to a Canadian, the daughter of the late Sheriff Thomas, of Hamilton, Ontario."

Besides this warmly expressed tribute, Hatch brought away with him at the time many testimonies to the high esteem in which he was held—an address from the bishop and leading citizens of Quebec, resolutions by the governing bodies of Morrin College and the High School, personal testimonials, amongst others from Sir J. W. Dawson, an honoured contributor to THE EXPOSITOR, and presents of silver from several groups of his pupils.

In 1867 Hatch returned to Oxford, taking work at St. Mary Hall, of which in October of the same year he became vice-principal. This office he held until pressure of work

compelled him to resign it in 1885. "During those eighteen years," writes Dr. Chase, the principal, "he was a most painstaking teacher, though he must have known that his ability would have been better bestowed upon higher work. I cannot remember a single instance of interruption to the harmony with which we worked together; our friendship was in no way impaired by the fact that on almost all public or academical matters we entertained opinions differing and not seldom opposed." Both points were characteristic. Hatch was one of the most generous of opponents, and he would never have thought of allowing public differences to interfere with private relations. He was also most conscientious in the discharge of what would be thought unattractive duties. I believe that I am right in saying that he was remarkable for the amount of trouble which he took with dull and backward men. Work of this kind was naturally valued. Several of his pupils either came from considerable distances to attend his funeral or warmly expressed their sense of obligation to him. Along with his tuition at St. Mary Hall he took a number of pupils into his own house, including many of the Siamese who came to Oxford.

In the mean time he was contributing to the efficient working of the university in other unobtrusive but none the less useful ways. At his initiative the *University Gazette*, an official record of acts and proceedings, was started, and he became its first editor in 1870. Not much later he brought out the first edition of the *Student's Handbook*, a practical guide to the university. In 1884 he was appointed secretary to the Boards of Faculties, another responsible office.

In this manner he naturally acquired a close familiarity with the details of university administration. Even in his undergraduate days he had already, as we have seen, begun to reflect upon the state of things around him, and his thought matured as time went on. He was intensely possessed with the desire to make the university a place of really scientific education, though no one could be more free from pedantry in the way in which he sought to carry out this end. And yet, to confess the truth, although he was not backward in expressing his opinions, he had not, at least for a long time, all the influence in university matters which he deserved. Parliamentary history abounds with examples of the same thing: some men catch the ear of the house, and others of equal or even greater ability do not. The prophet who would be listened

to must have the art to conceal his mission, and this Hatch did not altogether succeed in doing. He came by degrees to be better understood, but it was a slow process.

In his own subject too he was very much a *vox clamantis in deserto*. All his spare time he spent in the Bodleian, gradually amassing those stores of learning of which only a part was ever to be communicated. Yet there were but few congenial spirits to cheer or sympathise with him. We cannot help thinking of that magnificent image in which Wordsworth speaks of Newton as

"a mind
Voyaging through waste seas of thought, alone."

There were indeed some, and those among the few whose opinion he must have prized most highly, who recognized his powers. Mark Pattison was one of these. And the Master of Balliol was his fast friend. But community of subject was not easy to find. The reader who has the courage to face the mass of facts and references in articles like those on "Holy Orders," "Ordination," "Priest," in the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* will understand what they must have cost in collecting. In Hatch's skilful handling they ceased to be dry; but the sources from which they were obtained were the reverse of what would commonly be thought inviting.

But Hatch was not of a nature to be dependent upon outside sympathy. He worked on with friends, few or many, *τῷ τῆλε πιστὶν φέρων*. It was through the interests which we had in common that he and I were first drawn together. In those days I had a little living in the country, within easy reach of Oxford; and more than once Hatch gave me welcome help in my Sunday duties. He then broached to me a grand scheme which he entertained for a joint commentary on the New Testament. It was to embrace a number of workers, some of them specialists in their several departments. The rest of us were either to digest the opinions of others, or to contribute original material of our own. Hatch himself was to take the philology. An attempt was made, and a few verses at the beginning of St. Luke were put into print; but the scheme was too grand for our resources at that time, and it did not go any further. I believe that this would be about 1875. Even then Hatch had made considerable collections bearing on the philology of the New Testament, and more particularly with reference to the gospels and Acts. Sooner or later he would no doubt have worked up these. There are among his papers rough

notes, not however continuous, on a great part of the Gospel of St. Matthew, on some five chapters of St. Mark, and on the beginning of St. Luke. Besides these, there is a good deal of material, mainly lexicographical, covering the whole of the gospels and Acts. This would, I should think, be quite worth publishing, whether the references were new or old, because Hatch repeated nothing parrot-wise, but always examined afresh what he set down. It is greatly to be regretted that he has not left more in the nature of a commentary. His terse, clear style and freshness of apprehension would have qualified him admirably for such work. On questions of text, I believe that he was still in a rather tentative stage. On the larger questions of New Testament criticism he expressed himself to a certain extent in the articles, "Paul," "Peter (Epistles of)," "Pastoral Epistles," contributed to the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. These articles (especially that on St. Paul) exhibit much both of their author's ability and of his power of looking at old facts in a new light; still they were written, I believe, with some reluctance, in response to editorial pressure; they were put together more or less *ad hoc*; and they rather reflect the total impression of English, and still more foreign, criticism than convey his own deliberate and matured opinions to the same extent as his other writings. From this point of view, the summing-up is rather unfavourable to the genuineness of the pastoral epistles and 2 St. Peter.

In speaking of these contributions to the study of the New Testament, I have followed an order of subject rather than of time. The first work in which Hatch came before the world prominently as a theologian was in the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*; and not so much in the first volume (1876), as in the second, which appeared in 1880. In this volume Hatch succeeded to the class of subjects which in the first had been assigned to Mr. A. W. Haddan, another genuine scholar, cut off by death in 1873. Mr. Haddan was one of the most learned and scientific of the Tractarian party; but when the subjects which he had left fell into the hands of Hatch, it was clear that they were being dealt with by a specialist. If he had done nothing else, his reputation might rest secure upon these articles. They were models of all that work of the kind should be.

Contributions to a dictionary may make the name of a scholar among scholars, but they will hardly render him famous to the

outer world. It was given to Hatch to "burst into sudden blaze," not through them, but through the Bampton Lectures delivered in the same year 1880, and published in the year following. These made a great sensation, the echoes of which have not yet died away. It was only to be expected that utterances which touched so many tender points should arouse at once enthusiastic approval and vehement condemnation. To-day they can be judged more fairly. And although it is certainly not to be supposed that they are the last word upon the subject, yet by the collection and grouping of new material, and by the bold, if tentative, lines in which these hypotheses are drawn, it is probable that they mark an advance second to none which has been made in the present century. "In any case," said Dr. Weizsäcker in regard to them, "the lectures possess the value of an attempt in the true scientific style."*

The author wisely refrained from replying to the criticisms passed upon him. Controversy for its own sake or on merely personal grounds had no attractions for him. He fully intended to return to the subject, but only when he could treat it in a broad and comprehensive way. It is however matter for great satisfaction that he was induced to put forth in 1887 the small volume entitled *The Growth of Church Institutions* as a sort of pioneer to the larger work which he was meditating. It was only a reprint of magazine articles; but few men could write such articles—articles which showed so strong a grasp and such power of drawing out the leading threads of a complicated inquiry. I could not help thinking that in one chapter, that on tithes, there were some disputable propositions; but these formed, as in the *Bampton Lectures* they really formed, only a small proportion of the whole, and they left a large amount of luminous exposition for which the student cannot be too grateful.

The two books just mentioned obtained an honour which is rare in English theological literature, that of translation into German. An additional value was given to them by the fact that the translator, Dr. Harnack, was himself, as the readers of THE EXPOSITOR well know, one of the foremost of German theologians. Not being able to find a translator exactly after his mind, he determined to do the work himself. "I have not for an instant," he says, "regretted this decision, because while I became thus outwardly acquainted with the books,

* *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1883, col. 440.

while I slowly followed the author's arguments and tested his evidence, the high excellence of these researches became more and more clear to me. It was no pleasure to me to lay down the work; for with it ceased those silent dialogues which in the evenings for several months together I had carried on with the author, and which had been to me a source of manifold instruction and suggestion."

Dr. Harnack has always spoken of his English friend in this warmhearted and generous manner.*

The year which followed the publication of the Bampton saw Hatch elected to the Grinfield Lectureship on the Septuagint, a little foundation which, though useful in its object, is unfortunate and ineffective in its working. Practically limited as it is at most to a term of four years, and providing only for a single lecture in each term, it encourages a scholar to take up the subject, only to make him lay it down again, as he is beginning to be at home in it. Hatch's tenure of this office had more tangible results than that of any of his predecessors. These are seen in the volume of *Essays on Biblical Greek* published last year. In judging this work two things should be borne in mind: first, that the author is not looking at his subject historically, but rather with reference to the ideal of what such studies as he was undertaking should be; and, secondly, that he aims not so much at summing up the results already attained, as at contributing to those results something fresh and original of his own. The first of these considerations will, I think, account for his seeming disparagement of previous work, and the second for the apparent incompleteness of parts of his own. Work done under such conditions as those of the Grinfield Lectures could hardly be otherwise than incomplete; but fresh, original, and stimulating in a high degree the essays certainly are, and no future student of the subject can afford to disregard them. At times they are perhaps a little too paradoxical.† I believe that the essays are to be reviewed by the one writer who is most competent to put an exact estimate upon them, Dr. Hort.

With Hatch the study of the Septuagint was no mere *πάρεργον*. He had long been engaged in the preparation of an elaborate new Concordance, the first *fasciculus* of which is likely soon to be issued from the Clarendon Press. Carried out on the scale

on which it was projected, this work will not need doing over again. It is not based merely upon the printed editions, but on a careful collation of the leading uncials, which the editor had made with his own hands. It also took note of the remains of the other translators collected by Dr. Field. This work is, I believe, so well launched, that its completion is secured. It is perhaps that by which twenty or fifty years hence its originator will be best remembered. Some work is absorbed in the onward progress of science; other work remains as indispensable as when it was first published. Hatch's Concordance will belong to the latter category; it will be the foundation of countless studies yet to come.

With the Bampton Lectures, or rather with the articles in the *Dictionary of Antiquities*, began a stream of publications, and along with these the evidence of rapidly rising reputation. In 1883 Hatch received the distinction of an honorary D.D. from the University of Edinburgh; and in the same year he was nominated by Oriel to the living of Purleigh, in Essex, long associated with the headship of the college. A year later he was made Reader in Ecclesiastical History. The last was a truly congenial office, in which, like a well-instructed scribe, he began to draw out of his treasures things new and old. The courses of lectures which he had delivered up to the time of his death were, I believe, four: two smaller, on the Epistles of St. Clement and on the Carolingian Reformation; two larger, on the Early Liturgies and on the growth of Canon Law. Of all these lectures the rough copies remain, and may perhaps admit of publication, though there can be no doubt that he would have greatly improved and enlarged them if he had been spared. He was constantly at work upon them. For the lectures on Canon Law in particular he had amassed a great amount of material, drawing out in parallel columns all the extant versions of the early canons, and in many cases collating new MSS. of them. I rather question if Hatch was ever quite at his best in dealing with texts; but on the historical side his eye for minute changes and for indications of development was admirable. And the same power of concise and broad statement ran through all he did.

In 1888 he had on hand another important undertaking. It is very possible that in the future the Hibbert Lectures delivered in this year will take their place side by side with the Bampton in their influence upon the course of scientific inquiry. I was unfortunately prevented by illness from hear-

* See especially a letter quoted by Dr. Cheyne in the *Oxford Magazine* of Nov. 26th, 1889.

† The present writer has expressed his own opinion more fully in two articles in the *Academy*, 1889, March 2d, p. 152 f.; April 27th, p. 288 f.

ing more than one of the lectures, and I have not as yet had the opportunity of making any close study of them ; still it may be well perhaps to guard against a misapprehension that may arise in respect to them. The subject as announced by the publishers is "Greek Influence on Christianity." I should not be surprised if a sensitive Christian conscience were to look with suspicion upon such a title ; it might expect to see truths which it regards as fundamental explained away as expressions of Hellenism. Such fears appear to me groundless, and a robust faith will not, I think, be disturbed by them. Christianity itself is one thing, the outward expression of Christianity in forms of human thought and in human institutions is another. The one may change ; the other does not change. We feel that deep down throughout the ages there has been a principle at work which from time to time has clothed itself in a different garb, and which in consequence strikes the outward eye differently, but which is not more really affected by these variations than the human personality is affected by the various dressings which it assumes in different climates or at different seasons. Or perhaps some metaphor is needed which takes account of a still closer connection between form and substance. The body takes into itself and assimilates various kinds of food. It transmutes into its own substance things to all appearance utterly unlike itself. And the same process of transmutation and assimilation has been always going on in the Christian Church. No two ages are really alike, though a "natural piety" binds them all together. The "environment," to use a hackneyed term, is constantly changing ; and a process of absorption and adaptation takes place between the environment and that formative force, that principle of inner identity, which, like the vital germ, is transmitted throughout the descending series.

The relation of outward and inward is, no doubt, extremely subtle. It is often impossible to say where the one ends and the other begins. In the human frame we may lop off a limb or obliterate a feature, and the personal identity may remain uninjured ; but we may also do this once too often, and then the personal being itself sickens and dies. That which goes into the body may be weighed and analyzed, and that may bring us a step nearer to understanding how the body is composed ; but we shall still be a long way from having sounded all its spiritual activities. In like manner the conditions of society at any given time,

whether intellectual, moral, or social, may be described and investigated. This may help us to appreciate the way in which some new force moves among them ; it may help us to understand the manifestations of that force as it incorporates with itself first one and then another ; but it is a different thing to say that the force itself has been gauged or resolved into its elements. A wise man will hesitate long before he will make such an assertion.

It will perhaps be well to bear these considerations in mind when the Hibbert Lectures appear. Dr. Hatch, I feel sure, would wish them to be borne in mind, though he may perhaps have reserved for the unwritten preface the fuller statement of them. He would not have exaggerated the bearing of his own researches, interesting and penetrating as they doubtless are. He was following out, though I believe quite independently, a line of inquiry recently pursued with great vigour and acumen by his friend Harnack, who, in turn, I rather suspect, received his impulse from Ritschl. Similar investigations are in progress on more sacred ground still. Every year our knowledge seems to increase of the conditions at work, not only in the second and third centuries, but also in the first and in the pre-Christian epoch. We may, I think, welcome that knowledge. The temple itself had its court of the Gentiles and its court of Israel ; and yet the holy place was no less holy.

I have spoken of the larger works, published or to be published, which occupied Hatch during the period of less than a decade, which was all that was given him for mature production. I have said nothing of a host of articles, sermons, addresses, which flowed from his pen. To these must be added the hymns or sacred poems with which from time to time he found utterance for feelings not adequately expressed in any other way. A little volume of these has just been published,* and will touch the hearts of lovers of sacred poetry, besides giving a glimpse into the innermost life of the man. He was never idle ; at least, his only moments of idleness were those of sheer physical incapacity or exhaustion. This "poor little body," † which has been a sore trouble to scholars of all kinds from Origen downward, will have its revenges. Certainly *curare cutem* was no motto for Edwin Hatch. His daily exercise for a great part of the year did not extend beyond his walks

* *Towards Fields of Light. Sacred Poems.* By Rev. Edwin Hatch, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. Price 2s. 6d.)

† τὸ σωματίον : Origen ap. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iii. 9.

backwards and forwards to the Bodleian and to the Faculties' Office. His mornings were spent in study; his afternoons in meetings of boards and committees. Then there was the wear and tear involved in his double residence at Oxford and Purleigh. It is not surprising under the circumstances that he should have had symptoms of failing health. Composition, which as a rule came so readily, he found an effort. He tried to clear his brain by one or two hurried journeys to the continent, but with no great success. Still no one suspected serious mischief. He began the term's work as usual, taking an active part in the ceremonies of the opening of Mansfield College, in which he was warmly interested; but in about a fortnight he caught a chill, which he hoped soon to throw off. However heart attacks came on, which in a few days were complicated with pleurisy; and even those around him had hardly time to realize the danger when the end came, on the evening of Sunday, November 10th. Four days later the silent and mournful procession of friends from far and near—of friends who had stood in the ranks by his side, and of others, no less friends, who had stood in the ranks against him—was wending its way through the quiet Holywell churchyard. All around spoke of the peace which his strong, single-minded, wide-ranging spirit had found; and the tempered autumn radiance seemed also like a smile from heaven upon a career finished in the sight of God, whatever it might appear in the sight of men.

With that peace and with that radiance upon his grave let us leave him, with no querulous comparisons of the work done with that which seems to us undone. If we had not a Christian's faith to fall back upon, our hearts might well sink within us. Edersheim, Evans, Simcox, Hatch, Elmslie, Macfadyen, Lightfoot, all in one short year lost to English theology and to English religion; lost at a time when the noblest opportunities seemed to be within reach of both, and when the best and wisest seemed needed to guide us to the fitting use of them. This is not an ordering of events of which we can take the measure. But it is the ordering of One who has more instruments than we wot of in His armoury, and who trains the servants whom He leaves by the examples and by the teaching of those whom He has withdrawn.*

"All is best, though we oft doubt
What the unsearchable dispose
Of Highest Wisdom brings about,
And ever best found in the close."

SERPENTS IN THE WALL.

BY THEODORE L. CUYLER, D.D.

From *The Independent* (Congregational), New York, Feb. 27, 1890.

HUMAN life is not an open prairie, over which everybody may roam at will and do as he likes. Our Heavenly Father loves us too well to allow us to follow the devices and desires of our own depraved hearts. He has, therefore, fenced us around with his righteous and infallible Word; and some of the most vital portions of that Word are in the form of *commandments*. "Thou shalt" and "thou shalt not" are planted all along our pathway to define the limits between right and wrong—between what you may do and what you may never do. God never takes down his fences, or lowers them by a hand-breadth. Let the rose-water pulpits preach what they will, Sinai is not an extinct volcano in Bible theology. Churches may "revise" their Confessions of Faith as often as they choose, but the Almighty never allows his laws to be revised—or repealed. In these days we need more of the sacred authority of *law* in our homes, more enforcement of law in the community, more preaching of divine law in our pulpits and more "law work" in the conversion of souls who can represent and serve Jesus Christ by keeping his commandments. The very essence of sin is—breaking down or breaking through God's fences.

There is a verse in the Book of Ecclesiastes that is seldom thought of or preached about. The little verse (which every young man ought to copy into his memorandum-book) is this: "Whoso breaketh through a fence, a serpent shall bite him." I quote it from the Revised Version. Most Old Testament scholars are agreed that the reference is not to a hedge of bushes, but to a stone wall. It was the custom in Palestine to surround vineyards with a wall of stones, and these were a favorite haunt of snakes. The idea of this pungent text is that if any one undertook to break through the inclosure of his neighbor's vineyard, he might

* It may be mentioned that funds are being raised in memory of two of those to whom reference is made in this paragraph. That to the memory of Dr. Hatch is to be placed in the hands of trustees for the benefit of his widow and family. The subscriptions already received or promised amount to between £900 and £1,000. Further subscriptions will be gladly

acknowledged either by the Principal of St. Mary Hall, who is treasurer of the fund, or by the writer of this (at 12 Canterbury Road, Oxford), who is acting as secretary; or they may be paid into the Old Bank, Oxford. The treasurer of the fund in memory of Prof. Elmslie is Mr. G. Walter Knox, 16 Finsbury Circus, London, E.C.

find a sly policeman there in the shape of a snake ; and the bite of the snake would be deadly poison ! This is only a picturesque way of putting it that the “way of transgressors is hard,” and the “wages of sin is death.”

We commend this truth to those who are yet in the morning of life. Why ? Are counsels and sermons to them especially needed because the young are worse than those who are of older growth ? Nay, verily ; for in the biographies of Scripture many of the most flagrant offences—such as the drunkenness of Noah, the lecherous deeds of Lot and of David, the criminal parental conduct of Eli, and the sins of Solomon—were all committed by men advanced in life. No indictments recorded against youth could be worse than these. But the prime object of all preaching and teaching in a pulpit, or out of it, is *prevention*. A faithful warning, well heeded by the young, may save them from the bitter experiences of character corrupted or life hopelessly wrecked. A buoy well placed, a signal-lamp well lighted, is better than all the life-boats that may be launched when it is too late. Youth also is the period of ardent impulses and venturous risks. Commonly it is stronger at the engine than it is at the air-brakes. It is immensely important, therefore, to prevent young men from attempting to break through God’s fences, or even to loosen a stone in his divinely ordained walls.

Take, for example, the most familiar case of all—the temptation to tamper with intoxicants. An ounce of prevention is worth a ton of attempted cure. God has built up his solid barricades against alcoholic drinks that antedate all statutes of Prohibition ; with his statutes no legislature dare meddle ; just as soon attempt to repeal the law of gravitation. In the solid wall of Total Abstinence are immutable principles founded on the constitution of the human body and in the inherent qualities of all intoxicants. They are not needed by the healthy ; they seldom cure the sick ; they involve the risk of damnation to body and soul. On the forefront of the wall of abstinence God has kindly hung this warning : “Look thou not upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth its color in the cup, when it goeth down smoothly ; at the last it biteth like a serpent and stingeth like an adder.” Yet in spite of all warnings, millions of young men venture to break through this fence, with the reckless hope that they will dodge the adder. But when the poison of that serpent once gets into the blood and the brain it is a desperate battle for life ; and where the

grace of God gives one John B. Gough the victory, the vast majority of the fence-breakers die of the venomous bite. My friend, never loosen a pebble from that wall !

What is true of intoxicants is equally true in regard to the indulgence of all sensual appetites. The Creator has built a solid barrier of *chastity* ; everything beyond that wall, whether it be the lustful look or the wanton wish, involves licentiousness. It is infinitely easier to keep clean than it is to wash off the impurities from a soul once polluted. No man or woman, young or old, can venture to dislodge a single stone from the wall of purity, but *out darts the serpent !* Upon that inclosure the divine hand has written the solemn but loving admonition : “Can a man take fire in his bosom and his clothes not be burned ? Can he walk upon hot coals and his feet not be scorched ?”

What a melancholy uniformity there is in all the newspaper announcements of defalcation, and bank-plunderings, and embezzlements of trust funds ! They all read alike ; and nearly all of them began in the same way. The clerk, the cashier, the trustee, commenced his criminal career by picking out the mortar between the stones in God’s law of honesty. He promised himself that he would replace the stone after he had moved it ; or, if he got through the fence, he would soon slip back again undetected. But the serpent was too quick for him. Before he knew it, the viper’s fang had fastened itself upon his treacherous hand ! In every counting-room, and bank, and place of traffic, ought to be written up the Eighth Commandment and the Golden Rule ; and beneath them the pithy proverb, “Whoso breaketh through this fence, a serpent shall sting him.”

There are two kinds of fences that I must briefly allude to before closing this “sermonette.” The one is the inclosure that every wise, godly parent builds around his own household. And it is not to be constructed either of nothing but sharp pickets of prohibition. The daily *example* of Father and Mother, the whole daily *home-influence* ought to be a solid and beneficent barrier, strong enough to shut *in*, and also to shut *out*. When a son or daughter does break through such fences of loving parental authority, woe be to them ! The parable of the Prodigal Son is the story of a fence-breaker ; and it is not every transgressor that sets his face homeward again, or has such a loving parent to extract the poison of the serpent’s bite. What the home is to the child, the Church of Christ is (or ought to be) to its every member. Its walls mark a distinct

separation from the customs, practices and spirit of the outlying world. The pure commandments of Jesus Christ are written on every stone. Inside of that fold is safety, peace and spiritual power; outside of it prowls the wolf. To every Christian who has ever entered the inclosures of Christ's love and vowed fidelity to his Master, comes this tenderly solemn warning—"Whoso breaketh through this wall, the serpent shall sting him!"

METHODIST LITERATURE.

ADDRESS BY THE REV. J. M. BUCKLEY, D.D.

From *The Christian Advocate* (Methodist), New York, Feb. 20, 1890.

WHEN Methodism arose it needed a literature for explanation, for defence, for propagation, and for instruction. For explanation, because it was misunderstood; for defence, because it was assaulted and traduced; for propagation, because its ministers were itinerant, and the supply inadequate to the need; for instruction, because its converts were generally uneducated, especially in the principles of religion. Nor did the need diminish as the Denomination grew in numbers, activity, and social position. An illustration from a later period may suffice. At first it affiliated with the American Tract Society and the American Sunday-School Union; but their publications were exclusively Calvinistic, and became germs of doctrinal discord. This gave rise to the formation of our own Tract Society and Sunday-School Union. The more discussion the more inquiry; hence the demand for publications to remove misunderstandings, satisfy curiosity, and unify opinion.

The system of government and administration is complex, its appointments for transient periods, its conferences of frequent occurrence. Times and seasons depending upon personal arrangement are liable to frequent revision and change, the usages of the Denomination numerous and peculiar, all of which required communications, constant, full, and authoritative, to both pastors and people. Besides, the type of religious experience being devotional and emotional to an unusual degree, demanded for its perpetuation and cultivation an unusual amount of easily assimilated religious reading, of all things the most difficult to produce and consequently to procure. Methodism was compelled to create from its indigenous resources the greater part of its essential nutriment for the spiritual life, and to edit what it re-

printed from other Denominations. Such supplies were all the more important because of the great use made of local preachers, the ignorance of many of the travelling preachers, and the necessity of class-leaders, all of whom were required to give instruction in spiritual things.

Another function subserved by Methodist literature was to develop a class of competent writers, and to afford them a market for their literary products. This was of much greater importance in the beginning than it is now; for Methodists, except in the case of men of transcendent intellect and conspicuous position, were ostracized, or at best satirized. Also printing and publication establishments were comparatively few, and access to the people was correspondingly difficult. To-day Methodist writers of ability can reach the best minds in the Denomination and the public at large through magazines, books, and the press generally. Nor, when they write upon general subjects, do they suffer in the popular estimate materially because of their Denominational views, gaining sometimes as much consideration from publishers and editors because of the great constituency supposed to be interested in them, as they lose in some directions because of the monopoly of literary culture which certain circles still affect, it being, however, rather a reminiscence than an actual possession.

Methodist literature, therefore, naturally classifies itself into that produced by Methodists upon Methodism for its use, and that published by the Church for its own purposes. Its most conspicuous function is to furnish regular Denominational supplies; and if we construct the pyramid philosophically, at the base are the *doctrinal* works. It has published and kept continually on hand the Works of John Wesley, the American edition consisting of seven volumes, two of which comprise the sermons and the rest miscellanies. These miscellaneous works are paralleled in interest only by Boswell's "Life of Johnson," between which there is vastly more similarity than any who have not critically read both would imagine. Watson's "Institutes" and "Sermons," the former subject to proper deduction for the errors of his time, illustrating in a high degree Emerson's idea of good writing, which is "to see clearly and state lucidly." Fletcher's "Checks and Miscellaneous Writings," useful to a past generation of Methodists, and by no means obsolete yet; and Pope's great though peculiar work upon "Theology."

Of "Commentaries" it has produced a

host. Benson, once widely used. Adam Clarke, unabridged, in six sturdy volumes; abridged, and with a new personality introduced, by Daniel Curry. Whedon's "Commentary," containing as its presiding genius the best thought of the acute and vigorous intellect of its editor; the painstaking work of a Hunter; the last great work of a Newhall; the scholarly annotations of Professor Terry; besides excellent work by Drs. Daniel Steele, J. K. Burr, A. B. Hide, Henry Bannister, F. D. Hemenway, and F. G. Hibbard. Nor must I forget the work to which thousands of ministers and laymen in the prime of life owe so much for instruction received in the formative period, Longking's "Notes on the Gospels," which had a definiteness and grasp not always found in more modern publications.

Speaking generally, we may say that the Book Concern has published a large majority of the works included in the Conference Studies ordered by the Bishops, under the instruction of the General Conference, to be used by the local and travelling ministers in preparation for the examinations on which their promotion and ordination depend. Akin to these works are the great *histories* by which it is possible for succeeding generations to say reverently: "We have heard with our ears, O Lord, our fathers have told us what works Thou didst in their days, in the times of old." Of these that of Nathan Bangs is forcible because he was so great a part of what he describes; while the more elaborate, artistic, and jubilant volumes of Abel Stevens remain as a priceless possession, having the power of instruction, and at the same time stimulating to a holy imitation and emulation the hearts of those who read them. Besides these there are many local histories and abridgments which have done for the Denomination what similar works do for the country.

In the domain of *biography* the productions of Methodism have been numerous, and the sales immense in the aggregate. Nor is it possible to overestimate the beneficent influence of properly written religious biographies. Of course, discriminating persons know that absolutely truthful biographies are not written, because of the limitations of human nature as to knowledge, space, and the effects of personal bias. But they perpetuate ideals and furnish inspiring models; and in religious biographies, if the type of excellence sometimes discourages, it may tend to the natural working out of what is possible to the reader, even though he loses all hope of becoming exactly what he admires in the portraiture before him.

When the biography is that of a person with whom we have been contemporaneous, its intellectual effect is not to be despised, for the mind continually compares its own impressions with the lineaments depicted upon the page.

Meanwhile stupendous masses of *Sabbath-school* literature of the most varying degrees of ability, from the highest to such as on another occasion it would be proper to criticise adversely, have been poured forth, teaching the young idea how to shoot, sometimes at a mark, sometimes without a mark, but upon the whole much better adapted to the purpose than would result from promiscuous selections.

The *periodical* literature of the Church deserves separate treatment. The *Methodist Magazine* is not known to the present generation, and when taken from the shelves where it has reposed, by the grandchildren of those who read it, its contents seem singularly dry and remote from the spirit of this age. This impression, however, passes away when the time that it appeared and its purpose are taken into the account. It gave place to the *Quarterly Review*, which, after various mutations under the universally accomplished M'Clinck; the subtle, tenacious, witty, and versatile Whedon, and the intellectually athletic, yet agile Curry, is at the present time, as a bi-monthly under the editorship of Dr. Mendenhall, enjoying a larger circulation than it ever had, and being in the midst of an unfinished polemical conflict upon recondite principles of criticism, is attracting more attention than has been given to it for many years. *The Ladies' Repository*, begun before the great development of magazine literature, for a number of years filled an important place; but restricted in competition with outside enterprise, and modified by the changed relation of women to society and to public discussion, gradually declined. Prior to this period the attempt had been made to publish a general magazine, under the name of the *National Magazine*. As might have been foreseen, this periodical failed, not for want of ability in its editor, nor speaking generally in its contributors, but for want of adaptability. The demand for it as it was was not sufficient, and it was not available as a supply for a different demand. The transforming of *The Ladies' Repository* into the *National Repository* was another attempt of a Denominational publishing house to furnish a popular magazine regardless of past experiences, handicapped with fatal defects and incompetencies, in competition with the most extraordinary

development of modern times, sustained by lavish outlays, catering to every taste, managed with consummate ability, and paid for on a scale that would be destructive to the necessary simplicity of a religious management.

The *weekly periodicals* of the Church are in their circulation the admiration of the religious world, and as they are so frequently seen must be left to speak for themselves. It is sufficient to affirm that without them it would be impossible to carry forward the work of the Church efficiently; and if left exclusively to undenominational or private supplies, a plentiful sowing of dragon's teeth would be likely. The existence of unofficial and undenominational publications, and the freedom of speech exercised, and consequent diversity of opinions held by the management of the official press upon all subjects, except the fundamentals of Methodism, make it certain that everything that should be will be heard.

The *limitations* of a Denominational literature are that the general public will invariably consider the institution a part of Methodist machinery, and infer therefore that what it publishes is primarily for the use of Methodists, and its imprint will constantly confirm that impression. So that, from a commercial point of view, what is its chief strength is of necessity an element of restriction. Of course, all works of fiction of a purely sentimental character, especially those that are sensational, and whose sales run up into the hundreds of thousands, are excluded from the list; and the notoriety, not to say fame, which the house would obtain by their publication, and which is of immense business value to many other houses, is not within the reach of the Book Concern. No intelligent person, however, regards what is essential to the accomplishment of the end he has in view in the light of an undesirable limitation.

Naturally the demands of its customers would lead it to a considerable extent into the general book trade; and it has published, in the aggregate, an immense number of works of travel, harmless fiction, general biography, history, science, and has done a large amount of business, of which the Chautauqua publications may serve as an illustration. The number of works in its General Catalogue is several thousand, many of which are of the highest grade intellectually, and of these but specimens can be mentioned. The travels of Dr. Durbin and the works of Stephen Olin in their time attracted great attention, as did Thomson's "Essays: Educational, Moral, and Relig-

ious," and his "Evidences of Religion." Whedon "On the Will," by the comparatively few who were competent to comprehend it, and patient enough to read it, has been placed upon the shelf by the side of that most potential work "On the Will" by Jonathan Edwards, as representing a battle of two schools and two intellectual giants.

Among the more recent works which have attained a high place are Hurst's "History of Rationalism" and "Bibliotheca Theologica;" notably Harmon's "Introduction to the Study of the Scriptures," Terry's "Hermeneutics," and Professor Bennett's great work on "Christian Archæology." Professor Bowne first commanded attention by his "Philosophy of Herbert Spencer" and "Studies in Theism." Mrs. Amelia E. Barr, continually increasing in reputation as a writer in pure fiction, reached a large constituency of readers through three of her stories published by this house, and many other entertaining and elevating romances for the young, of which "A Damsel of the Nineteenth Century" is a type of the best. Nor should the great work of Dr. Dorchester, "Christianity in the United States from the First Settlement Down to the Present Time," and that smaller but very important publication by the same author, "The Problem of Religious Progress," be omitted. The house is at the present time engaged in publishing the life-work of Bishop Foster in a series of volumes upon Theology, which, if completed according to the plan, will constitute a library in themselves. Not in the whole course of its history has it published works of a higher grade intellectually and critically than within the past few years.

Ready to adapt itself to modern methods, it established a Subscription-Book Department, through which an immense number of most useful books have been sold. "The People's Cyclopedia," which is being constantly revised, and has received the highest commendation and very little adverse criticism, of which so far as true its editors availed themselves at once, correcting the errors and supplying the defects pointed out, has already reached the enormous sale of 102,000 copies, which at the ordinary retail price would amount to \$1,550,000.

Since the purchase of the plates of Ridpath's "History of the United States," 150,000 copies have been sold; while his "History of the World," more recently published, has reached a sale of 65,000, which, in the absence of more elaborate works, is useful to the people. Dr. Dorchester's book on the "Liquor Problem" has had a wide sale

through the same department, and at the present time "The People's Cyclopaedia," "History of the World," and of the "United States," each average a sale of nearly one thousand copies per month.

For a hundred years Methodism has kept its presses at work. You have already heard from the Senior Agent something of the extent of the business. In all these years nothing irreligious has been printed; nothing immoral; everything adapted to promote the interests of the country, and of the individual citizen. Successive generations of Methodist writers have been raised up under the influence of the spirit of Methodist literature. Many of them are still in the Denomination; and men of brilliant qualities and attainments, who fill important spheres connected with other Denominations, or of a purely literary character, are sons and grandsons of those who were educated chiefly through the influence of Methodist literature, without which, and the moral effects of its religious services, they might have been in ignorance and obscurity.

It is this literature which fills seminaries and colleges with students. Without it those who direct the education of the young would either have no interest in intellectual culture, or divert those whom they influenced to other sources of instruction.

But perhaps the greatest work accomplished by Methodist literature has been to counteract the natural tendencies of strong religious emotion to fanaticism. Without it the holy fervor inspired by the first preachers would have run into excesses pernicious to the mind and heart and the body, and instead of being to-day coherent, progressive, and stable, Methodism would be dead or dying.

FEDERATION OF CHURCHES TO SECURE THAT THE GOSPEL BE PREACHED TO EVERY CREATURE.

BY JAMES McCOSH, EX-PRESIDENT OF PRINCETON COLLEGE.

From *The Christian Union*, New York, Feb. 6, 1890.

I AM much gratified to learn that the attention of the editor of *The Christian Union* has been directed to some scattered remarks that I have made on a Federation of Churches, and that he has asked me to write out my views more fully.

"Go ye into all the world, and preach the

gospel to every creature." This command was given by our Lord to the Eleven, between his resurrection and ascension, when he was giving instructions to his Apostles as to the institution of the Church he was establishing. This command is binding on the Church as a Church, on every individual church, and on every professing Christian. Nearly nineteen centuries have run their course, and yet this command has not been fulfilled. All this precious time has been allowed, and there are hundreds of millions of responsible creatures to whom the message has not been delivered. I am not in this paper to speak of heathen countries, but of the thousands in every great city and the hundreds in many of our rural districts in this Christian country who have no Bible, no Sabbath, and no one to care for their souls. A heavy responsibility lies on all of us for this state of things.

Multitudes of earnest people are asking, How are we to meet the evil? The common answer is, Let every church do its duty, let every Christian do his duty. This is a right, but it is not a sufficient, answer. All evangelical churches are at present active, but the work is not done. No one individual, no one church, has done the work; no one church can do the whole work. There is need of mutual understanding, of fraternal conferences, and of hearty co-operation.

The expressed wish and hope of most Christians is to have this work done by the union of all the evangelical churches. "That they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I thee, that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me" (John xvii. 21). There is a sense, and a high sense, in which the Church is now one and has always been one—it is one in Christ. "There is one body and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all" (Eph. iv. 4-6). But the churches are not visibly one, so as to lead men to believe in Christ being sent, and they do not co-operate.

It was my privilege, some years ago, to start a movement in Philadelphia which, by the active co-operation of people in Europe and America, has culminated in an alliance of all the Presbyterian churches in England, Scotland, and Ireland, on the Continent of Europe, in Australia and the British Colonies, in the United States and Canada. I have been asked once and again whether I would join in an effort to bring all our evangelical churches into a visible unity. I de-

clared my anxiety to have such a measure carried, but have declined taking any active steps to further it, as I see that the churches are in no way prepared to sanction it. I do not inquire which of the churches is to blame for this state of feeling, or whether all of them are, so far, to blame. Certainly all are to blame which are not prepared to unite on a footing of equality and which insist on all others being absorbed into their own body.

But meanwhile I am pained and perplexed more than I can tell to find that, in consequence, to a large extent, of the separation of the churches, the Lord's command has not been carried out, and the Gospel preached to every creature. I feel as if at the judgment day some one might stand up and plead against us: "It is not my fault that I am not in your company, or on the right hand of the throne of God, for while there were churches and ministers all around me enjoying the rich consolations of religion, no one ever told me that the Son of the Highest came into the world to save sinners."

So I have been anxiously pondering the question whether, prior to our reaching a full union of the churches, there might not be a practical means of bringing them to such a union as to have our Lord's command obeyed. If we cannot yet have an *Incorporation*, let us have a *Federation*. We have a model to guide us in the Constitution of the United States, which was founded, I think, so far on the Constitution of the Church, and from which we may borrow some things in drawing out a plan of church co-operation.

It may turn out that Christian co-operation is the best, is in fact the appointed, means of consummating church union. "If any will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God" (John vii. 17). In doing the will of God, in preaching the Gospel everywhere, Christians and churches will be brought into a unity of faith and doctrine. The churches in working together will come to know each other better and love each other more. The blessed issue will be that by this shall all men know that we are His disciples, by our love one toward another. In this, rather than in any external forms, the unity of the Church consists. This visible love is to be one main means of leading the world to believe that God hath in love sent his Son into the world to save sinners.

The plan which I propose does not interfere with the arrangements of any church. It does not profess to be a church organization; it is simply a provision by which each

church, adhering to its own constitution, may carry out the will of the Master. The Episcopal clergyman is still under his bishop, the Presbyterian minister is still under his presbytery or classis, and the Congregational pastor has the benefit of the advice of a council. While this paper is passing through the press I am happy to find that in the Presbyterian Church the Committee of Conference with the Protestant Episcopal Commission on Church Union have "unanimously determined to recommend that the Assembly declare its desire for a Federation of the Evangelical Churches of the land, and invite the other church organizations to arrange for a conference at which such a measure shall be considered and, if practicable, consummated."

It is in thorough accordance with the history of Christianity. It is well known that when the Church was becoming widely spread it divided the country into districts or parishes, and appointed a person to take an oversight of each. It can be shown that this was one of the means by which Christianity became diffused through every city, town, village, and rural district of Europe. The system continues to this day, and when the church is left free and the minister is faithful, it has many advantages. I can say so from experience, as I was a parish minister for sixteen years. In one of my parishes I had a colleague and upward of fourteen hundred communicants, and there were several dissenting ministers in the town. Every man, woman, and child in a parish of six thousand was carefully looked after, and there were not a dozen people who did not attend the house of God on the Sabbath.

In the United States we have a different state of things. There the parochial system has very much disappeared. The minister feels that his charge is mainly over those who attend his church, wherever they may reside. Some feel as if they have no responsibility beyond their own people, and think that they do enough when they minister faithfully to them. There are others who do evangelistic or missionary work, but as all do not, and there is no system, there are many and large districts, both in town and country, which are neglected and allowed to sink into heathenism and vice.

Now the Federation, such as I suggest, is adapted to this state of things. It allows every pastor to attend specially to his own people, and to do good wherever he can. But meanwhile it allots a district, say of five hundred, or one thousand or two thousand, to every evangelical minister who is willing to undertake it. His business is to secure

that the glad tidings are made known to all, to young and old. The minister may do this himself, or more frequently he will do it with the help of others. He should have lay assistants, male and female, elders, deacons, deaconesses, Sabbath-school teachers; and large congregations should have competent paid assistants. The advantage of this system is that, without infringing on the rights of any church or individual, we secure that Christ's command is obeyed, the glad tidings of salvation are made known to every creature even in our poorest and most outcast districts. Christians are bound to find a way by which this end may be secured, and I have sought in vain for any other plan by which the end is sure to be accomplished.

I do not claim any merit in this scheme. There is no originality in it. Some such method has occurred to hundreds—only it has not been carried out. But I have to insist on one provision being made in the scheme, and it is the only peculiarity that I claim for it. As so long a parish minister, I know and have felt the aversion of those who have parochial charges to allow other laborers to enter their district. In this advanced age all such restrictions must be removed. There is to be a minister to take the oversight of a parish, but he is not to hinder another minister from visiting his people in that district or otherwise doing good in it—say, setting up a Sunday-school or even building a church in it. This is an essential part of the measure I propose. I can conceive that good may arise from such a stimulus. Even in the Romish Church the monk was encouraged to enter the parish of the lazy priest and do good. In the European countries the dissenters stir up the parish ministers. There must be full liberty to every man to do good where he can. While all this is allowed, people generally will be disposed to help rather than hinder the parish minister, who will find an abundant field of usefulness. At all events, this liberty must be allowed in the plan if it is to be successful. Without this it will not be listened to for a moment.

But here the question is raised—and it is a difficult, indeed the only difficult, one—With whom is the division into parishes and the appointment of the ministers for the district to be made? This is a subject on which there is need of careful consideration, kind conference, and discussion.

Much of the work might be done spontaneously by pastors. Feeling the work to be beyond their individual strength, they will be ready to call in others to act with them. One says, I will take this district

and you will take that. Much may be done in this way without any authoritative superintendence. It has occurred to me that, when ministers over-jealous for their denomination cannot agree, pious laymen, accustomed to contribute to the schemes of the churches, might say, We cannot give to every sectarian scheme; let us agree upon a distribution of the work, and let all fall in with it.

But if nothing more than this is done, I fear that there will be gaps, and regions between the parishes abandoned to heathenism. If it can be done, it is desirable to have an advisory (not an authoritative) power, to divide the city or rural district, or, if possible, the whole country, into parishes, and allot the agents to each.

The Evangelical Alliance might surely aid in this work, might so far guide (not control) it. It has sometimes been objected to the Alliance that it is a talking and not a working body. I do not join in that objection, but if it can be induced to take a part in the practical work proposed the objection will be felt no longer. The President of the American Branch of the Alliance, as an individual, favors the proposed scheme. I cherish the hope that the whole body may countenance it, in entire consonance with its fundamental principle of not interfering with the churches. The American branch might appoint a commission or committee to organize this work, and combine the ministers in conducting it. The local branches would each have a work here in which they might do unbounded good, and have unbounded pleasure in doing it.

I fear that all churches and all ministers will not agree to participate in this movement, and this because of denominational zeal, insisting that the world must be converted by their own sect. But if all will not join, I hope a number may. If so, let them begin the work in some city or country district, all the while inviting and alluring others to join them. If there be a denomination which cannot get others to join it, let it proceed to divide the district into parishes and ask one of its own ministers to take charge of each. If there be a branch of the Church which will not join with any other, I should grieve over the narrowness, but I would say to it, Divide the country for yourselves, and as you do so you may find the work of preaching the Gospel to every creature to be too great, and you may be led to call in others. If the plan cannot be carried out at once in every part of the country, let it be commenced at once in a district where the Christian ministers are prepared for it:

It will be a recommendation of the measure, in the view of many ministers, that when they visit in these parishes the people will be more likely to come to their church than to any other. There is to be no compulsion, but there is a moral suasion here which is allowable, and may be very effective.

As so long a parish minister, I might give many details as to the practicability of the plan. But enough for the present.

LIBERTY OF THE CHRISTIAN LIFE.*

A SERMON.

BY THE REV. PHILLIPS BROOKS, D.D.

From *The Christian Union*, New York, March 6, 1890.

"If the Son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed."—St. John viii., 36.

Two truths, I hope, came to us yesterday, and have abided with us ever since. In the first place, the truth that every man must advance through liberty, and not through servitude. There is absolutely no creative power in slavery. Slavery may keep a man from certain temptations or certain dangers, but it never can create in him the power of life. Therefore the hope of the world is not in deeper servitude, but in richer liberty. It is not by casting men into dungeons, but by bringing them forth into the open air, that the perfection of human life is to be attained. And this truth: that every man stands on the brink of greater, richer, and more divine things than he ordinarily apprehends. There are chambers in every man's life which are not open, but which are just ajar and all ready to be opened, on which the touch may fall at any moment. When those two truths come together and force themselves into the channel of a man's life, then that man's life is renewed, and the man is born again. Then, moving toward freedom and not toward slavery, looking toward enfranchisement and not toward greater restraint, he anticipates the coming into his life of the power of God, preparing that life to receive the truth of God; having the great revelation of the Incarnation, that God came into our human life to make known to it this saving freedom.

I would that, as I look over this multitude of men, I could know that every one of us had this power in him, making him capable of greater things. However he has

lived thus far, however sure he is that that which is gone was but the exercise of some of his lower and meaner powers, he is conscious at this moment that there are greater powers which may be used and larger chambers which may be opened.

If I could know that of every one of you, my hearers, I should go in great hopefulness into the time which I may occupy in speaking to you of the subject which I am to dwell upon to-day—that is, the Power of Liberation which comes to a man, and that power in Christ the Son of God.

I cannot speak of liberty on two mornings, certainly, without speaking of Christ as the Great Liberator, the Power of Liberation that comes into the human life. And I want to try to point you this morning to the power of Christ, by which he liberates the human soul and sends it forth into this larger destiny.

I am glad to speak of Christ, my Master, thus, because so often in Christendom it has seemed as if Christ were the enslaver of mankind, as if he went among men as he went through the temple, with a lash, rebuking men simply for their iniquities; as if he were continually uttering the great "Thou shalt not" of prohibition, telling men what they must not do, and rebuking them for their wrong acts. This is but the subordinate message of him who comes to us with the Gospel of Christianity. His great message is that of freedom and of a larger life; and every breaking away of any one from slavery, as I hope we shall see, is but the preliminary to the opening of some larger chamber of the human life.

I remind you once more of what I said yesterday, that this is absolutely true of every man. Away with every thought in our minds that would seem to indicate that the promise of the divine life belongs only to certain select men! It belongs to every man, or to no man. And therefore, because I do know that it belongs to many men, because I humbly know that it belongs to one man, I dare to speak to every fellow-man whom I may address, and tell him it belongs to him.

What shall we say, then, when we speak of Christ as the Liberator of mankind—Christ the great Giver of liberty?

We say, in the first place, that it is absolutely impossible that any man shall give to another man that which he does not himself possess; that it is impossible that any man shall open the prison door from the inside, unless he have the key in his own hand. But One comes from the outside, from the region of liberty, and opens the prison doors

* Address delivered at Trinity Church, New York, Tuesday, February 25, 1890, being the second in a series of Lenten talks to business men. Stenographically reported for *The Christian Union* by A. B. Cook.

to those who are shut up within. Therefore, when we think of the liberty which Christ gives, and of the larger life which Christ opens to us, we think, first of all, of the liberty which belongs to *him*.

Look back with me to that Figure that stands far away in history, and which, as we look upon it, seems to come down through all the distant ages of history, from the time in which he lived, until he is present here in our own time. I do not ask you to go away from our modern life, from our nineteenth century city, with its great tumult, that you may find the Christ. I ask you only to look there, in the distance, that you may see what he was and what he forever is, and see all the story which is written for us in the Gospels, and see what the power of the Gospel is in our own time and place.

When I attempt to enumerate the instances, the special forms, in which the liberty of Jesus Christ, in that wonderful life of his, shows itself to us, it seems to me that, in the first place, I dwell upon his absolute freedom from that which is holding multitudes of us in some sort of slavery to-day. I marvel, when I look back to Jesus Christ, turning my eyes suddenly from our modern life, to see there a figure absolutely free from those ambitions and that covetousness which are absorbing so much of our life. Christ cares absolutely nothing for riches or for luxury. Do you realize, my friends, the difference in which that sets him from our daily life, and yet the way in which it brings him to our deeper thought and understanding? He cares nothing for those things that we are perpetually pursuing.

There have been others who have indicated to us something of that sort of freedom. There have been noble men in every time who have given us revelations that these things which are holding our thoughts and our time and all our faculties are not really the things which are material. There is always a liberating power when a man comes to be among us and is free from the slavery of those things to which we were enchained; when a man, not by any mere discontent or peevishness, nor by inability to avail himself of them, but because his life is so rich without them, does without the things which it seems to us we could not possibly do without. Have you seen the man here in your own community to whom the things which you deeply valued were as nothing—absorbed in some deep issues of sound philosophy; aroused, enkindled to some noblest generosity; lifted up to the heights of some large philanthropy? Has it not stirred deep

questions in your mind when such a man, absolutely liberated, has taken from his shoulders, as though unconscious of the load which he was throwing away, that burden which we are carrying every day—the burden of the riches and luxury of human life?

The wonder of Jesus Christ, in the first place, is that that human nature, absolutely and truly human, was absolutely free from all such desires. It was not that they are desires that belong to modern times. It was not that they are ambitions that have been generated in the midst of our modern commercial and social life, and that they did not belong in Jerusalem. I think that we sometimes fancy to ourselves that the people of Jerusalem cared nothing for these things. Jerusalem was a great commercial city. It was a rich city. There were rich men in Jerusalem just as there are rich men in New York to-day. There were men whose desire was to add to their money, to increase their hoard, just exactly as there are such men here in your metropolis now. There were camels waiting at the needle's eye to see whether they might not by some strange wonder pass through into the kingdom of God, carrying their covetousness with them. In the midst of these there walks the figure of Jesus Christ, absolutely free from their desires. I find nothing of scornfulness of wealth in Jesus. I find nothing of any vulgar scorn with regard to the exercise of man's powers which gather around man the comforts of life. But I do find in him an absolute freedom from any slavery to the comforts or luxuries or the abundances of life. More than that, I do seem to see him putting his hand into the very heart of this desire for riches, and plucking out everything valuable and true, and keeping that. All the noble vitality of man, all the richness of man's intercourse with his brethren—all *that* he would keep, but the covetousness after riches he is absolutely independent of and free from.

Then, when I would go on from that, I find another freedom from slavery in Jesus. There comes another part of the richness of his life. He is absolutely free from the thralldom of sin, because life is so rich and interesting to him.

I think (and you will perhaps agree with me) that some of you could furnish me with illustrations out of your own experience that perhaps I will not be able to furnish you out of mine. I think that one of the reasons why men hold to sin, why men go on in habits which they themselves despise, is that they are somehow afraid that there does not lie outside of that region of life anything

that would interest them in vitality. They think of the old phrase that has been tossed to and fro upon the lips of men in all these years, when the young man has called it "seeing life," when he has gone into the depths of iniquity, when he has waded through the mire and slime of every profligate and degraded habit. There is just exactly the key to what I mean. A young man calls that thing "seeing life."

What did Jesus Christ call "seeing life?" He lifted up his eyes and looked abroad, and life was full of the spirit of his Father, and intensely interesting to him, absorbing in every direction. There never came a fear to him lest, if he were not profligate, abandoning his life to luxury and idleness and sin, the world would pall upon him, and there would be nothing left for him to do—nothing left for those hands that were forever being claimed by human need; nothing left for those feet that were forever being summoned to errands which they could not refuse, in order to accomplish which they must leave everything else behind; nothing left for those eyes to see, when there was the deeper truth of God's love and the deeper depth of human nature for them to be looking into every moment.

Ah, my friends, if there is any delusion in a man's soul that Jesus Christ dispels, is it not that—that life has no interest apart from profligacy, frivolity, and sin? He who knows the true interest of life enters into the freedom of Christ, and leaves the stains behind him slipping from his garments, and goes forth into the full light of the freedom of God.

Then, I think another of the great freedoms of Jesus was his freedom from those things which are perpetually holding us down because they are so subtle and deep—the freedom from the ordinary traditions of society. Jesus stepped right across the traditions of Jerusalem. And yet—is it not wonderful?—have you ever thought how there is in Jesus not the least sign of defiance? He is not one of your light-blooded people who think that virtue consists in defying the conventionalities by which a man is surrounded. That is purely negative. There was the absolutely positive in Jesus Christ; and because he was absorbed in those truths which lie at the very bottom of all things, he could afford to be regardless of the traditions which had come down and which constituted so much of the life of the men that were around him. Jesus was the great radical. Why? Because he was truly conservative. Conservatism and radicalism, far as they seem to be from one another

upon the surface of our life, come together and meet and are one at the bottom of our life. No man can be a true conservative who has not hold upon the fundamental principles and the eternal truths of the universe; and no man can be a real radical who is not preserving those truths and insisting that in them lies the perpetuity of human happiness and human goodness.

Another wonderful thing about Christ is that in his day he was the disturber of things; but what is he to-day? The revolutionary man seems to see Christ having no share in his disturbances; and the conservative man, as we call him—the man who desires the perpetuity of society, who is apt to call himself a Christian—simply gives all the solid conservatism that is in his life to the Church of Jesus Christ, which was once the most radical and disturbing element in our human society. What is it to-day but very often the home into which old abuses creep and where men keep themselves quiet and dumb and blind from seeing the flagrant enormities and the prevalent needs of the time? There is the difference between the Church of to-day and the Church of Christ in his day, who carried the Church within his own divine and human bosom; who could defy the traditions by which he was surrounded, simply because he had his peculiar abiding-place within the truths of which those traditions pretended to be the embodiments, and of which they were very often the corruptions and the misrepresentations.

And so, everywhere, Jesus, as we may say in a more general way, is able to be free from the circumstances of life because he is bound to the character of life; is free from regarding the circumstances of human kind. It is no effort to Jesus when he goes down the Jerusalem street this morning and speaks to the poor man as kindly as to the rich man, and habitually gives to the despised man and the profligate and the sinner just as courteous a welcome as that which he addresses to the scribe and Pharisee who pay him their morning compliments. And so, because he has entered into the higher region of men, because he knows them by their character, I can see the difference come into that perfect face as he meets the man who is all mean and base and hypocritical, and then looks into the sunny countenance of him who is so open and frank that he has nothing to hide from all the world. Character is absolutely clear to Jesus, and that is the reason why the difference in circumstances is nothing to him. And, my friend, you will never, in any artificial way, escape from

the slavery of circumstances. You will never escape from that slavery until you get into some such intense valuation of character as belonged to Jesus Christ. Jesus Christ lived in the spirit of true democracy. Why? Because human nature opened itself to him in its fulness and variety, and he saw men as they were. Therefore no mere outward disguise, no habit in which they walked among their fellow-men, could have any significance to him. There is no absolute equality of men; but not because some men are rich and some are poor, not because some men are famous and some despised. There is no absolute equality of men, because the range of human character is everlastingly various and different. There is no difference between the poor man and the rich man; but there is an everlasting difference between the bad man and the good man. It is only by entering into the depths of moral distinctions, and their profound and hidden meaning, that man escapes from that slavery which cringes to the one and bullies over the other, and makes him thoroughly the slave of the men whom he thinks at the time he is making his subjects and his slaves.

Now, these are the services, the liberations, of Jesus. And don't you see how radical and how true they are; how every one of them has this peculiarity about it, that he who enters into the liberty escapes from slavery by entering into the liberty? Jesus Christ escapes from the slavery of money and of luxury, because his soul is absorbed in the eternal plans of God. He escapes from the slavery of the lusts and passions, because his whole nature is always taken up with the nobleness and positiveness of righteousness. He escapes from the traditions of his people, because he lives in the eternal truths of God; and he escapes from circumstances because he lives in character. Jesus Christ is positive, and not negative. Liberty, and not slavery, you see entirely in his escape.

I love to think of that calm figure, walking majestically, because it is so absolutely calm, through the perplexed and troubled and feverish streets, as if he stood to-day and rebuked you—why? Not for doing the things which you are doing; not for being occupied with the details of life which have been thrust into your hands, and which you have constantly to do with: but for being the slaves where you ought to be the masters; for being ruled by the things which you ought to have under your control. Here he stands, the poor Christ, the calm Christ, the simple Christ, in the midst of our riches

and our agitation and our complexity and our artificialness and our slowness of life. Here he stands; and you have come to worship him this morning. What must it mean, my friends? What must it mean that you rich men have come and bowed down here before the poor Jesus Christ? What must it mean that you have come out of your gorgeous houses and have come to kneel and bow down before him who had not where to lay his head? Does it mean that your gorgeous houses and your rich luxury is wrong? No, no; but it does mean that you have found in him something that is greater; and unless you go away clear in the sense that he, and that which he represents, is greater, you have lost the lesson of his teaching, you have lost the presence of his life.

When you have come here, you men of complicated and disturbed and complex life, you have come to one to whom life is absolutely simple. You have come to Jesus, who knows but one problem, and that is sin; who knows but one advantage, and that is holiness. May not your lives grow clearer, so that many things will seem to you of little consequence which have seemed to you of vast importance?

And you have come here, poor men, into the presence of the poor Jesus Christ, to look into the face of the best that divinity in humanity has to show; and, lo! it bears upon its features the unmistakable mark of poverty. You have found your brother in the poor man Jesus Christ. Shall not some poor man, some poor boy, go back to his work, go back to his life, knowing that in poverty there may be every dignity of human life; go back, not simply respecting his poverty, but respecting the way in which a man may live in his poverty, rejoicing that those things which he has struggled for, which he will still struggle for, are not the necessities of human life? Shall we not, so turning away from the sight of the free Jesus Christ, enter into something which really shall be like his liberty?

But now, while I am occupying you for a few moments, may I not ask you to think something of the way in which Jesus Christ became so free? He became thus free simply because he was forever tied to, and forever conscious of, the higher belongings of his life. He remembered that he was the Son of God.

Do you remember the story of the temptation? It is fresh in many of your minds, I know, but let me just picture to you what happened on that strange morning when Jesus, having been led up into the wilderness

forty days before, and having wrestled with the devil, at last underwent his temptation. Do you not remember how he there stood, with the simple freedom which has again and again amazed, perplexed, astonished, and delighted us; and first some power (I know not whether it was some outward voice, or an inward inspiration from his human nature) came to him and said, "Make these stones bread." Jesus said, "I will not, for my Father has promised to feed me." Then that voice came to him again, and, as he seemed to stand upon the pinnacle of the temple, said, "Cast thyself down. God shall keep thee." But Jesus said, "I will not, for God has bidden me to trust myself to him, and to do only that which he bade me to do." And then, in some strange vision, the very spirit of evil said, "Bow down before me, and I will give thee this world"—give this world, you understand, my friends, not that he might make it the source of his own enrichment and partake of its luxury—"I will give you this world that you may save it." That was what the devil proffered to him. "I will give you this world that you may spread the work of your redemption and make it your Father's world." Jesus looked in the face of the evil vision and said, "Not even to save the world will I worship the devil. I will do no bad that good may come. Get thee behind me, Satan." And the devil left him.

You see the power of freedom is forever in being fastened to the heart of God; is forever in living, in walking, with the divine life of which he was a part. It is forever in the positive and not in the negative; in the great strength of the goodness to which he clung, and not in the weakness of the evil which he defied. And so it must be with us. Is there anything in his experience which can come to me? I may say, "I am the son of God. He told me so. I am the son of God, with my divine belongings, with my divine reachings toward the higher life, with my possibilities of intimate union and close connection with Him who rules the world and from whom all holiness proceeds. I am the child of God; and therefore the life of the Child of God who is my Elder Brother may become the picture of the life which I may live, and I may enter into his salvation."

I must not keep you too long. Let me go on as fast as I can, to tell you of the story which it seems to me must burn upon the lips of one who desires to tell it to his fellow-men.

If we can enter into the company of

Christ and live there, then our unknown possibilities shall open to us, and in the light of those unknown possibilities we shall be able to despise and to escape from the baser things that cling to us. Do you remember how he went snapping this chain and that chain among the sons of men whom his life touched? Nicodemus came to him, and the creed-bound Pharisee became the faith-clad man. Christ came to the poor Magdalen, and in her sin he touched her, and she lifted herself up and was free, not only from her sin, but from the tyranny of her dark remorse, and entered into his service, and by and by was with him at his crucifixion. He came to twelve plain men, plainer than almost any man that is in this house to-day, and touched their lives, and each and every one of those men became that which any one of us would give his life if he might become—one of the apostles of the new redemption, one of the saviours of the world.

Has there been nothing since? Has it limited itself to the story told in those few pages? Has it not gone down through history? What shall you make of the heroisms and the martyrdoms, and of the men who have counted not their lives dear to them, that they might bear witness to the truth? What of the men who have languished in prisons and burned at stakes, that Jesus Christ might do some of his work in them? In the old days they used to cry out, when they saw the Christian, "There is the coming martyr!" When the Christian looked into the sky, he always saw his cross there, drawing nearer and nearer to him, sure that he should hang on it. "*Christiani ad leones!*"—"The Christians to the lions!"—used to be the cry. Is it all gone? Has heroism died out of the world? Has it passed away, this capacity in men for giving themselves to noble ends? Are there no lions for the Christian still? Ah, we think ourselves satisfied if the young Christian not merely does not go to the lions, but if we can save him from going to the dogs. Nay, surely there is in the human soul—we in this generation have seen it—a power of self-sacrifice, which the emergency calls forth. I never shall remember the days of twenty-five years ago, and not know that every man I look in the face is bigger and greater than he seems to be. And when, across the self-sacrifice of those great days, which some of us remember, I see, far off, the greater sacrifices of those who gave themselves for the salvation of the world, and were like Jesus Christ, I am sure of this, that there are mysterious powers and depths of sacrifice

in every man, ready to open when they shall be called for—only to know that they are called for every day ; only to know that, not in any great disturbance that shakes the world, but in the perpetual needs, in the continual miseries, in the abundant sins of life, there is the demand for that which is in you, and you must believe it yourself, like Christ, and respond to the demands of your life, which is very often a great deal harder than the lives that men lived when the stakes were burning. The more I live, the more becomes to me wonderful and infinite the mystery of human life. To be a human creature is a wonderful thing. The poorest little urchin upon the street, whom you may see when you go out, has in him such a mystery—it is such a wonderful thing that he should be what he is, it seems as if the most wonderful mystery were hardly higher—that Luther, Shakespeare, Plato, are hardly more wonderful than that poor urchin, who carries in mind and soul and body the wonderful tokens that he is the child of God. To respect in him and to respect in yourself that sonship of God, in the pattern and with the leadership of Jesus Christ—that is the total impulse of religion, that is the liberation of the human soul.

Ah, my friends, it must be a personal following of a personal leader. A creed can never make me believe how wonderful man is, how wonderful I am. It may tell it to me, and the words bound back again from my intelligence on which they strike. A rite or a ceremony can never, in itself, force it any further than my fingers and my mouth. But the Master, the personal manifestation of it, the Christ who is to-day that which he has been in all the ages, he who walks so humble and so strong, so free because of his absorption, devotion, and consecration to his Father—he brings it to me. And if you will let him walk with you in your streets, and sit with you in your offices, and be with you in your homes, and teach you in your churches, and abide with you as the Living Presence in your hearts, you too shall know what freedom is, and, while you do your duties, be above your duties ; and, while you live your life, still walk, already walk, in heaven ; and, while you own yourselves the sons of men, know that you are the sons of God.

There are men in this house now who, if they went out with such a spirit as this, might be small Christs to the men whom they meet. There are men who, if they went forth to every duty, yet knowing the life that is above these daily duties, and living in it, might be revelations wherever they went. Their office boys would feel the

difference, if they saw them, not slaves to, but masters of, their business. Their ordinary companions, as they meet them in the place of traffic, would know the difference, if they saw them superior to the thing they did, and therefore doing it all the more nobly, all the more conscientiously, because they did it loftily, in the sight of God.

May we so follow Jesus Christ and share in his enfranchisement, may we so enter into this life of liberty which sets us free from all slavery, that already the chains may drop from our hands, that we sometimes foolishly think will drop when the time of dying comes—as if there were some magic in that little thing of dying ! Let them drop now, in our lives, and let us go forth into the glorious liberty of the children of God, into the freedom wherewith the free Christ makes all the obedient children of his Father free. God grant it for us all !

A BISHOP'S SURPRISING EXPRESSIONS.

From The New York Sun, March 18, 1890.

BISHOP PARET of Maryland, a Bishop of the Episcopal Church, gave expression to these remarkable sentiments at a business men's prayer meeting in Baltimore :

"Why is it that the field of religion is left to women ? To my mind there is one reason patent among others, and that is that monstrous perversion of God's Gospel known as the revival system. It teaches the idea that before men can worship God they must be worked up to some intense emotionalism or go through certain convulsions of feeling, etc. On account of this pernicious idea I have seen some of the saddest fruits.

"I remember a certain member of the Supreme bench of the United States, now dead. He was a learned man, but had gotten this idea of emotional religion into his head and died without being baptized or confirmed. I pray God he will be forgiven for the error into which he had fallen.

"Then there are books of prayer crammed full of sentimental stuff that men cannot accept. This idea of sentiment is a false one. I cannot feel like a woman. I cannot pray like a woman. Nor is it required to aim to fill your prayers with fictitious feelings that have no response in the heart."

Yet is not emotion the every essence of religion ? Is not emotion that which distinguishes religion from a mere system of ethics ? To be religious is not merely to obey the moral law, but to obey it from the

love of God, not because the intellect assents and commands, but because the heart, the emotions, are inflamed with the love of Christ. Love for Christ as the master, the leader, the exemplar, was the whole burden of the remarkable Lenten lectures of the Rev. Phillips Brooks at Trinity. The great purpose of the preacher was to awaken the enthusiasm of his hearers so that they might forget the world and its ambitions in the sublime elevation of their affections. Personal love for Christ as the only means of purifying character and conduct, was his unvarying theme.

Next to the Bible alone the religious book which has had the largest number of readers in all times is the "Imitation of Christ," by Thomas à Kempis, a book "crammed full" of what Bishop Paret calls "sentimental stuff that men cannot accept." It was translated into English by Wesley, and has had a profound influence on Methodism, the most purely emotional of religious systems. No book could express a more passionate love and yearning for the personality of Jesus; and both Protestant and Roman Catholic literature generally is full of the very sentiment that Bishop Paret calls false and feminine rather than true and masculine. Monsignor Preston of New York has just published a volume of "Gethsemane; Meditations," charged throughout with this very emotion. The wounds of Christ are depicted with graphic particularity, and the sufferings of the Virgin Mother are dwelt upon with exhaustless tenderness, in order that the heart of the believer may be touched with compassion and stimulated to a love like the love of a woman. Jonathan Edwards preached a harsh system of theology, and yet he made love the basis of it. "Obedience," he says, "is but one part of the duty we owe to God. Our obligation to obedience is not the prime ground of our duty to love Him and honor Him. But on the contrary, our obligation to love and honor God, and to exercise a supreme regard to God, is the very proper ground of our obligation to obey." Obedience without love may make ethics, but both together, and obedience because of love, are required to make religion.

The Judge of the Supreme Court of whom Bishop Paret speaks could not bring himself to that state of feeling. He was probably a moral man, righteous in all his dealings, but he could not make his sole motive for so doing the emotional love of God. His intellect and not his heart was the controlling influence with him; and therefore he rightly concluded that he was

not a Christian. He did not have the religious spirit. Without any religious belief at all, though he utterly repudiates the personality of God, a man may be of blameless morals.

"Except ye be converted, and become as little children," says Jesus Himself, "ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." When Mary anointed His head with precious ointment, and His disciples "had indignation" at the waste, He rebuked them, saying, that "whosoever this Gospel shall be preached in the whole world, there shall also this, that this woman hath done, be told for a memorial of her." The expression of Mary's simple love and honor was pleasing to Him.

"Why is it that the field of religion is left to women?" asks Bishop Paret, and he answers the question by saying, because religion is made emotional. "I cannot feel like a woman. I cannot pray like a woman." But the teaching of religion and of its most revered expounders is that he should so feel and pray, that he should become as a little child, feeling rather than thinking. Hence it is that women, being more completely than men under the sway of the emotions, are more apt than they to find satisfaction in the field of religion. They obey because they love; and, as Jonathan Edwards says, that is the essence of religion.

Wherever the Christian religion has spread, and at all times when it has gained most hold on men, it has been preached, not as a system of morals, but as a supreme affection. The appeal has not been to men's heads, but to their hearts, to the feminine rather than the masculine side of man's nature. What is a revival of religion except the stirring up anew of human emotions so that earthly love shall be replaced by the love of Jesus?

Bishop Paret's remarks at Baltimore on Thursday strike us, therefore, with great surprise. They are not animated by the religious spirit. They might have been uttered by an infidel.

MARRIAGES IN LENT.

BY THE REV. DR. WIRGMAN, RURAL DEAN.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE RURI-DECANAL CHAPTER OF THE RURAL DEANERY OF PORT ELIZABETH, SOUTH AFRICA.

From *The Living Church* (Episcopalian), Chicago, March 1, 1890.

WHEN a custom, based on the Canons of the Primitive Church, comes down to us

with the universal consent of the Church from primitive times to the present day, we conclude that the Church has *proved the value* of that special rule or custom, and we cannot, as loyal Churchmen, reject what the practical experience of eighteen centuries has sealed with its approval and consent. There are certain canonical regulations with regard to the observance of Lent, which come down to us with the approval and consent of the whole Church from primitive times to the present day, chief amongst which we may rank the prohibition of marriages in Lent.

We must examine first the cause of this prohibition. There is a common-sense reason for it, just as we find a common-sense reason for every rule of the Church which is of general obligation. That common-sense reason is clearly expressed in the words of the 52d Canon of the Council of Laodicea, which forbids Lenten marriages. After forbidding public games during Lent (Canon 51) it forbids the celebration of birthdays and marriages during Lent. Birthdays in the fourth century were kept with a grand birthday feast, which was out of place amidst the solemnity and self-discipline of the Lenten season. Marriages involve a time of rejoicing and a marriage feast, innocent enough in due season, as our Lord's presence at the marriage feast of Cana indicated, but, like the birthday feast, out of place in Lent. Here is the common-sense reason which has made the Laodicene Canon forbidding Lenten marriages the universal rule of Christendom.

We have now to deal with this Canon as it affected the Church of England. Our National Church did not accept the whole body of the Canon Law of the Western Church. The local councils of the Church of England passed Canons which supplemented the universally accepted body of Primitive Canon Law, and which were locally binding. In the year 1009 the National Church held a council at Eynsham, in Oxfordshire, under St. Alphege, the courageous Archbishop of Canterbury, who was murdered shortly afterwards by the Danes. England was in daily peril of Danish invasion, and the lines of ecclesiastical discipline were drawn tighter by the imminent danger of the Church and nation. The Laodicene prohibition of Lenten marriages was extended and amplified by forbidding marriages from Advent to the octave of Epiphany, and from Septuagesima to the octave of Easter. The good Archbishop laid these additional restrictions on the Church of England in a special time of

public distress and calamity. And these restrictions of the Council of Eynsham find a place in the Canon Law of Lynwood, our great English canonist, and also, as is well known, in the rubric of the Sarum Manual. But St. Alphege and his bishops had no primitive warrant for these restrictions. There is a doubtful Canon of the Council of Lerida, A.D. 524, forbidding marriage from Advent to Epiphany, and also during the three weeks preceding the festival of St. John the Baptist.

But if we frame rules upon the authority of a doubtful Canon, we run the risk of "teaching for doctrines the commandments of men," instead of following the undisputed law of the Church.

We have now to deal with the Post-Reformation usage of the Church of England with regard to Lenten marriages. Although the Sarum rubric specifying the "prohibited times" was not re-enacted, the Lenten prohibition remained as an unwritten law of the Church. The other "prohibited times" were also in some cases observed and Bishop Cosin desired to re-enact them in 1662. Although this was not done, the Lenten prohibition was considered to be in full force, so far as the usage of the Church went, and, although the period of the Commonwealth had relaxed all Church discipline, this prohibition was generally observed.

The Church of Ireland, in 1632, in its Canon on Marriage, contained these words as to "prohibited times:" "Neither in the time of Lent, nor of any public fast, nor of the solemn festivities of the Nativity, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Lord, or of the Descension of the Holy Ghost." The Irish Church thus adopted a more stringent rule than the Church of England of the same day, and this precedent is valuable, because the Irish Church then, as now, was more Puritan and anti-Roman in its tone than the Church of England. In the reign of Elizabeth we find Archbishop Whitgift granting special licenses with special fees for solemnizing matrimony "in the times of the prohibition of banns to be published." In the seventeenth year of the same reign an attempt was made in Parliament to carry a Bill to do away with the prohibited times for marriage. The Bill was lost. Convocation also made an attempt in the same direction in 1575, moved doubtless by Puritan pressure. This attempt was also frustrated, and since that time no efforts have been made in convocation or Parliament to attack the principle of "a prohibited time" for marriages. Post-Reformation evidence might be multiplied. Parish register books

had "the prohibited times" written in them as a reminder to clergy and people. Bishops, in their articles of inquiry, asked whether they were observed, and, as late as 1750, we find Archbishop Sharpe, of York, speaking of the observance of these prohibitions. The habit of disregarding them seems to have been formed during the period of laxity that closed the eighteenth century. The first to go were, of course, the prohibitions which did not rest on primitive authority. The feeling against Lenten marriages probably lingered on till the days of the Oxford Movement of 1833. Since then we have, in a great measure, been able to restore this primitive rule of the Church. I do not think that it is wise to press for more than the Lenten prohibition. We may say to our people with regard to the other "prohibited times," that they were observed for centuries in the Church of England.

More we cannot say, and a fierce insistence upon rules that are not primitive, will undoubtedly endanger the observance of the one primitive prohibition.

There is no rule without its exception, and *exceptio probat regulam*. There are cases which may occur in which immediate marriage, as an act of reparation, is the only course open. A marriage under these circumstances is without its feast or outward merriment and should be solemnized merely in the presence of the witnesses required by law. Such a marriage as this, by leave of the bishop, might and ought to be celebrated in Lent.

Another question now arises. Can a clergyman refuse to marry in Lent? To begin with, it is very doubtful whether an action would lie against any clergyman for refusing to solemnize a marriage. It is of course conceivable that if damages in the legal sense accrued to a couple for an unreasonable refusal on the part of a clergyman, an action might lie. But in the case *Davis vs. Black*, tried before Lord Denman, upon these grounds, the clergyman won his case, Lord Denman laying it down in his judgment that a clergyman's refusal to marry is actionable "if it be malicious, and without probable cause." The refusal to marry persons in Lent would not be construed as "malicious" in any court of law, nor, in the face of the arguments I have adduced, could it be considered as "without probable cause." The Divorce Act specially provides for the case of a clergyman exercising his right of refusal to marry. By Canon 68 of 1603, ministers refusing to christen or to bury were subject to three months' suspen-

sion. But nothing is said about refusing to marry, which is a significant omission in considering the legal point before us. We may sum up the matter in the words of Blunt's "Book of Church Law," p. 150, where he considers that "a reasonable refusal on the part of a clergyman would be respected by a court of law." To sum up the whole matter we may conclude:

I. That the prohibition of Lenten marriages is a part of the Primitive Canon Law of the undivided Church of Christ.

II. That other "prohibited" times have not the same sanction.

III. That the Post-Reformation practice of the Church of England before and after 1662, tends to maintain the ancient rule prohibiting marriages in Lent.

IV. That one reasonable special exception to the Lenten prohibition may exist if allowed by the Bishop.

V. That a clergyman would be upheld in the ecclesiastical and civil courts for refusing to marry people in Lent.

With regard to carrying out this rule amongst our people we should use careful and diligent explanation, we should avoid the semblance of dictatorial authority, and we should show clearly that we are not acting upon our own will or caprice, but simply administering the Primitive Canon Law of the Church, which is commended to our observance by the common-sense and right feeling of Christian people generally.

TALMAGE CRITICISED.

ARCHBISHOP IRELAND BEGS LEAVE TO DIFFER WITH THE BROOKLYN DIVINE.

From *The New York Sun*, March 17, 1890.

ST. PAUL, March 16.—Archbishop John Ireland has been preaching a series of Lenten sermons which have attracted wide attention in the Northwest. To-day he paid his respects to T. Dewitt Talmage, and said:

"Morals without dogmas have no meaning, and those who are most earnest in eliminating dogmas from the Christian religion simply contradict themselves. A Brooklyn preacher a few Sundays ago spoke as follows:

"A man who accepts Christ is a Christian. He need not believe in the eternal generation of the Son. He need not believe in eternal punishment. One passage of Scripture is wide enough to let in all men who ought to enter and to keep out all who

ought to be kept out. Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved.'

"I give this preacher as a sample of the popular Christian leader. He goes as far as he can. Has he got away from dogma? He must tell me at once what it is to believe in Christ. I am not a parrot. Words will not suffice for me. A fool may give out or receive such words. I will not receive them without deeming myself a fool, and I will allow no one to give them out to me without deeming him a fool. Now, I must be told what it is to believe in Christ. Is it to take him as a man? This is the preacher's intention, since he says that the eternal generation of the Son is of no interest, but here is a dogma as to the humanity of Christ, and a dogma that has the practical effect of ending my Christian religion, for if Christ is but a man I would rather accept some one nearer to me in time.

"If Christ, as other latitudinarian ministers will say, is God, I have again a dogma, and a dogma which involves several other dogmas, as his relations to the Father and the Spirit."

After alluding to other points of the question, showing there are dogmas wherever we turn, and that the Christian religion is doctrinal, primarily belonging to the intellect, the Archbishop concluded:

"It was Christ's intention that we believe all He said, and that in order to believe we have sufficient evidence of His teachings and of their true meaning. Else we could not give to them a rational assent, and He could not have threatened punishment against unbelief. The certain meaning of the doctrines must be ascertainable, and it is our duty to ascertain it. The Brooklyn preacher does not care about the meaning. He says, 'I move for a creed for all denominations made out of Scripture quotations pure and simple, each one giving to them his own meaning.' This is nonsense pure and simple. If men are so situated that they cannot know what Christ meant it is the fault of their position, not Christ, for as Christ spoke for all ages He must have left means by which the meaning of His words could be ascertained."

MARTIN B. ANDERSON, LL.D.,
I.H.D.

From *The Examiner* (Baptist), New York, March 6, 1890.

MARTIN BREWER ANDERSON fell on sleep on Wednesday afternoon, February 26th, at Lake Helen, Fla. A telegram from the friend who closed his eyes says that his mind was perfectly clear as long as he had strength

to speak. The event was not unexpected, yet his death comes not the less as a shock to his friends. The world is poorer by the loss of a man so many-sided, so strong, so devoted to duty, so rich in manhood. His "boys" mourn a father, to whom they gladly paid a debt of respect and love such as few fathers, according to the flesh, receive; the University of Rochester will have no more the wise leader and faithful servant to whom it owes all that it is to-day; and the denomination has lost one who was among its brightest ornaments, as he was one of its sincerest lovers and strongest defenders. It is a laborious, a useful, a well-rounded life that has ended—as a shock of corn cometh in in his season, he has come to his grave in a full age. Standing by that grave, it is not possible for one who loved him to speak calmly of his life and labors, but some salient features may be briefly mentioned.

Dr. Anderson first became widely known as a journalist. From 1850 to 1853 he was the editor of the *New-York Recorder*. It was a time of storm and stress in denominational affairs, and he was in the thick of it, giving and taking hard blows, and some of them left scars that, as his best friends knew, he carried to his grave. As an editor he was specially strong in leader-writing. His fulness of information, industry, strong sense, and sinewy English style made his articles models of the stately editorial writing that prevailed in those days, though it is somewhat out of fashion now. He was powerful in controversy, and especially happy in defending and enforcing the distinctive principles avowed by the Baptist churches. The journalistic experience he then gained, with characteristic quickness of insight and adaptation, he made most useful in his after career as teacher. No Rochester alumnus will ever forget the "chapel talks" in which Dr. Anderson exercised what he used to call "the editorial function of the teacher," by terse comments on current events, elucidating the principles underlying them, and setting them forth in their historical relations. These talks were in themselves a liberal education for young men, sharpening the mind and broadening the outlook beyond any of the more formal studies of the course.

When he entered on his work at Rochester in 1853, Dr. Anderson had already made his mark as a teacher. As tutor in the classics and professor of rhetoric at Waterville College (now Colby University), he had shown himself possessed in a rare degree of the qualities needed in the classroom. He now took rank from the first among the

foremost educators of America. We greatly doubt if his superior as a teacher—using the term in its broad sense—has ever been known in a college faculty. Greater masters of the *technique* of pedagogy there doubtless have been; he was no martinet in drill; he did not regard his students in the light of Strasburg geese, to be stuffed with all the learning that could by hook or crook be crammed into them. His idea was to produce men—scholarly men, to be sure, but men first, and scholars afterward. His efforts were devoted, therefore, first of all and most of all, to stimulating the minds and arousing the consciences of his classes. He taught men how to think and investigate for themselves, rather than gave them results. In a word, he recognized that the larger half of education is teaching men how to use their tools. He used to say, sometimes, “When I see you young men in the halls getting red in the face over a discussion of some knotty point in philosophy or scholarship, I know that my work is more than half done.”

It follows that the more valuable part of Dr. Anderson's work as college president and teacher was his power to influence the formation of character, intellectual and moral. He had the faculty, in greater measure than any other man we have ever known, of giving to his students a tremendous moral impulsion, which never became quite dissipated in after life in the worst, and which has made many all that they are or will be. This power, the gift of God, was richly blessed by the Spirit of God, as many an alumnus can bear testimony from the depths of a grateful heart. He held before his students a lofty ideal of Christian manhood—keeping it always before them by example as well as by precept. He did not undervalue worldly success—he was often more ambitious for his boys than they were for themselves, and spurred them on to greater exertions—but he taught them to hold loyalty to truth and manhood in higher esteem than wealth or honors. His discipline kept in view the same high aim. He knew how to wink at peccadilloes, and knew as well how to repress with firmness, and if necessary with severity, serious uprisings against salutary law. If at any time a student experienced the truth of the Scripture that “no chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grievous,” he also in due time, if not utterly incorrigible, found it true that “it yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteousness unto them which are exercised thereby.” As the Roman matron, pointing to the young Gracchi, said “Behold my jewels,” we may point to the long and hon-

orable roll of alumni graduated under Dr. Anderson as his chief ornament and title to perpetual remembrance.

Dr. Anderson was not only a great teacher but a great scholar. We use this term advisedly. He was not a man who made a great display of his learning, and of late years he wrote little for the press, so that the marvellous range and depth and accuracy of his knowledge is not so well known as it deserved to be. His scholarship was encyclopedic—no other word describes it. His intellectual curiosity was insatiable and his capacity of acquisition enormous. When he was in a company of learned men, no subject could be started about which he did not seem to be fully informed, and in many cases his knowledge astonished specialists. He could and did at a pinch teach a class in any department of the college, and the keenest students could not in such an emergency catch him tripping. This weight of learning was borne as easily as a mediæval knight wore his armor. His multifarious knowledge was all assimilated, classified, ready for instant use, and above all, it was accurate. He was not one of those men who know a thousand things and know them all wrong. He was intolerant of inaccurate, slovenly work, in himself or in others; crude and pretentious sciolism was the one thing for which he had no mercy. None of his writings are a measure of the man, and it may be that the volume of selections that he projected and upon which he was at work when his health finally broke will never see the light. Had he lived a few months longer, his students and friends would have had this memorial of him, imperfectly as it would have done justice to his attainments and possible achievement.

His greatest work—greater than any “works” in paper and ink, though never so voluminous—is the University of Rochester. To that he gave the best of himself and of his life. It was a noble sacrifice, but the end was not unworthy of it. Had Dr. Anderson's heart been selfishly set on achieving for himself an enduring fame, he could have taken no other way so certain to reach that goal. As a scholar and author, or as a man of affairs—for he had notable gifts in either direction—he might have made for himself a greater present notoriety, and won for himself more wealth, only to be speedily forgotten perhaps. But nothing is so permanent among human institutions as a university. The revolutions that have swept over Europe have left the great seats of learning undisturbed, though nearly all else of equal antiquity has disappeared. The

work he has done will abide, to be a memorial more lasting than marble or brass. It is no disparagement to others who have wrought and made sacrifices, and there have been many such, to say that the University of Rochester owes what it is to-day to the wise foresight, unceasing labors, and indomitable will of Martin Brewer Anderson. He came to the college in its infancy, when it had no property and hardly more than a name to live; his death leaves it with a handsome property, well endowed and equipped, an institution influential and honored throughout the country. To a stranger who walks up the spacious and beautiful campus at Rochester, and, gazing at the stately buildings that rise on either hand, inquires for a memorial of its first president and real founder, one may answer in the words of Sir Christopher Wren's noble epitaph, *Si monumentum requiris, circumspice*—if you seek his monument, look around.

PARAGRAPHIC.

NORWEGIAN LAPLANDERS.—A society for missionary work among the Norwegian Laplanders was formed in Norway in 1888. It has sent out two itinerant preachers to visit the people in their huts and tents, and has begun publishing parts of the Bible and other books in their language.—*Episcopal Recorder*.

"Did you go to the séance last night?" "Yes."
"Did the spirits materialize?" "No; but the medium told some." "Told some what?" "Material lies."—*Exchange*.

The dry humor of Abraham Lincoln was never surpassed. Dr. Bellows, President of the Sanitary Commission, went to Washington to get Mr. Lincoln to make a certain appointment. He presented the case to the President, who listened intently, but said nothing. After twenty minutes of eloquence Mr. Lincoln replied:

"I made that appointment several days ago."

"Why didn't you tell me, Mr. Lincoln, and save yourself the trouble of hearing all this?"

"Oh, Bellows, I do like to hear you talk," said Honest Old Abe with a twinkle.—*Standard of the Cross and the Church*.

PRESCRIPTION TO FIT THE CASE.—There is a good story about a German doctor who told an American lady when she consulted him about her child to give the child a bath.

"Why, doctor," exclaimed the mother, "he has a bath every morning."

"Humph!" said the doctor, "omit the bath then."

Who knows but the doctor was right? The Germans under-bathe and the Americans over-bathe.—*Christian Advocate*.

GEORGE MÜLLER, who is now travelling and preaching among the Himalayas, has written the fiftieth annual report of his famous orphanage in

Bristol, England. Since the institution was founded, he has received for it and spent \$5,500,000; more than 100,000 persons have been entirely supported and educated, and tens of thousands materially assisted. Five large houses, capable of affording homes for more than 2000 orphans, have been built at a cost of \$575,000, and sixty-six schools are now maintained. Yet this great school and orphanage and home for the homeless has never been in debt, and has never asked for human aid more than to make a plain statement of its doings and condition.—*The Pacific*.

LONDON has no Sunday mail. At ten o'clock Saturday night the post-office is closed, and no letters are received or delivered, and no one is worse for this suspension of business. The employers of the office have an unbroken day of rest. Business men are far better off, and it pays. If no letters were mailed, delivered, or carried in the United States on Sunday, no branch of industry would suffer, no important institution would be harmed, and busy men and women everywhere would be profited by the change.—*Christian Advocate*.

BISHOP WHITE, of Pennsylvania, was sitting one day at dinner with that bold and perhaps unscrupulous financier of Revolutionary times, Robert Morris, when the latter said: "Bishop, I have made my will, and have devised to you all my impudence." "In that case," replied the bishop, "you have certainly left me the greater part of your estate." "Yes, bishop," interposed Mrs. White, "and it is plain that you have entered immediately upon your inheritance."—*Southern Churchman*.

A BIRMINGHAM paper says: "The late Bishop Lightfoot and Dr. Benson lived in the same neighborhood, and used to walk together to school. Each would wait for the other at a point where their roads met, and the presence or absence of a stone in a hole in the wall indicated to each on arrival whether he was the first on the scene, or whether his companion had gone on without him. Lightfoot was at this time a quiet and reserved boy, to whom, however, the most extraordinary feats of mental gymnastics were mere child's play. 'How is Joe getting on with his German?' a schoolfellow of Lightfoot asked one of his sisters. 'Oh, he's done German; he's doing Anglo-Saxon now.'"—*Standard of the Cross*.

AN ANECDOTE OF WEBSTER.—The following anecdote is related by a writer in a recent number of the *North American Review*:

"Webster was once speaking to an immense crowd in Faneuil Hall, and was in the midst of a stirring appeal, urging the necessity for individual exertion and unflinching patriotism to arrest the dangers that threatened the political party whose principles he espoused, when he perceived the terrible sway of the packed assembly and the imminent danger that might ensue. He stopped short in the middle of a sentence, advanced to the edge of the platform, extended his arm in an authoritative attitude, and in a stentorian voice of command cried out: 'Let each man stand firm!' The effect was instantaneous. Each man stood firm; the great heaving mass of humanity regained its equilibrium, and, save the long breath of relief that filled the air, perfect stillness ensued. 'That,' exclaimed the great orator, 'is what we call self-government!' so apt an illustration of the principles he was expounding that the vast assembly responded with deafening cheers."—*Central Christian Advocate, St. Louis*.

AGNOSTICISM: A REJOINDER.

BY PROFESSOR THOMAS H. HUXLEY.

(Continued from the March number, p. 397.)

AND what is the state of things we find disclosed? A bitter quarrel, in his account of which Paul by no means minces matters or hesitates to hurl defiant sarcasms against those who were "reputed to be pillars": James, "the brother of the Lord," Peter, the rock on whom Jesus is said to have built his Church, and John, "the beloved disciple." And no deference toward "the rock" withholds Paul from charging Peter to his face with "dissimulation."

The subject of the hot dispute was simply this: Were Gentile converts bound to obey the law or not? Paul answered in the negative; and, acting upon his opinion, had created at Antioch (and elsewhere) a specifically "Christian" community, the sole qualifications for admission into which were the confession of the belief that Jesus was the Messiah, and baptism upon that confession. In the epistle in question, Paul puts this—his "gospel," as he calls it—in its most extreme form. Not only does he deny the necessity of conformity with the law, but he declares such conformity to have a negative value. "Behold, I, Paul, say unto you, that if ye receive circumcision, Christ will profit you nothing" (Galatians v. 2). He calls the legal observances "beggarly rudiments," and anathematizes every one who preaches to the Galatians any other gospel than his own—that is to say, by direct consequence, he anathematizes the Jerusalem Nazarenes whose zeal for the law is testified by James in a passage of the Acts cited farther on. In the first Epistle to the Corinthians, dealing with the question of eating meat offered to idols, it is clear that Paul himself thinks it a matter of indifference; but he advises that it should not be done, for the sake of the weaker brethren. On the other hand, the Nazarenes of Jerusalem most strenuously opposed Paul's "gospel," insisting on every convert becoming a regular Jewish proselyte, and consequently on his observance of the whole law; and this party was led by James and Peter and John (Galatians ii. 9). Paul does not suggest that the question of principle was settled by the discussion referred to in Galatians. All he says is that it ended in the practical agreement that he and Barnabas should do as they had been doing in respect of the Gentiles; while James and Peter and John should deal in their own fashion with Jewish converts. Afterward he com-

plains bitterly of Peter, because, when on a visit to Antioch, he at first inclined to Paul's view, and ate with the Gentile converts; but when "certain came from James," "drew back, and separated himself, fearing them that were of the circumcision. And the rest of the Jews dissembled likewise with him; insomuch that even Barnabas was carried away with their dissimulation" (Galatians ii. 12, 13).

There is but one conclusion to be drawn from Paul's account of this famous dispute, the settlement of which determined the fortunes of the nascent religion. It is that the disciples at Jerusalem, headed by "James, the Lord's brother," and by the leading apostles, Peter and John, were strict Jews, who objected to admit any converts to their body, unless these, either by birth or by becoming proselytes, were also strict Jews. In fact, the sole difference between James and Peter and John, with the body of disciples whom they led, and the Jews by whom they were surrounded, and with whom they for many years shared the religious observances of the Temple, was that they believed that the Messiah, whom the leaders of the nation yet looked for, had already come in the person of Jesus of Nazareth.

The Acts of the Apostles is hardly a very trustworthy history; it is certainly of later date than the Pauline epistles, supposing them to be genuine. And the writer's version of the conference of which Paul gives so graphic a description, if that is correct, is unmistakably colored with all the art of a reconciler, anxious to cover up a scandal. But it is none the less instructive on this account. The judgment of the "council" delivered by James is that the Gentile converts shall merely "abstain from things sacrificed to idols, and from blood and from things strangled, and from fornication." But notwithstanding the accommodation in which the writer of the Acts would have us believe, the Jerusalem church held to its endeavor to retain the observance of the law. Long after the conference, some time after the writing of the Epistles to the Galatians and Corinthians, and immediately after the despatch of that to the Romans, Paul makes his last visit to Jerusalem, and presents himself to James and all the elders. And this is what the Acts tells us of the interview:

And they said unto him, Thou seest, brother, how many thousands (or myriads) there are among the Jews of them which have believed; and they are all zealous for the law: and they have been informed concerning thee, that thou teachest all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, telling them not to circumcise their children,

neither to walk after the customs (Acts xxi. 20, 21).

They therefore request that he should perform a certain public religious act in the Temple, in order that

all shall know that there is no truth in the things whereof they have been informed concerning thee; but that thou thyself walkest orderly, keeping the law (*ibid.*, 24).

How far Paul could do what he is here requested to do, and which the writer of the Acts goes on to say he did, with a clear conscience, if he wrote the Epistles to the Galatians and Corinthians, I may leave any candid reader of those epistles to decide. The point to which I wish to direct attention is the declaration that the Jerusalem church, led by the brother of Jesus and by his personal disciples and friends, twenty years and more after his death, consisted of strict and zealous Jews.

Tertullus, the orator, caring very little about the internal dissensions of the followers of Jesus, speaks of Paul as a "ring-leader of the sect of the Nazarenes" (Acts xxiv. 5), which must have affected James much in the same way as it would have moved the Archbishop of Canterbury, in George Fox's day, to hear the latter called a "ring-leader of the sect of Anglicans." In fact, "Nazarene" was, as is well known, the distinctive appellation applied to Jesus; his immediate followers were known as Nazarenes, while the congregation of the disciples, and, later, of converts at Jerusalem—the Jerusalem church—was emphatically the "sect of the Nazarenes," no more in itself to be regarded as anything outside Judaism than the sect of the Sadducees or of the Essenes.* In fact, the tenets of both the Sadducees and the Essenes diverged much more widely from the Pharisaic standard of orthodoxy than Nazarenism did.

Let us consider the position of affairs now (A.D. 50–60) in relation to that which obtained in Justin's time, a century later. It is plain that the Nazarenes—presided over by James "the brother of the Lord," and comprising within their body all the twelve apostles—belonged to Justin's second category of "Jews who observe the law, believe Jesus to be the Christ, but who insist on the observance of the law by Gentile converts," up till the time at which the controversy reported by Paul arose. They then, according to Paul, simply allowed him to form his congregation of non-legal Gentile converts at Antioch and elsewhere; and it

would seem that it was to these converts, who would come under Justin's fifth category, that the title of "Christian" was first applied. If any of these Christians had acted upon the more than half-permission given by Paul, and had eaten meats offered to idols, they would have belonged to Justin's seventh category.

Hence, it appears that, if Justin's opinion, which was doubtless that of the Church generally in the middle of the second century, was correct, James and Peter and John and their followers could not be saved; neither could Paul, if he carried into practice his views as to the indifference of eating meats offered to idols. Or, to put the matter another way, the centre of gravity of orthodoxy, which is at the extreme right of the series in the nineteenth century, was at the extreme left, just before the middle of the first century, when the "sect of the Nazarenes" constituted the whole church founded by Jesus and the apostles; while, in the time of Justin, it lay midway between the two. It is therefore a profound mistake to imagine that the Judæo-Christians (Nazarenes and Ebionites) of later times were heretical outgrowths from a primitive, universalist "Christianity." On the contrary, the universalist "Christianity" is an outgrowth from the primitive, purely Jewish, Nazarenism; which, gradually eliminating all the ceremonial and dietary parts of the Jewish law, has thrust aside its parent, and all the intermediate stages of its development, into the position of damnable heresies.

Such being the case, we are in a position to form a safe judgment of the limits within which the teaching of Jesus of Nazareth must have been confined. Ecclesiastical authority would have us believe that the words which are given at the end of the first Gospel, "Go ye, therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost," are part of the last commands of Jesus, issued at the moment of his parting with the eleven. If so, Peter and John must have heard these words; they are too plain to be misunderstood; and the occasion is too solemn for them to be ever forgotten. Yet the "Acts" tells us that Peter needed a vision to enable him so much as to baptize Cornelius; and Paul, in the Galatians, knows nothing of words which would have completely borne him out as against those who, though they heard, must be supposed to have either forgotten or ignored them. On the other hand, Peter and John, who are supposed to have heard

* All this was quite clearly pointed out by Ritschl nearly forty years ago. See "Die Entstehung der alt-katholischen Kirche" (1850), p. 108.

the "Sermon on the Mount," know nothing of the saying that Jesus had not come to destroy the law, but that every jot and tittle of the law must be fulfilled, which surely would have been pretty good evidence for their view of the question.

We are sometimes told that the personal friends and daily companions of Jesus remained zealous Jews and opposed Paul's innovations, because they were hard of heart and dull of comprehension. This hypothesis is hardly in accordance with the concomitant faith of those who adopt it, in the miraculous insight and superhuman sagacity of their Master; nor do I see any way of getting it to harmonize with the other orthodox postulate; namely, that Matthew was the author of the first Gospel and John of the fourth. If that is so, then, most assuredly, Matthew was no dullard; and as for the fourth Gospel—a theosophic romance of the first order—it could have been written by none but a man of remarkable literary capacity, who had drunk deep of Alexandrian philosophy. Moreover, the doctrine of the writer of the fourth Gospel is more remote from that of the "sect of the Nazarenes" than is that of Paul himself. I am quite aware that orthodox critics have been capable of maintaining that John, the Nazarene, who was probably well past fifty years of age when he is supposed to have written the most thoroughly Judaizing book in the New Testament—the Apocalypse—in the roughest of Greek, underwent an astounding metamorphosis of both doctrine and style by the time he reached the ripe age of ninety or so, and provided the world with a history in which the acutest critic cannot make out where the speeches of Jesus end and the text of the narrative begins; while that narrative is utterly irreconcilable in regard to matters of fact with that of his fellow apostle, Matthew.

The end of the whole matter is this: The "sect of the Nazarenes," the brother and the immediate followers of Jesus, commissioned by him as apostles, and those who were taught by them up to the year 50 A.D., were not "Christians" in the sense in which that term has been understood ever since its asserted origin at Antioch, but Jews—strict orthodox Jews—whose belief in the Messiahship of Jesus never led to their exclusion from the Temple services, nor would have shut them out from the wide embrace of Judaism.* The open proclamation of their special view about the Messiah was doubtless

offensive to the Pharisees, just as rampant Low Churchism is offensive to bigoted High Churchism in our own country; or as any kind of dissent is offensive to fervid religionists of all creeds. To the Sadducees, no doubt, the political danger of any Messianic movement was serious, and they would have been glad to put down Nazarenism, lest it should end in useless rebellion against their Roman masters, like that other Galilean movement headed by Judas, a generation earlier. Galilee was always a hot-bed of seditious enthusiasm against the rule of Rome; and high priest and procurator alike had need to keep a sharp eye upon natives of that district. On the whole, however, the Nazarenes were but little troubled for the first twenty years of their existence; and the undying hatred of the Jews against those later converts whom they regarded as apostates and fautors of a sham Judaism was awakened by Paul. From their point of view, he was a mere renegade Jew, opposed alike to orthodox Judaism and to orthodox Nazarenism, and whose teachings threatened Judaism with destruction. And, from their point of view, they were quite right. In the course of a century, Pauline influences had a large share in driving primitive Nazarenism from being the very heart of the new faith into the position of scouted error; and the spirit of Paul's doctrine continued its work of driving Christianity further and further away from Judaism, until "meats offered to idols" might be eaten without scruple, while the Nazarene methods of observing even the Sabbath or the Passover were branded with the mark of Judaizing heresy.

But if the primitive Nazarenes of whom the Acts speaks were orthodox Jews, what sort of probability can there be that Jesus was anything else? How can he have founded the universal religion which was not heard of till twenty years after his death? * That Jesus possessed in a rare degree the gift of attaching men to his person and to his fortunes; that he was the author of many a striking saying, and the advocate of equity, of love, and of humility; that he may have disregarded the subtleties of the bigots for legal observance, and appealed rather to those noble conceptions of religion which constituted the pith and kernel of the teaching of the great prophets of his nation seven hundred years earlier;

* "If every one was baptized as soon as he acknowledged Jesus to be the Messiah, the first Christians can have been aware of no other essential differences from the Jews."—Zeller, "Vorträge" (1865), p. 216.

* Dr. Harnack, in the lately published second edition of his "Dogmengeschichte," says (p. 39), "Jesus Christ brought forward no new doctrine;" and again (p. 65), "It is not difficult to set against every portion of the utterances of Jesus an observation which deprives him of originality." See also Zusatz 4, on the same page.

and that, in the last scenes of his career, he may have embodied the ideal sufferer of Isaiah—may be, as I think it is, extremely probable. But all this involves not a step beyond the borders of orthodox Judaism. Again, who is to say whether Jesus proclaimed himself the veritable Messiah, expected by his nation since the appearance of the pseudo-prophetic work of Daniel, a century and a half before his time; or whether the enthusiasm of his followers gradually forced him to assume that position?

But one thing is quite certain: if that belief in the speedy second coming of the Messiah which was shared by all parties in the primitive Church, whether Nazarene or Pauline; which Jesus is made to prophesy, over and over again, in the synoptic Gospels; and which dominated the life of Christians during the first century after the crucifixion—if he believed and taught that, then assuredly he was under an illusion, and he is responsible for that which the mere effluxion of time has demonstrated to be a prodigious error.

When I ventured to doubt “whether any Protestant theologian who has a reputation to lose will say that he believes the Gadarene story,” it appears that I reckoned without Dr. Wace, who, referring to this passage in my paper, says:

He will judge whether I fall under his description; but I repeat that I believe it, and that he has removed the only objection to my believing it.*

Far be it from me to set myself up as a judge of any such delicate question as that put before me; but I think I may venture to express the conviction that, in the matter of courage, Dr. Wace has raised for himself a monument *œre perennius*. For, really, in my poor judgment, a certain splendid intrepidity, such as one admires in the leader of a forlorn hope, is manifested by Dr. Wace, when he solemnly affirms that he believes the Gadarene story on the evidence offered. I feel less complimented perhaps than I ought to do, when I am told that I have been an accomplice in extinguishing in Dr. Wace’s mind the last glimmer of doubt which common sense may have suggested. In fact, I must disclaim all responsibility for the use to which the information I supplied has been put. I formally decline to admit that the expression of my ignorance whether devils, in the existence of which I do not believe, if they did exist, might or might not be made to go out of men into pigs, can, as a matter of logic, have been of any use

whatever to a person who already believed in devils and in the historical accuracy of the Gospels.

Of the Gadarene story, Dr. Wace, with all solemnity and twice over, affirms that he “believes it.” I am sorry to trouble him further, but what does he mean by “it”? Because there are two stories, one in “Mark” and “Luke,” and the other in “Matthew.” In the former, which I quoted in my previous paper, there is one possessed man; in the latter there are two. The story is told fully, with the vigorous, homely diction and the picturesque details of a piece of folk-lore, in the second Gospel. The immediately antecedent event is the storm on the Lake of Gennesareth. The immediately consequent events are the message from the ruler of the synagogue and the healing of the woman with an issue of blood. In the third Gospel, the order of events is exactly the same, and there is an extremely close general and verbal correspondence between the narratives of the miracle. Both agree in stating that there was only one possessed man, and that he was the residence of many devils, whose name was “Legion.”

In the first Gospel, the event which immediately precedes the Gadarene affair is, as before, the storm; the message from the ruler and the healing of the issue are separated from it by the accounts of the healing of a paralytic, of the calling of Matthew, and of a discussion with some Pharisees. Again, while the second Gospel speaks of the country of the “Gerasenes” as the locality of the event, the third Gospel has “Gerasenes,” “Gergesenes,” and “Gadarenes” in different ancient MSS.; while the first has “Gadarenes.”

The really important points to be noticed, however, in the narrative of the first Gospel, are these—that there are two possessed men instead of one; and that while the story is abbreviated by omissions, what there is of it is often verbally identical with the corresponding passages in the other two Gospels. The most unabashed of reconcilers cannot well say that one man is the same as two, or two as one; and, though the suggestion really has been made, that two different miracles, agreeing in all essential particulars, except the number of the possessed, were effected immediately after the storm on the lake, I should be sorry to accuse any one of seriously adopting it. Nor will it be pretended that the allegory refuge is accessible in this particular case.

So, when Dr. Wace says that he believes

* Page 76.

in the synoptic evangelists' account of the miraculous bedevilment of swine, I may fairly ask which of them does he believe? Does he hold by the one evangelist's story, or by that of the two evangelists? And having made his election, what reasons has he to give for his choice? If it is suggested that the witness of two is to be taken against that of one, not only is the testimony dealt with in that common-sense fashion against which theologians of his school protest so warmly; not only is all question of inspiration at an end, but the further inquiry arises, after all, is it the testimony of two against one? Are the authors of the versions in the second and the third Gospels really independent witnesses? In order to answer this question, it is only needful to place the English versions of the two side by side, and compare them carefully. It will then be seen that the coincidences between them, not merely in substance, but in arrangement, and in the use of identical words in the same order, are such, that only two alternatives are conceivable: either one evangelist freely copied from the other, or both based themselves upon a common source, which may either have been a written document, or a definite oral tradition learned by heart. Assuredly these two testimonies are not those of independent witnesses. Further, when the narrative in the first Gospel is compared with that in the other two, the same fact comes out.

Supposing, then, that Dr. Wace is right in his assumption that Matthew, Mark, and Luke wrote the works which we find attributed to them by tradition, what is the value of their agreement, even that something more or less like this particular miracle occurred, since it is demonstrable, either that all depend on some antecedent statement, of the authorship of which nothing is known, or that two are dependent upon the third?

Dr. Wace says he believes the Gadarene story; whichever version of it he accepts, therefore, he believes that Jesus said what he is stated in all the versions to have said, and thereby virtually declared that the theory of the nature of the spiritual world involved in the story is true. Now I hold that this theory is false, that it is a monstrous and mischievous fiction; and I unhesitatingly express my disbelief in any assertion that it is true, by whomsoever made. So that, if Dr. Wace is right in his belief, he is also quite right in classing me among the people he calls "infidels;" and although I cannot fulfil the eccentric expectation of the Bishop of Peterborough, that I shall glory in a title which, from my point of

view, it would be simply silly to adopt, I certainly shall rejoice not to be reckoned among the bishop's "us Christians," so long as the profession of belief in such stories as the Gadarene pig affair, on the strength of a tradition of unknown origin, of which two discrepant reports, also of unknown origin, alone remain, forms any part of the Christian faith. And, although I have, more than once, repudiated the gift of prophecy, yet I think I may venture to express the anticipation, that if "Christians," generally are going to follow the line taken by the Bishop of Peterborough and Dr. Wace, it will not be long before all men of common sense qualify for a place among the "infidels."

VI.

CHRISTIANITY AND AGNOSTICISM.

BY HENRY WACE, D.D.

READERS who may be willing to look at this further reply on my part to Professor Huxley need not be apprehensive of being entangled in any such obscure points of church history as those with which the professor has found it necessary to perplex them in support of his contentions; still less of being troubled with any personal explanations. The tone which Prof. Huxley has thought fit to adopt, not only toward myself, but toward English theologians in general, excuses me from taking further notice of any personal considerations in the matter. I endeavored to treat him with the respect due to his great scientific position, and he replies by sneering at "theologians who are mere counsel for creeds," saying that the serious question at issue "is whether theological men of science, or theological special pleaders, are to have the confidence of the general public," observing that Holland and Germany are "the only two countries in which, at the present time, professors of theology are to be found whose tenure of their posts does not depend upon the result to which their inquiries lead them," and thus insinuating that English theologians are debarred by selfish interests from candid inquiry. I shall presently have something to say on the grave misrepresentation of German theology which these insinuations involve; but for myself and for English theologians I shall not condescend to reply to them. I content myself with calling the reader's attention to the fact that, in this controversy, it is Prof. Huxley who finds it requisite for his argument to insinuate that

his opponents are biassed by sordid motives ; and I shall for the future leave him and his sneers out of account, and simply consider his arguments for as much, or as little, as they may be worth. For a similar reason I shall confine myself as far as possible to the issue which I raised at the Church Congress, and for which I then made myself responsible. I do not care, nor would it be of any avail, to follow over the wide and sacred field of Christian evidences an antagonist who resorts to the imputation of mean motives, and who, as I shall show, will not face the witnesses to whom he himself appeals. The manner in which Prof. Huxley has met the particular issue he challenged will be a sufficient illustration to impartial minds of the value which is to be attached to any further assaults which he may make upon the Christian position.

Let me then briefly remind the reader of the simple question which is at issue between us. What I alleged was that "an agnosticism which knows nothing of the relation of man to God must not only refuse belief to our Lord's most undoubted teaching, but must deny the reality of the spiritual convictions in which he lived and died." As evidence of that teaching and of those convictions I appealed to three testimonies—the Sermon on the Mount, the Lord's Prayer, and the story of the Passion—and I urged that whatever critical opinion might be held respecting the origin and structure of the four Gospels, there could not be any reasonable doubt that those testimonies "afford a true account of our Lord's essential belief and cardinal teaching." In his original reply, instead of meeting this appeal to three specific testimonies, Prof. Huxley shifted the argument to the question of the general credibility of the Gospels, and appealed to "the main results of biblical criticism, as they are set forth in the works of Strauss, Baur, Reuss, and Volkmar." He referred to these supposed "results" in support of his assertion that we know "absolutely nothing" of the authorship or genuineness of the four Gospels, and he challenged my reference to Renan as a witness to the fact that criticism has established no such results. In answer, I quoted passage after passage from Renan and from Reuss showing that the results at which they had arrived were directly contradictory of Prof. Huxley's assertions. How does he meet this evidence ? He simply says, in a foot-note, "For the present I must content myself with warning my readers against any reliance upon Dr. Wace's statements as to the results arrived at by modern criticism.

They are as gravely as surprisingly erroneous." I might ask by what right Prof. Huxley thus presumes to pronounce, as it were *ex cathedra*, without adducing any evidence, that the statements of another writer are "surprisingly erroneous" ? But I in my turn content myself with pointing out that, if my quotations from Renan and Reuss had been incorrect, he could not only have said so, but could have produced the correct quotations. But he does not deny, as of course he cannot, that Reuss, for example, really states, as the mature result of his investigations, what I quoted from him respecting St. Luke's Gospel, namely, that it was written by St. Luke and has reached us in its primitive form, and, further, that St. Luke used a book written by St. Mark, the disciple of St. Peter, and that this book in all probability comprised in its primitive form what we read in the present day from Mark i. 21 to xiii. 37. These are the results of modern criticism as stated by a biblical critic in whom Prof. Huxley expressed special confidence. It was not therefore my statements of the results of biblical criticism with which Prof. Huxley was confronted, but Reuss's statements ; and, unless he can show that my quotation was a false one, he ought to have had the candor to acknowledge that Reuss, at least, is on these vital points dead against him. Instead of any such frank admission, he endeavors to explain away the force of his reference to Reuss. It may, he says, be well for him

to observe that approbation of the manner in which a great biblical scholar—for instance, Reuss—does his work does not commit me to the adoption of all, or indeed of any, of his views ; and, further, that the disagreements of a series of investigators do not in any way interfere with the fact that each of them has made important contributions to the body of truth ultimately established.

But I beg to observe that Prof. Huxley did not appeal to Reuss's methods, but to Reuss's results. He said that no retraction by M. Renan would sensibly affect "the main results of biblical criticism as they are set forth in the works of Strauss, Baur, Reuss, and Volkmar." I have given him the results as set forth by Reuss in Reuss's own words, and all he has to offer in reply is an *ipse dixit* in a foot-note and an evasion in the text of his article.

But, as I said, this general discussion respecting the authenticity and credibility of the Gospels was an evasion of my argument, which rested upon the specific testimony of the Sermon on the Mount, the Lord's Prayer, and the narrative of the Passion ; and, accordingly, in his present rejoinder Prof.

Huxley, with much protestation that he made no evasion, addressed himself to these three points. And what is his answer? I feel obliged to characterize it as another evasion, and in one particular an evasion of a flagrant kind. The main point of his argument is that from various circumstances, which I will presently notice more particularly, there is much reason to doubt whether the Sermon on the Mount was ever actually delivered in the form in which it is recorded in St. Matthew. He notices, for instance, the combined similarity and difference between St. Matthew's Sermon on the Mount and St. Luke's so-called "Sermon on the Plain," and then he adds:

I thought that all fairly attentive and intelligent students of the Gospels, to say nothing of theologians of reputation, knew these things. But how can any one who does know them have the conscience to ask whether there is "any reasonable doubt" that the Sermon on the Mount was preached by Jesus of Nazareth?

It is a pity that Prof. Huxley seems as incapable of accuracy in his quotations of an opponent's words as in his references to the authorities to whom he appeals. I did not ask "whether there is any reasonable doubt that the Sermon on the Mount was preached by Jesus of Nazareth," and I expressly observed, in the article to which Prof. Huxley is replying, that "Prof. Reuss thinks, as many good critics have thought, that the Sermon on the Mount combines various distinct utterances of our Lord." What I did ask, in words which Prof. Huxley quotes, and therefore had before his eyes, was "whether there is any reasonable doubt that the Lord's Prayer and the Sermon on the Mount afford a true account of our Lord's essential belief and cardinal teaching." That is an absolutely distinct question from the one which Prof. Huxley dissects, and a confusion of the two is peculiarly inexcusable in a person who holds that purely human view of the Gospel narratives which he represents. If a long report of a speech appears in the *Times* and a shortened report appears in the *Standard*, every one knows that we are none the less made acquainted—perhaps made still better acquainted—with the essential purport and cardinal meaning of the speaker. On the supposition, similarly, that St. Matthew and St. Luke are simply giving two distinct accounts of the same address, with such omissions and variations of order as suited the purposes of their respective narratives, we are in at least as good a position for knowing what was the main burden of the address as if we had only one account, and

perhaps in a better position, as we see what were the points which both reporters deemed essential. As Prof. Huxley himself observes, we have reports of speeches in ancient historians which are certainly not in the very words of the speakers; yet no one doubts that we know the main purport of the speeches of Pericles which Thucydides records.

This attempt, therefore, to answer my appeal to the substance of the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount is a palpable evasion, and it is aggravated by the manner in which Prof. Huxley quotes a high German authority in support of his contention. I am much obliged to him for appealing to Holtzmann; for, though Holtzmann's own conclusions respecting the books of the New Testament seem to me often extravagantly skeptical and far-fetched, and though I cannot, therefore, quite agree with Prof. Huxley that his "*Lehrbuch*" gives "a remarkably full and fair account of the present results of criticism," yet I agree that it gives on the whole a full and fair account of the course of criticism and of the opinions of its chief representatives. Instead, therefore, of imitating Prof. Huxley, and pronouncing an *ipse dixit* as to the state of criticism or the opinions of critics, I am very glad to be able to refer to a book of which the authority is recognized by him, and which will save both my readers and myself from embarking on the wide and waste ocean of the German criticism of the last fifty years. "Holtzmann, then," says Prof. Huxley in a note on page 104, "has no doubt that the Sermon on the Mount is a compilation, or, as he calls it in his recently published '*Lehrbuch*' (p. 372), 'an artificial mosaic work.'" Now, let the reader attend to what Holtzmann really says in the passage referred to. His words are: "In the so-called Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v.-vii.) we find constructed, on the basis of a real discourse of fundamental significance, a skillfully articulated mosaic work."* The phrase was not so long a one that Prof. Huxley need have omitted the important words by which those he quotes are qualified. Holtzmann recognizes, as will be seen, that a real discourse of fundamental significance underlies the Sermon on the Mount. That is enough for my purpose; for no reasonable person will suppose that the fundamental significance of the real discourse has been entirely obliterated, especially as the main purport of the sermon in St. Luke

* "In der sog. Bergpredigt, Mt. 5-7, gibt sich eine, auf Grund einer wirklichen Rede von fundamentaler Bedeutung sich erhebbende, kunstreich gegliederte Mosaikarbeit."

is of the same character. But Prof. Huxley must know perfectly well, as every one else does, that he would be maintaining a paradox, in which every critic of repute, to say nothing of every man of common sense, would be against him, if he were to maintain that the Sermon on the Mount does not give a substantially correct idea of our Lord's teaching. But to admit this is to admit my point, so he rides off on a side issue as to the question of the precise form in which the sermon was delivered.

I must, however, take some notice of Prof. Huxley's argument on this irrelevant issue, as it affords a striking illustration of that superior method of ratiocination in these matters on which he prides himself. I need not trouble the reader much on the questions he raises as to the relations of the first three Gospels. Any one who cares to see a full and thorough discussion of that difficult question, conducted with a complete knowledge of foreign criticism on the subject, and at the same time marked by the greatest lucidity and interest, may be referred to the admirable "Introduction to the New Testament," by Dr. Salmon, who, like Prof. Huxley, is a Fellow of the Royal Society, and who became eminent as one of the first mathematicians of Europe before he became similarly eminent as a theologian. I am content here to let Prof. Huxley's assumptions pass, as I am only concerned to illustrate the fallacious character of the reasoning he founds upon them. He tells us, then, that—

there is now no doubt that the three synoptic Gospels, so far from being the work of three independent writers, are closely interdependent, and that in one of two ways. Either all three contain, as their foundation, versions, to a large extent, verbally identical, of one and the same traditions; or two of them are thus closely dependent on the third; and the opinion of the majority of the best critics has, of late years, more and more converged toward the conviction that our canonical second Gospel (the so-called "Mark's" Gospel) is that which most closely represents the primitive groundwork of the three. That I take to be one of the most valid results of New Testament criticism, of immeasurably greater importance than the discussion about dates and authorship. But if, as I believe to be the case beyond any rational doubt or dispute, the second Gospel is the nearest extant representative of the oldest tradition, whether written or oral, how comes it that it contains neither the "Sermon on the Mount" nor the "Lord's Prayer," those typical embodiments, according to Dr. Wace, of the "essential belief and cardinal teaching" of Jesus?

I have quoted every word of this passage because I am anxious for the reader to estimate the value of Prof. Huxley's own statement of his case. It is, as he says, the opinion of many critics of authority that a

certain fixed tradition, written or oral, was used by the writers of the first three Gospels. In the first place, why this should prevent those three Gospels from being the work of "three independent writers" I am at a loss to conceive. If Mr. Froude, the late Prof. Brewer, and the late Mr. Green each use the Rolls Calendars of the reign of Henry VIII., I do not see that this abolishes their individuality. Any historian who describes the Peloponnesian War uses the memoirs of that war written by Thucydides; but Bishop Thirlwall and Mr. Grote were, I presume, independent writers. But to pass to a more important point, that which is assumed is that the alleged tradition, written or oral, was the groundwork of our first three Gospels, and it is, therefore, older than they are. Let it be granted, for the sake of argument. But how does this prove that the tradition in question is "the oldest," so that anything which was not in it is thereby discredited? It was, let us allow, an old tradition used by the writers of the first three Gospels. But how does this fact raise the slightest presumption against the probability that there were other traditions equally old which they might use with equal justification so far as their scope required? Prof. Huxley alleges, and I do not care to dispute the allegation, that the first three Gospels embody a certain record older than themselves. But by what right does he ask me to accept this as evidence, or as affording even the slightest presumption, that there was no other? Between his allegation in one sentence that the second Gospel "most closely represents the primitive groundwork of the three," and his allegation, in the next sentence but one, that "the second Gospel is the nearest extant representative of the oldest tradition," there is an absolute and palpable *non sequitur*. It is a mere juggle of phrases, and upon this juggle the whole of his subsequent argument on this point depends. St. Mark's Gospel may very well represent the oldest tradition *relative to the common matter of the three*, without, therefore, necessarily representing "the oldest tradition" in such a sense as to be a touchstone for all other reports of our Lord's life. Prof. Huxley must know very well that from the time of Schleiermacher many critics have believed in the existence of another document containing a collection of our Lord's discourses. Holtzmann concludes ("Lehrbuch," page 376) that "under all the circumstances the hypothesis of two sources offers the most probable solution of the synoptical problem;" and it is surely

(To be continued.)

GOODLY WORDS.

Readings from the Mystics, selected by C. H. A. BJERRE-GAARD, of the Astor Library.

YET hath the soul a dowry natural,
And sparks of light some common things to see,
Not being a blank where naught is writ at all,
But what the writer will may written be.

For Nature in Man's Heart her laws doth pen,
Prescribing Truth to Wit, and Good to Will;
Which do accuse, or else excuse, all men
For every thought or practice good or ill.

And yet these sparks grow almost infinite,
Making the world and all therein their food,
As fire so spreads as no place holdeth it,
Being nourished still with new supplies of wood.

SIR JOHN DAVIES. "On the Soul of Man," in
Nosce Teipsum. London, 1599.

I love my God, but with no love of mine,
For I have none to give:
I love thee, Lord, but all the love is thine,
For by thy life I live.
I am as nothing, and rejoice to be
Emptied, and lost, and swallowed up in thee.

Thou, Lord, alone, art all thy children need,
And there is none beside:
From thee the streams of blessedness proceed;
In thee the bless'd abide.
Fountain of life, and all abounding grace,
Our source, our centre, and our dwelling-place.

MADAME GUION. *Poems, translated by W. Cowper*.
London, 1837.

Perfectness shall be manifested upon the earth.
Yet perfectness is a fable to any one who is not devoted to Truth. But this is most certain, that who-soever will devote himself to Truth shall become Truth. No matter how far off perfectness may seem to you now; it shall become very near to you through devotion to Him. Put away your far-sightedness, and look near; for the Kingdom is at hand. Look so near until there be nothing between you and God.—

In all the world there is but one jewel—The Pearl, and for it alone all men seek. This jewel is not being sought for as some adventurer seeks gold—as by chance; it is being sought out earnestly, methodically, and with certainty of where it is to be found. And this certainty is Happiness; for where permanent Happiness is found, there also is The Pearl. This all men know.—

There is a King within, not raised upon a throne, that would have an audience with you, my friend! A king seeking audience with me? Yes! When you have done with seeking audiences with kings, give audience to the King.—

A certain man set out upon a journey to seek an ideal home; and on leaving he told his friends that he would not rest until he had found what he sought, even though he had to search the whole earth over. After a long time he returned from whence he started, and confessed to his friends that he had travelled from place to place and had not found his home until he returned again. And he said, at every place where I stopped seeking a home I saw my ideal farther on, and kept journeying after it until it brought me here again. And this I have now learned, that anywhere I could have made my home; but as long as I held it at a distance, I always had a distance to travel after it. I

was like a man travelling around the earth after perpetual sunlight, but the night would always overtake me. God is your light. And every man that setteth God as a sun in the heavens, seeking His perpetual Light, is like a traveller after an ideal home, and one upon whom darkness rests nightly.
DAY BY DAY THE ESSENTIAL BREAD. By *Fred-erick*. San Francisco, 1889.

Some persons, when they hear of the prayer of silence, falsely imagine that the soul remains stupid, dead, and inactive; but unquestionably it acteth therein more nobly and more extensively than it had ever done before; for God Himself is her mover, and she now acteth by the agency of his Spirit. This action of the soul is attended with the utmost tranquillity. When she acteth of herself, the act is forced and constrained, and therefore she can the more easily perceive and distinguish it; but when she acteth under the influence of the Spirit of Grace, her action is so free, so easy, and so natural, that it almost seems as if she did not act at all. "He hath set me at large—He hath delivered me, because He delighted in me" (Ps. xviii. 19). When the soul hath got into her central tendency, or, in other words, is returned, through re-collection, into herself, from that moment the central attraction becomes a most potent action, infinitely surpassing in its energy every other species. Nothing indeed can equal the swiftness of this tendency to the centre, and though an action, yet it is so noble, so peaceful, so full of tranquillity, so natural and so spontaneous, that it appears to the soul as if she did not act at all. When a wheel rolls slowly we can easily distinguish its parts; but when its motion is rapid, we can distinguish nothing. So the soul which rests in God hath an activity exceedingly noble and elevated, yet altogether peaceful; and the more peaceful she is, the swifter is her course; because she is proportionably given up to that Spirit by which she is moved and directed.

MADAME GUION. *Short Method of Prayer*, quoted by M. A. KELTY: *Religion of the Heart*. London, 1846, 3d ed.

May that soul of mine, which mounts aloft in my waking and my sleeping hours, an ethereal spark from the light of lights, be united by devout meditation with the Spirit supremely blest and supremely intelligent!

May that soul of mine, which is a ray of perfect wisdom, pure intellect, and permanent existence, the inextinguishable light set in mortal bodies, without which no good act is performed, be united by devout meditation with the Spirit supremely blest and supremely intelligent!

May that soul of mine, in whose eternal essence is comprised whatever has past, is present, or will be hereafter, be united by devout meditation with the Spirit supremely blest and supremely intelligent!

May that soul of mine, which contains all sacred Scriptures and texts, as spokes held in the axle of a chariot-wheel, and into which the essence of all created forms is interwoven, be united by devout meditation with the Spirit supremely blest and supremely intelligent!

May that soul of mine, which, distributed also through others, guides mankind as the charioteer guides his steeds—the soul fixed in my breast, exempt from old age, swift in its course—be united by devout meditation with the Spirit supremely blest and supremely intelligent!

Part of a VEDA, translated by *Sir William Jones*.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

BEITRÄGE ZUR SEKTENGESCHICHTE DES MITTELALTERS. Von IGNAZ VON DÖLLINGER. Erster Theil: Geschichte der gnostisch-manichäischen Sekten. Zweiter Theil: Dokumente vornehmlich zur Geschichte der Valdesier und Katharer. München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1890. 8vo, pp. vi., 259, and ix., 736. 25 m.

The latter years of the late lamented author were among his most fruitful. After a long period of comparative silence, two volumes of "Akademische Vorträge," covering a wide range of historical topics, appeared in 1888. These were followed in 1889 by a joint work, composed and edited by himself and Dr. Reusch, entitled, "Geschichte der Moralstreitigkeiten in der römisch-katholischen Kirche seit dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert, mit Beiträgen zur Geschichte und Charakteristik des Jesuitenordens," in two large volumes. Only a few months elapsed between the publication of this elaborate work, which may safely be characterized as the ablest work on the subject and one of the author's greatest achievements, and that of the work under review. This latter event antedated the death of the great historical and theological leader of the Old Catholic party by only a few weeks. His death is sincerely mourned by the evangelical world, who rejoice that he was spared to complete his fourscore years and ten, and to gather up and publish to so large an extent the results of his long-continued studies.

It is needless to say, that the announcement a few months ago that the author was publishing a work on the sects of the Middle Ages awakened great expectations among scholars who were familiar with his work on other periods and phases of history. So much valuable documentary material has been brought to light within the past twenty years, and so much ability has been shown in dealing with this material by such scholars as Schmidt, Herzog, Preger, Haupt, Müller, Keller, Comba, *et al.*, as to warrant the expectation that Dr. Dollinger would not venture upon this important field without a substantial contribution toward the understanding of the many difficult problems involved.

The publication of the large volume of documents on the history of the Waldenses, Cathari, and related parties is a boon for which all students of this period will be deeply grateful. A large proportion of these

documents, and by far the most valuable, have been previously edited, it is true; but many of those previously edited are embodied in scarce and expensive works, and are practically inaccessible to students not within reach of large theological libraries. Yet the body of hitherto inedited material is by no means inconsiderable in quantity or quality, and this alone would amply justify the purchase of the entire work. The texts of the documents hitherto edited have been to a great extent collated with other mss. and the value of the documents has been thereby considerably enhanced.

Among the more important of the fresh documents may be mentioned the book *Supra Stella* written by Salvus Burce, a nobleman of Piacenza, A.D. 1235. It treats in a familiar way of Cathari, Albanenses, Concorricii, Pauperes Leonistae, Pauperes Lombardiae, and Speronistae. The title of the work was suggested, the writer informs us, by that of a certain heretical work entitled *Stellae*. Each of the four principal parties is allowed to state, apparently in its own language, its characteristic views and the grounds of its opposition to the Roman Church. The Albanenses and the Concorricii represent two mutually antagonistic Catharistic parties, the former dualistic, in the sense of holding to the eternity of the evil principle, the latter insisting that the supreme God is the sole Creator, and that the god of this world is a fallen angel. Both alike reject the Old Testament, and they agree in holding to the ordinary ascetical positions of Manichæism, such as abstinence from animal food, from marriage and sexual contact generally, from the destruction of animal life, etc. With both the usual designations of the Roman Church are "harlot," "beast," etc.

The tract contains some important information with reference to Waldensian parties. In the famous *Rescriptum Heresiarchum Lombardiae ad Leonistas in Alemannia*, first published by W. Preger in 1875, and which has since been regarded by students of Waldensian history as the most important extant document, the relation of the Pauperes Leonistae to the Pauperes Lombardiae is not quite clear. The two parties have evidently sustained close relations with each other and have become alienated by reason of certain doctrinal differences and of differences with respect to the degree of veneration that should be accorded to the memory of Peter Waldo, who had died some time before. The *Rescriptum* informs us fully as to the nature of these differences and of the efforts that have just been made

(1218) to harmonize the parties. The *Supra Stella*, written about seventeen years later, shows us that the negotiations proved futile, and imparts the following information with reference to the earlier relations of the two parties: "O Poor Men of Lombardy, you were at first of the Roman Church; because the Church did not please you you joined yourselves with the Poor Men of Lyons and were with them under the rule of Waldo. Afterward you chose another head (thereby displeasing Waldo and the Poor Men of Lyons), whose name was Johannes de Roncho, and you preached for some years that which the Poor Men (of Lyons) preached, saying that you were not against them; but yet there was the utmost mutual discord between you and them." Elsewhere the writer gives the dates of these events: "Waldo who was of Lyons was your head, and back of Waldo you had no head but the Church of Rome; and this may be about sixty years ago, and there are still living many of those people who were intimately associated with him, and Waldo himself was of the Roman Church. . . . The Poor Men of Lombardy came forth from the Poor Men of Lyons, and this is about thirty years ago, and Johannes de Roncho arose." The date of the separation would, accordingly, be about 1205. The document throws no new light on the views of the Waldenses, but would give the impression of more radical separatism in relation to the Roman Church than we should derive from the *Rescriptum*. As a refutation of the views of the parties described, the document may be pronounced a failure. There is little effort to deny the corruptions of the Church on which the separations were professedly founded. The writer relies chiefly on the argument from the fewness of the heretics as contrasted with the multitudinous membership of the Church, the recentness of the founding of the various parties as contrasted with the antiquity of the Church, and upon the mutual strife prevailing among the heretical parties, each claiming to be exclusively the true Church, as contrasted with the unity of the Church. The writer adds, it would seem, two new forms of the name of Waldo, namely, *Valdexius* and *Gualdensis*.

The following statement of the modified dualism of the Concorricii, and of their scheme for explaining the origin of evil, may not be unacceptable: "But the Concorricii say, that there is one only Creator, who created all things out of nothing; but they say that he himself created all things and the elements simultaneously, and they

say that Lucifer, who is now called Satan, sinned in heaven of his own motion (*per se*), and seduced the angels; nor will he or his angels be saved; and they say that Lucifer, *i.e.*, Satan, descended into that chaos and saw a spirit having four faces, and he descended and it drew near to him, and they conversed together, and they wished to divide the elements of the good God, and they could not because there were not three, and Lucifer took away one, and there were three, and they divided the elements of the good God, and there came forth from those elements all those imagined things (*imaginata*), and they made the body of Adam, and when he says: 'Let us make man,' they explain the use of the plural by supposing that Lucifer speaks in the person of his associates. And they took a minor angel and forcibly put him into the body of Adam, and then Adam was made a living soul, and they named him Adam, and they extracted Eve from him, and they enjoined upon them not to eat of the apple; and they understand by the apple, that the serpent put his tail into the nature of Eve and she conceived Cain; and when Eve was joined to the serpent, that is to say, when she ate the apple, then she knew the delight of this world, and gave of the apple to Adam to eat, that is to say, joined herself with him [sexually]; and those very beings (Satan, etc.) that had forbidden them to eat, encouraged them to eat. Likewise they say, that all human generation has descended in its entirety from Adam according to the flesh and according to the spirit, that is to say, that all our spirits have descended from the angel that Lucifer with his four-footed associate put into Adam; whence they say, that that which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit. Likewise they say, that Lucifer, who is now called the Devil, gave the Old Testament and the Law, and made the promise to Abraham, etc.; and they say further, that Christ did not eat, did not drink corporally; and further, some of them who are called Selavi say that when Christ ascended into heaven he put away the flesh that he had on earth." As compared with the original Manichæism, or with the views of the Albanenses, the dualism of the Concorricii is thus seen to have been very moderate. The writer points out in detail the differences between the two parties of Catharists as well as the points of agreement between them. The extreme dualism of the Albanenses is manifest from the following extract: "You teach and believe, that there are two Creators from eternity, and that they

are contrary, and that there is a great conflict between them, and that the one fights against the other and destroys the other, according as either is more potent, publicly and privately. If this is so, the writer continues, each is lord on his own account, and lord over his own kingdom, and the creatures and sons of each ought to be subject to him. . . . O Albanenses, you preach two gods, two peoples, and two kingdoms without beginning, and that each of these will be of perpetual duration. . . . O Albanenses, you preach that the evil god sent his messenger, or his messengers, into the kingdom of the good God; and that a great battle took place there, and that not being able to resist Michael the archangel they were thrust forth from heaven; but yet they fell with a multitude of the souls of the good God, whom the evil god himself imprisoned in human bodies, for restoring whom the good God sent his Son into this world, who died, was crucified, suffered martyrdom in this world." The writer intimates that the Albanenses entertained peculiar views about the person of Christ, which we may well believe to have been the case.

On the whole, this document, written by a layman, makes an impression of straightforward honesty, which most of the clerical writings against heresy fail to make. The conviction is irresistible, that he was addressing himself earnestly to the sectaries themselves with a view to securing their conversion, and that he was not writing against them in order to stir up persecution. It is refreshing to find so Christian a bit of Roman Catholic polemical literature.

It would transcend the limits of a notice like this to particularize further with reference to the contents of this thesaurus of documents. Suffice it to say, that the volume contains much of the really valuable material that had previously been published concerning the various parties of Cathari, Waldenses, Arnoldists, Beghards, Brethren of the Free Spirit, Brethren of the Common Life, heretical Franciscans, Taborites, Bohemian Brethren, etc., along with a considerable amount of fresh material. The amount of new light thrown upon the history of mediæval sects by this volume is not very large; but the service rendered in collecting and editing so rich a body of documents is a very important one.

The far thinner volume of historical disquisition is as disappointing as the volume of documents is satisfying. The author confines himself strictly to what he considers Gnostic-Manichæan sectaries. If he designed to make his discussions contermi-

nous with his documentary materials, he must have intended to proceed in another volume to consider the history of the Waldenses, etc. It is possible that consciousness of advancing age may have curtailed this volume; and to the infirmities of age some of the shortcomings of the treatise under review may with some probability be ascribed. If the author had associated with himself some enterprising younger scholar, like Reusch, as he did in the editing of his work on *Moral Controversies*, we should doubtless have been the richer for it. The treatment even within the restricted field is meagre. It lacks the historical perspective that one would expect to find in the work of such a master. The sources are in many cases used, it would seem, without due discrimination. From what we know of the facility with which enemies, pagan or Christian, of any hated party, have, from the earliest times to the present, promulgated foul insinuations with respect to the secret lives of its members, it is not a little surprising to find Dr. Döllinger incorporating into his narrative charges of secret abominations that were radically opposed to the fundamental principles of the party in hand—principles for which its members were ready to suffer the most cruel tortures and death itself. The writers of the documents on which the author relies for such charges do not pretend to have any sufficient evidence whereon to base them, but throw them out for what they are worth as resting on mere rumor. It would seem to be the more judicious course utterly to ignore such slanderous insinuations as are not supported by credible evidence.

The first five chapters are devoted to the Paulicians, the Bogomiles, and related parties in the East; and to the spread of Oriental dualism in the West. The author, it may be safely said, adds no new feature to our knowledge of these parties, and seems to be entirely dependent upon the sources that Gieseler, Neander, Schmidt, *et al.*, have employed. So far as the author manifests any "tendency" in discussing the various questions that arise, it is in magnifying the dualistic element and in minifying the evangelical. The wonderful growth of Gnostic-Manichæan heresy in the West from the beginning of the eleventh century onward, the author attributes to the incoming of Oriental heresy by way of Bulgaria and Italy, and to its union with remnants, which there is good reason to believe continued to exist, of old Gnosticism, Manichæism, and Priscillianism.

Chapter VI. is devoted to Peter de Bruys

and Henry of Toulouse (or Lausanne). The author perversely insists upon identifying these evangelical reformers with the Cathari, and attempts unsuccessfully to explain away the evangelical significance of the representations of Peter the Venerable and St. Bernard. Döllinger has not a scrap of fresh material on the lives and teachings of Peter and Henry. It should be borne in mind that Peter the Venerable and Bernard of Clairvaux were the most uncompromising enemies of these teachers. If there had been anything that savored of Manichæism in their teachings, they would certainly not have failed to make the most of it. What they do charge against these popular leaders, while it is exceedingly damaging from a hierarchical and ecclesiastical point of view, was thoroughly creditable from an evangelical point of view. Dr. Döllinger lays much stress upon the supposed fact that no evangelical antecedents can be found for these men. On the theory that they were evangelical and not Manichæan, whence did they derive their views? It is by no means so certain as the author would have us believe, that evangelical Christianity did not persist in Northern Italy, Southern France, Switzerland, the Rhine region, the Netherlands, etc., from the first introduction of Christianity into these regions onward. On the other hand, it is almost certain that such was the case. It would be scarcely proper in a notice like this to occupy the space that would be requisite for an adequate statement of the evidence of the persistence of evangelical teaching, with its dependence on Scripture and its rejection of extra-scriptural doctrines and practices. Suffice it to say that the evidence is to many minds entirely conclusive. Besides, it would be difficult to point out anything in the teachings of these men that would not readily occur to an unprejudiced reader of the New Testament on comparing its plain teachings with the travesty of Christianity which they witnessed in the lives of the clergy and in the degenerate ecclesiasticism of the time. Again, Dr. Döllinger fails to find satisfactory evidence of the survival of a party of evangelical Christians distinct from the Gnostic-Manichæan Cathari, during the hundred and twenty years that intervened between the death of Henry and the rise of the Waldensians. If he had been as intent on proving the persistence of evangelical teaching during this period as he was on identifying Peter and Henry with the Cathari, he would no doubt have found abundance of evidence that by no means all of the opponents of Rome dur-

ing this period were of the Manichæan type. Not to mention a number of parties that were arraigned before the authorities during this period, in whose teaching little appears that savors of Catharism, the rapidity with which evangelical principles spread after the appearing of Waldo and the steady growth of the Waldenses in the direction of freedom from ecclesiasticism, as is evident, *e.g.*, from a comparison of the *Rescriptum* with the accounts given by the Passau Anonymous and David of Augsburg, can be best accounted for on the supposition that the followers of Peter and Henry had persisted, in the midst of persecution, in their rigid separatism and in their adhesion to the Scriptures as the norm of faith and practice, and that they were gradually merged in the great evangelical movement commonly associated with the name of Peter Waldo. It should not be forgotten that the Waldenses set up at an early date a claim to historical connection with the ante-papal time, and this claim, while it should not be unquestioningly accepted, should certainly not be completely ignored.

The rest of the volume is occupied chiefly with an exposition of the doctrines and practices of the various parties of the Cathari. The author divides the Cathari, under the guidance chiefly of the *Supra Stella*, into the *Monarchian* and the *Dualistic* parties, and gives a somewhat full, though not very systematic or critical statement of the doctrinal peculiarities of each party. There is little in this exposition that is not entirely familiar to students of the history of Mediæval sects.

A comprehensive history of the Mediæval sects, written from an evangelical point of view and in the light of all the material now accessible, is still a desideratum. Mr. Henry C. Lea, in his great work on the Inquisition, has given us the best we have in English on this subject. Probably no living man is so well qualified as he to prepare the book we need. Meanwhile the work under review will fill a very important place in the literature of the subject, and along with the rich German, French, and Italian works that have appeared within the last few years, will enable the diligent student to gain a fairly satisfactory impression of the lives and the teachings of those who in the midst of direst persecution were witnesses of the truth, and of those who no less heroically maintained doctrines and practices derived largely from Oriental theosophy.

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UNTO THE UTTERMOST. By JAMES M. CAMPBELL. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert, 1889. 7½x5 inches. Pp. 254. \$1.25

The tone of this book is preponderantly polemical. According to the fashion of the hour, the chief object of attack is the more rigid form of Calvinism, although, with it, much that cannot be justly claimed as Calvinistic also suffers. While well written, it lacks discrimination and consistency, and is as dogmatic in temper and utterance as any advocate of the views which it opposes could possibly be. That Christ is "able to save unto the uttermost" means, according to Mr. Campbell, that no man in this life is beyond help and hope. He has overlooked the limitation with which the sentence in Heb. vii. 25 ends. "Complete depravity in the individual" is represented as "a doctrine which falsifies human history and vilifies human nature." Eph. ii. 3 is interpreted as meaning that by nature we are prone to become angry! "Man is not responsible for his natural tendencies, but solely for his conduct in reference to them." Like Zwingli, he teaches that "inherited tendencies to evil are misfortunes, not crimes," and styles the contrary doctrine a "hideous dogma." Sin, as a state or habit, is rejected; it can only be something that is done. There are many elegant phrases concerning the dependence of man on divine power and the necessity of regeneration. But how much this amounts to may be learned when we read of "inherited grace," the possibility that "the natural and spiritual births may be contemporaneous," and that "generation and regeneration may coalesce"! The author is inconsistent when, a few pages afterward, he writes: "Man is bound hand and foot by the law of heredity, which is to him a law of sin and death."

Redemption he regards as rooted in a necessity of God's nature, rather than as an act of sovereign grace. The sphere of mercy and that of justice are confounded when he intimates that God would have been unjust had he not given his Son for man's sins. He denies that God has the right to pass by some and select others as objects of his help. The Anselmic theory of the Atonement is repudiated, and an argument for the moral theory advanced. God was not angry with man, but man was estranged from God, and needed some pledge of God's love in order to be won back.

With all this, Mr. Campbell is no Universalist. Men are condemned and souls

perish, he teaches, not because they are sinners, but because of persistent unbelief and disobedience. The later chapters treat of the danger of "becoming fixed in a state of eternal opposition to God," and "that the main thing to be dreaded is not eternal punishment, but eternal sin." Men may be "past redemption" without being "past the possibility of redemption." This is certainly a subtle distinction; but it simply means to assert that man is forever to determine his own destiny. But when, again, he speaks of that law inherent in our nature, whereby men are eternally fixed in eternal sin, we cannot refrain from asking whether this be not an eternal punishment, and whether there be any possibility of redemption for those in whom it has wrought such effects? He shrinks from the conclusion to which his own premises lead; and yet we find him in still another place suggesting the hope of a change of character in the future world, as the foundation of the full enjoyment of the Divine mercy. "We may not pray that God may forgive the Devil as he is, but surely we have every warrant to pray that he become other than he is, that God may forgive him. But oh, the pity of it! fallen angels and fallen men may come into a state where all desire for restoration has passed away."

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PHILADELPHIA.

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NOTES AND MAGAZINES.

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Halévy, J., Recherches Bibliques, xvii.; *Le royaume héréditaire de Cyrus*, xviii.; *L'époque d'Abraham*. *Loeb, Isidore*, I. Notes sur le chapitre Ier des Pirké Abot; II. Notes sur l'histoire des Juifs. *Reinach, Theo.*, Inscription juive d'Auch. *Guttmann, Alexander* de Hales et la judaïsme. *Lévi, Israël*, Le traité sur les Juifs de Pierre de l'Ancre. *Lévy, Emile*, Un document sur les Juifs du Barrois. *Kahn, Salomon*, Documents inédits sur les Juifs de Montpellier. *Kracauer, J.*, Procès de R. Josefmann contre la ville de Colmar. *Brunschweig, Léon*, Les Juifs de Nantes et du pays nantais (fin). *Notes et Mélanges, Israëlsohn et Derembourg, J.*, L'ouvrage perdu de Jehouda Hajjoudj. *Bibliographie, Halévy, J.*, Skizze der Geschichte Arabiens von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Propheten Muhammed, par Édouard Glaser. Correspondence, etc.

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I. New Testament Lexicography; II. Further Considerations on Proposed Changes in the Scottish Liturgy; III. Annals of the "Low Church Party"; IV. Methods of Truth Seeking; V. Three Controversial Novels; VI. Mr. Baring-Gould and the Holy Eucharist in the First Three Centuries; VII. English Monasticism in the Sixteenth Century; VIII. Farrar's Lives of the Fathers; IX. Robert Brett, his Life and Work; X. The Educational Work of the Church of Ireland; XI. English Liturgical Colors; XII. Prevention of Pauperism; Short Notices of New Books.

THEOLOGISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT AUS DER SCHWEIZ. VII. (1890).

I. *Marti, K.*, Welches ist der richtige evangelisch-protestantische Standpunkt, von dem aus abweichende theologische Anschauungen der Vergangenheit und der Gegenwart beurtheilt werden sollen? II. *Kappeler, A.*, L'origine de l'Apocalypse, par Henri Schoen, Licencié ès. lettres, Paris, 1887. III. *Meili, Friedr.*, Der gegenwärtige Stand der Praktischen Theologie. IV. *Frikart, A.*, Die Composition der Bergpredigt, Matt. v.-vii.

METHODIST REVIEW. Vol. LXXII., No. 1, January, 1890.

I. The Character of the Book of Joshua, and its Relation and Testimony to the Pentateuch, Prof. Henry M. Harman, LL.D.; II. Jesus of Nazareth, Benjamin St. James Fry, D.D.; III. The Methodist Episcopal Church in the South, J. D. Walsh, D.D.; IV. Progress in Assyrian Research, Prof. Robert W. Rogers, Ph.D.; V. The Itinerant's Club, Bishop John H. Vincent, D.D., LL.D.; VI. Study of Science and the Christian Faith, Prof. H. W. Conn, Ph.D.; Editorial Notes and Discussions; The Arena; Editorial Reviews.

Vol. LXXII., No. 2, March, 1890.

I. The Prophecy of Isaiah, Prof. James Strong, S.T.D.; II. Homer and Longfellow, S. D. Hillman, Ph.D.; III. Philosophic Principles in Orthodoxy, J. W. Webb, D.D.; IV. Aggressive Movements in Modern British Methodism, Rev. W. A. Dickson; V. The Christ of the Church, A. J. Nelson, D.D.; VI. The Semitic Question, W. Arthur Heidel; VII. John Bright, Jennie F. Willing; Editorial Notes and Discussions; The Arena; The Itinerant's Club; Editorial Reviews.

On page 201 of the CONCISE DICTIONARY, column 2, line 8, read "dependent on" for "independent of."

We repeat the notice of last number that Rev. Dr. J. I. Mombert, Paterson, N. J., will, on direct application, send a copy of his *Handbook of the English Versions of the Bible* to any minister, theological student, or Sunday-school teacher for one dollar; by express, charged to subscriber, or by mail, for 16 cents extra for postage. The amount should accompany the order.

THE COSMOPOLITAN for April, while a rather "light" number, nevertheless contains matter for the thoughtful in Mr. Poultney Bigelow's article on "The Fighting Forces of Germany" and Professor Marquand's descriptive paper on "Princeton University." Other illustrated articles are "In the Land of the White Elephant," by Frank G. Carpenter; "Siena's Medieval Festival," by Anna Hampton Brewster; "A Flying Trip Around the World," by Miss Bisland, the COSMOPOLITAN's special correspondent; "Eaton Hall," by Charles S. Pelham Clinton; the "Académica Julian," by M. Riccardo Nobili; and fiction. In E. E. Hale's department of "Social Problems," incidental mention is made of Mr. W. M. F. Round's notable success with the Burnham Farm Enterprise.

The leading article in the ATLANTIC MONTHLY for the current month is "Some Popular Objections to Civil Service Reform," by Oliver T. Morton, and will be of interest to all well-wishers of the reform. The only paper of strictly theological interest in this number is by James B. Thayer on "Trial by Jury of Things Supernatural." There is an important article on Belgium, and the usual amount of fiction, poetry, and "Contributors' Club" talk fill out an interesting issue.

MR. ABBEY's art is at its best in the rich illustrations to "The Merchant of Venice"—the text being in Andrew Lang's sympathetic vein. This forms the opening piece to the April HARPER'S. R. R. Bowker writes an economic paper on "A Suit of Clothes," which is well illustrated by Rogers, Monks, and others. General Merritt has an article on Indian campaigning, also illustrated. Mr. Howells's present fiction, "The Shadow of a Dream," is, to our thinking, the most subtle of that author's writings up to date, and will doubtless afford plenty of comment for the metaphysicians.

SCRIPPER'S for April has two articles of value to the students of civil life and mechanical progress—"The Rights of the Citizen," by Frederick W. Whitridge, and "The Electric Railway of To-Day," by Joseph Wetzler. There are interesting papers, both charmingly illustrated, on "Tadmor in the Wilderness" and "In the Footsteps of Charles Lamb." The editorial utterances in "The Point of View" department are airy of touch and keen as to style.

M. BERGER, director of the last Paris Exposition, gives some points to the Chicagoans on the subject of world fairs in THE CENTURY for April. A subject of much greater importance is "The Slave-Trade in the Congo Basin," treated by Mr. E. J. Glave on the basis of personal observation; Professor Putnam describes "The Serpent Mound of Ohio" and Major Powell "The Non-Irrigable Lands of the Arid Region." Other articles fill out an excellent number.

The novel in the April LIPPINCOTT is by Christian Reid. Leonard Woolsey Bacon has a characteristic article on "Things that May any Day Turn Up." Julian Hawthorne continues his critique on his father's "Elixir of Life." Wilson Barrett adds to the already voluminous literature on the subject of Hamlet. C. H. Herford writes on Mary Wollstonecroft Shelley, and Frederic M. Bird has a further word to say on Mr. Bellamy's scheme. These form the chief contributions of this month's issue.

THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY is one of our most valuable periodicals, and receives a hearty welcome every month. In the April number there is a striking, though probably unauthentic portrait of Columbus, and an unsubstantial article on George Washington at the Columbus Exposition. The student of American Church history will turn first to Mr. John Dimitry's appreciative article on "Leval, the First Bishop of Quebec." Leval declined a missionary bishopric in China (1651), but accepted the position of Vicar-apostolic of New France, and entered on his duties in 1659. His position was difficult, but he succeeded in his ambitions. In 1674 he became Bishop of Quebec, but resigned three years later. In 1708 he died. There is a book notice of Mr. Hamilton Andrews Hill's *History of the Old South Church of Boston*. As usual, this magazine gives interesting matter from different fields.

THE April number of the MISSIONARY REVIEW OF THE WORLD contains some fresh matter. Rev. John Ross tells the story of the "Christian Dawn in Korea," a country just open to missionary influence; Mrs. W. F. Armstrong relates her "Life among the Karens;" and an extract from the *Morning Post*, of London, gives an account of the "Revolution in Uganda." But to the student of missions the article by Rev. Edward Storrow, of Brighton, England, will be most attractive. He discusses "Foreign Missions in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," or rather, the general absence of missions.

THE MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

VOL. 2.

MAY, 1890.

No. 2.

FOR THE MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

OUR GOVERNMENT AND CHRISTIANITY.

BY M. VALENTINE, D.D., LL.D., PRESIDENT OF THE LUTHERAN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
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QUITE lately in Washington City a little convention of infidel women, as a self-constituted authority, declared, in a series of turgid resolutions, the utter illegitimacy of all connection, theoretical or practical, of our Government with Christianity, and demanded its exclusion from all official recognition, especially from our public education. They have entered suit for a complete divorce, in the supposed interest of impartiality, as thought to be required by the presence of Jews, heathen, agnostics, atheists, and infidels of all sorts among us. In this interest they claim that Government itself shall be agnostic of the whole religious idea. This convention was, indeed, a small affair, both as to numbers and moral weight, and its resolves might easily be allowed to pass without notice. This notice of it is, in fact, not meant to assign it any other importance than that which belongs to a straw which reminds of the direction of a current. There is also in our country an organized "Liberal League" that, for years, has been loudly denying that we of right are a Christian nation, and keeping up a bitter warfare against all such practices of our National and State Governments, as show any alliance with Christian ideas and principles. In their pronunciamento, frequently rehearsed in the hearing of the whole country, they have a long series of "We-demands," the sum of which is that our civil polity, from the highest to the lowest places of the Government, shall be administered on a purely secular basis, recognizing no God, nor any respect to His authority as Supreme Ruler of men and nations, abrogating all laws that protect the Christian Sabbath, or look to the teaching and enforcement of "Christian" morality in any way. In short, they demand that Christianity, whether viewed as a religious or ethical faith, shall be entirely and unflinchingly eliminated from our political theory and practice, and our civil system be

reduced to the Nihilistic secularism of atheism. But this "League" also embraces and stands for only a very little fraction of our citizenship, and attracts attention mostly by the phenomenal extremeness of its demands and the audacity with which it insults both the religious and moral sense of the land. The source and intemperateness of the assault annuls its power for injury. In itself, though helped by all the vociferous socialists that have come to us from foreign shores, it would be able to do but little to overthrow our Christian order and institutions.

And yet in connection with the aims and demands of these enemies of Christianity there has come for our country one of the great issues of our times. For within the Church itself, and among the most sincere and consecrated friends of Christ, has appeared a species of secularism in strange and unnatural alliance with the theories and purposes of these few enemies of Christianity. From pulpit and platform, through review and magazine and newspaper, are set forth teachings which, in disconnecting government from relations to the Church, so disconnect it also from its relations to God and Christian morality, as to prove, if allowed to prevail, fully efficient for the ends for which agnostics and infidels would otherwise labor in vain. They are preparing the way for a complete separation of the political thought, life, and methods from the wholesome restraints and guidance of Christian principles and considerations, and for a surrender of all questions of civil law or governmental polity to popular decisions in which no reference shall be had to divine authority or law. They tend to make Christian citizenship divest itself of Christian views and conscience at the polls, and vote for men and measures without regard to the demands of God's eternal sovereignty and laws. The way is thus opened to the fullest working of political demagogery, and the increasing ascendancy of political counsels which threat-

en a surrender of one after another of the Christian features of our institutions, and take away the barriers necessary to keep liberty from degenerating into license. We cannot but regard these teachings, however well meant, as utterly false to Christianity and wanting in political wisdom. The alliance between these friends of Christianity and its enemies in advocating an abandonment of Christian recognitions in civil authority and administration, is truly unnatural. It is in the highest degree unfortunate—not mainly, however, for the sake of Christianity. Christianity can do its work without any special help from the Government. It has often lived and wrought without the smiles of the civil power and even through fires of Governmental persecution. But it is to be deplored for the country's sake. This cause is not to be pleaded as if the power of Christianity, or of the Church even, were at stake, or were dependent on peculiar favor of the civil authority. Without doubt, indeed, the absolute divorce sought would bring conditions less favorable for its purely spiritual work. But it mainly concerns the right order and best interests of the people within that temporal sphere over which civil government itself presides.

A correct view of the whole subject can be reached only by keeping in mind some fundamental principles involved. The entire question must be looked at from the *Christian standpoint*—unless, indeed, we are ready to place the divine authority of Christianity among open questions, with no more right to be held as expressing the true view of the world and human life than atheism or any of the heathenisms that may have representatives among us. The contention is not with those who seek the exclusion of all religion on agnostic or infidel grounds, but with those who, while recognizing the everlasting and irrevocable truth of Christianity and its theistic view of the world, yet fail to estimate the duties of citizenship in this light. The true conclusion is to be reached, not by starting out in an assumption that we have no more right, or are under no more obligation, to enforce the supremacy of the actually constituted divine principles and laws for human life than the enemies of Christianity have to enthrone error and evil, but by inquiring what, under God's real sovereignty and counsel, is proper and necessary for the best order, peace, welfare, and prosperity of our country. The appeal must be to the Christian conscience of the land, and in the light of the only teaching under the sun that has

right to stand as expressing the real relation of mankind to God. The Christian is surely not entitled at the present day and in relation to this subject, to imply that, after all, Christianity may not be true, or to give it no precedence in questions of civil authority and good and wholesome laws, or to surrender its divine moralities, in order that infidelity, irreligion, and atheism may take the helm and direct our Government. Moreover, the truth of this Christian view of the world and the supremacy of God's will and authority in all human relations, as revealed in the Holy Scriptures, is distinctly recognized by the immense majority of the people of our country. Theoretically, this is the faith, either explicit or implicit, of the population of these United States. Only a very small minority have contrary convictions, either intellectual or moral. As included in this view the world is under redemptory and mediatorial government. The only-begotten Son hath revealed the eternal Father. God reigns over the world in and through Jesus Christ, in whom the divine everlasting kingdom is established, under which "all things are to be subdued," every knee bowing in heaven and in earth and under the earth. This "kingdom of heaven" upon earth denotes the establishment of the whole dispensation of redeeming grace, power, and sovereignty in Jesus Christ. It means the re-establishment of the dominion or rule of God wherever human sin has exalted itself against His authority and against righteousness. There is nothing under the stars that is not made amenable to this sovereignty. In it the Son is "Head over all things," with "all power in heaven and on earth." It is the rulership of infinite Love, with the *ethical aim*, in connection with the salvation of men, *to recover human life, in all its relations and activities to order, righteousness, and happiness.* Under this dominion God is moving the administration of the world forward toward the appointed goal of history. Whatever adjusts itself in harmony with His plan and laws and immutable purposes will abide. Whatever refuses and resists must suffer final overthrow. No fair decision can be reached in the question of proper attitude of our Government toward Christianity without bearing in mind that, unless Christianity be utterly untrue, this view of the world stands not as a mere speculative or empty idea, but as the solid reality and actual fact of the constitution under which men and nations exist in an unalterable amenability, from which they can no more withdraw themselves than from the

law of gravitation. Though the infidel or atheist may shape *his* view of the case in denial of all this, the Christian cannot do so without surrendering his Christian position.

Another truth to be kept in mind is that our free government and institutions are the *product* of Christianity. They have not been born of pagan or of atheistic thought and life. They could not have been. No fair-minded student of history will question this. Christian civilization itself is a type of civilization so distinct and alone as to be classed with nothing outside of the illumination of the special divine revelation given in the Holy Scriptures. Without the new and unequalled conception of God which Christianity has created and fixed in the human mind, as the holy Creator, Preserver, and Sovereign Ruler of the universe, of infinite wisdom, power, and love; without the exalted conception it gives of man as a lofty being made in the image of God, endowed with sublime and immortal possibilities and destinies; without the startling and impressive views it gives of the duties and responsibilities of men to God, and of man to man in a brotherhood in which each one is to love others as himself; without its divine ordination of the family constitution with its exalting sanctities; without its quickening power for the human mind, its elevation and enlargement of intellectual horizon, its illumination and invigoration of conscience, and its kindling power for the purest and best sentiments of the heart; without these splendid gifts of Christianity, this type of *civilization*, which gives birth to free institutions, could not exist. Who does not know that, outside of Christendom, there is to-day no civilization in which free republican government, based on the universal rights of man and securing these rights, could be organized or maintained? And as a matter of historic fact, familiar as a household story to every ordinary reader of history, the foundations of American freedom were laid in the unique and phenomenal energies of a special revival and movement of Christian thought and power from the sublime religious reformation of the sixteenth century. That grand phenomenon was a special awakening of Christian thought and life, in connection with the re-opening of a long-closed Bible, raying out God's great truths for the mind and heart of men, and kindling the fires of liberty. Thought was freed and manhood was enfranchised. Out of this came the assertion of the rights of personality and conscience against despotic and persecuting power. From that special revival of pure

Christianity the splendid movement of modern freedom took its rise. The tides of the revived Christianity flowed across the oceans. Men and women came to these shores inspired with high views and intense convictions of Christian truth, heroically refusing any surrender of the rights of Christian conscience, the authority of God's Word, or the supremacy of divine law. When

" Amidst the storm they sang,
And the stars heard and the sea,
And the sounding aisles of the dim woods rang,
To the anthems of the free,"

their spirit and action held in themselves, and were prophetic of the full outcome of all the Christian statehood and nationality of this free country. All the best authorities as to the facts in the case freely and gratefully recognize the real and fundamental relation of our institutions to the great principles, truths, and powers of Christianity. The colonial life established itself on religious bases and framed municipal and civil administrations in Christian forms. In the solemn hour of signing the Declaration of Independence, the appeal was made "to the Supreme Judge of the world," with expression of "firm reliance on Divine Providence." The Articles of Confederation of 1781 were ratified with a preface: "Whereas it hath pleased the great Governor of the world to incline the hearts of the Legislatures we respectively represent in Congress." Though from the peculiar circumstances of the convention which framed the Constitution, and its purpose to avoid any, even the slightest, union of Church and State, there has been an unfortunate failure to give distinct recognition of God as the source of governmental power, yet all who look at the deeper realities of influence and power which came to consummation in the fundamental law then adopted, and brought our Government to birth, are obliged to confess, as they have done, that Christianity has been the creator of our unique and matchless free institutions. God's saying to Cyrus was true also of that Convention: "I girded thee, though thou recognizedst me not." Daniel Webster declared: "Our ancestors founded their Government on morality and religious sentiment. They were brought here by their high veneration for the Christian religion. They journeyed by its light and labored in its hope. They sought to incorporate it with the elements of their society and to diffuse its influence through all their institutions, civil, political, social, and educational." Though God was not named in the Constitution, the civil order yet estab-

lished and maintained a real and practical connection with essential Christianity. When the Constitution was adopted no one would have dreamed of denying the fact. Any attempt, in the face of the actual Christian sentiment of the people, to insert a clause disrupting the connection and to bar out recognition of Governmental amenability to the will and laws of the God of the Bible, would have evoked universal condemnation. And so a real and working relation has always marked our Governmental and civil administration—Christian ministers employed as chaplains in Congress and State Legislatures, in the army and navy, the Bible in our schools, oaths in inaugurations into public offices and in our courts, laws defending the quiet of the Christian Sabbath, days of humiliation and of thanksgiving by Presidential and Gubernatorial proclamations. These facts, taken together, seem fully to justify the judgment of Chancellor Kent, Justice Story, and other eminent jurists, that Christianity is part of the common law of our land. At any rate, the one chief point is clear beyond dispute, that our free institutions, in which we rejoice and glory, have come out of the teachings, life, and creative powers of Christianity. None of the heathen, infidel, or agnostic "isms" that, mostly immigrant, are now seeking to fight it from its place, have made our free country and its beneficent constitutions.

Shall this product of Christianity repudiate its parentage, or withdraw from all recognition of this relation to Christianity, on the shallow pretence of a Governmental duty to be impartial to all religions and to haters of all? It would not, indeed, be the first time that Christianity, or rather the supreme Jehovah who speaks through it, has had to say: "I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against Me." Often have men who have been nourished in knowledge and power by the divine truth, which has gone as quickening and formative forces into them from the intellectual and moral atmosphere about them from childhood, at last used that increased power for denial and displacement of the truth. But will the Christian say that this is right?

This review of underlying principles and facts brings us to the real heart of this great question. This is found in supposed necessities or implications of the fact that by the National Constitution *State and Church are separated*: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

This fact has been worked for all that it is worth, and more than it is worth, in the discussions and appeals upon the issues that have arisen. The cry, "Union of Church and State," as the thing supposed to be aimed at, or as involved in a theoretical and practical recognition of God and the supremacy of His laws, or in respect shown to the verities and ethical laws of Christianity, has been freely used as a phantom of terror for the easily disturbed imagination of many—albeit it is as unreal and fictitious as phantoms always are. The Seventh-day Baptists, with their peculiar tenet of a Saturday Sabbath, have harped on this string and vociferated this cry incessantly in opposing all Sabbath laws. But nobody wishes a union of State and Church. In any historical and legitimate sense of such a union, the Church membership of our country are as intensely opposed to it as the bitterest enemies of Christ. There are no advocates of it among us, and it is high time that the phantom fear of it should be allowed to dissolve. Church and State are in this free land to be forever separate—and this much more for the Church's sake than the State's. But more and more has the conception of this separation been magnified and distorted to mean not only a separation of Church and State, but of State from essential Christianity and God and the moral laws He has ordained for the order and welfare of life. And "separation," in some respects and some places, is made to mean exclusion and *prohibition*, as when the Word of God is *not allowed* to be used in the public schools of some States. While the Constitution only says: "Congress shall make no law respecting the *establishment* of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," claim is made for an interpretation that shall not only exclude a union of Church and State, but require the State to reduce itself, in its own functions and over the whole domain of its operations, to a purely and positively secular or atheistic basis and action. Thus, instead of its being held, as intended, simply to guard the people against Governmental encroachment upon the rights of conscience and to guarantee forever complete freedom of thought and worship—or no worship, if that may please—it is sought to force it into the character of a fundamental law for the Government's theoretical, practical, and positive repudiation of religion in all its official functions, that, so far as its working forms and attitude are concerned, it shall absolve itself from amenability to God, and permit to flow through the pulses of its offi-

cial action no drop of blood of a distinctively Christian piety. This extreme view, it is true, is held by only a very few—it being representative of the “demands” of the fanatical secularists noticed in our opening paragraph—yet we are convinced that many of the sincerest friends of religion are disposed to give to the principle of separation between Church and State an undue and dangerous significance and application. It is proper, therefore, to scan more precisely the facts and principles involved.

What is the “Church?” No just conception of it, either in biblical or historical sense, will confound it with the sovereignty of God, or the dominion or rulership of Christ in the earth. The two things are not identical in reality, nor contemporaneous in comprehension. The rights of Christ’s regal authority extend far beyond the limits of the “Church” as such—“Head over all things,” with “all power in heaven and on earth,” “whose throne is forever and ever,” “King of kings and Lord of lords,” to “rule” in gracious, providential, and judicial administration till all things are subdued to Himself. It is a dominion for the recovering of all things human to allegiance to God and harmony with His supreme government and righteousness. The sovereignty of Christ is simply another name for God’s sovereignty and rights of rulership and recognition in the world. To attempt to own God’s kingship, apart from Christ, and rejecting Him, is to renounce Christianity and take pagan ground, to step back out of the light of Christian thinking and civilization and to seek to make heathen darkness and misconception directive for affairs. But the *Church* is a particular divine institution that falls under this universal rulership of God in Christ. It is the organized assembly of those who professedly accept Christ’s gracious rulership and submit themselves in heart and life to His tuition and service. The functions of the Church are distinctively religious, spiritual, and ethical—the salvation of souls and the lifting of character out of sin into righteousness and love. It is not an institution for secular functions—though, by its spiritual and ethical work, it incidentally accomplishes a most benign service for the secular welfare and interests of mankind.

But the *State* is another divine institution, constituted and ordained for temporal interests and welfare. We all know, indeed, that there is a shallow theory, long ago proclaimed by Hobbes and adopted by the infidel French encyclopædists, which makes government a mere *human* institution, a

voluntary social compact, deriving all its rights and authority from the consent of the governed. The source is supposed to be ultimate in the people, and civil government stands simply and purely for a delegation of powers by the individuals or people who set it up. Of course this superficial notion may be consistently accepted by atheists and even by deists; but how can a Christian adopt it, with his theistic view of the world and with the Word of God open before him? for neither reason nor revelation will tolerate it. Government has, necessarily, a divine ground even in the view of rational theism alone. Its necessity and foundations have been laid by the Author of nature in the social constitution of the race. Man is framed into an organism of social life. Apart from this he cannot live and exercise the powers and adaptations of his nature, or come to the character or happiness for which his constitution clearly destines him. God writes an ordaining law and issues his voice of proclamation as truly through His action in creation as in supernatural revelation. Ocean and star, returning seasons and revolving planets, proclaim distinct ordinations of His supreme will. So Government is a divine institution by God’s construction of human relations and life. As a necessity thus ordained of God, it has existence by no optional delegation of individual rights. There is no such thing as individual right to govern other men, and government stands for an authority and function in excess of what even all the individuals have to convey. But beyond this clear divine basis given it by natural law, revelation distinctly and with ringing emphasis gives it this origin and relation: “Let every soul be subject to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God; and the powers that be are ordained of God. Therefore, he that resisteth the power withstandeth the ordinance of God; and they that withstand shall receive to themselves judgment. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good and thou shalt have praise from the same; for he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain; for he is a minister of God, an avenger for wrath to him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be in subjection, not only because of the wrath, but also for conscience’ sake. For this cause ye pay tribute also; for they are ministers of God’s service, attending continually upon this very thing” (Rom. 13 : 1-6).

This is the *Christian* view, the apostle's affirmations which we have italicized showing, by their directness and iteration, how fundamental for correct thinking on the subject, he felt a clear recognition of this *divine* character and position of government to be. This view, therefore—though the voice of some ministers of the Gospel is sometimes heard repudiating it in the interest of Hobbes's secularistic fiction—stands, not as an idle notion, but as a solid and immovable reality to which mankind are to adjust themselves and their “little systems.” Not, indeed, that any *particular form* of government is divine to the exclusion of others, but government generically viewed, the civil state itself, with its essential function and service. The *form* of government may be of compact, not the fact. Anarchy is not a privilege of the race. Magistracy is God's institution, and its officers are “*God's ministers for good, attending continually on this very thing.*”

Now the question in the present issue is not at all a question of the relation between these two divine institutions, the Church and the State. As to *this* relation the three most marked theories are too well known to need more than passing mention. The first asserts supremacy of the Church over the State. This is the doctrine of Rome. The Pope, as assumed head of the Church, claims supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal power. He would put his foot on the neck of kings. The second view asserts a supremacy of the State over the affairs of the Church, reversing the theory of Rome. The civil ruler becomes the head of the Church, and the Church is made subject to State regulations as to creed, organization, and worship. This order is usually known as a “union of Church and State.” It is illustrated in the general practice of European Protestant countries. The third is the American view, *reciprocal independence*, each being regarded as a divine institution, with distinct sphere of administration, the one charged with the secular order and welfare, the other having spiritual functions and service. The State owes its citizens protection in all their rights, religious as well as secular. It has no authority, however, to interfere with the Church's autonomy or self-government. On the other hand, the Church has no right to assume the functions of civil administration. But the question now before the country is *not at all* this question of the relation between Church and State, which, as already said, has been settled on a basis of reciprocal independence in their own spheres, but a ques-

tion of the relation of the State or Government to the sovereignty of God, the dominion of our Lord Jesus Christ as not only “King of saints,” but “King of kings,” and to the great moral principles and laws divinely established for human relations and all temporal affairs, and revealed in Christianity. The crucial point in the inquiry, as here reached, is whether, while the Church as a divine institution is confessedly bound, in its sphere, to this divine rulership and the supremacy of these laws, this other great institution, government, is also amenable to them in its sphere or may hold itself absolved from all regard to them. For this is what the secular theory, as already indicated, in fact amounts to. It means that practically, as well as in theory, the State, in addition to its separation from the Church, shall now assume an absolutely non-Christian, non-religious character in all its attitudes and official functions, legislative, administrative, and judicial. As about this point turns the whole issue of this momentous problem with which our country is now wrestling, we must examine with special care the supposed validity of this absolute secularization of government.

The utter untenableness and wrong of this demand becomes evident by recalling some guiding facts.

First of all, it is in clear contradiction to the *source* of governmental power. As magistracy, “ordained of God,” stands in its generic position as a “minister of God” for human good, it cannot but strike every thoughtful mind as bold and glaring absurdity, when the claim is put forth that no divine relations or duties are connected with the civil office, and that this “minister of God” is fairly entitled to repudiate God's authority and refuse the application of His laws in His own institution. He is expected to take the office and lock the owner out. The claim that the civil power may withdraw all recognition of God and play the rôle of practical atheism, turns the order of its administration into direct conflict with the very ground of its own right of existence and exercise of authority. It would employ a divine institution to hush within the province of its functions and the sound of its movement all acknowledgment of the divine name or respect for the divine will and laws. It requires “the minister of God” to deny that he is ministering at all in the name of God, but purely in the name of the people, and so as thoroughly to guard their civil and governmental independence of any “higher” government over the world. A legislator, judge, or president may be per-

sonally a Christian, and in his private secularities may conduct business according to Christian moral standard, but in all official action, he is to decide questions and direct the nation's life on the basis of the atheist's theory of the world. According to this conception of enacting and administering law, the atheist would be the fittest man for these divinely constituted functions—more *en rapport* with the duties than one who has come under the Christian principle of holding all secularities subject to ethical obligations, and doing all things in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. Such burning inconsistency with the divine source of government is itself disproof of this extreme secular demand.

It stands, too, in direct contradiction to the great truth of the amenability of *all* human affairs to the will and laws of God. As to this amenability, even natural theism is at one with the affirmations of Christianity. The Christian acknowledges that there are no parts of his life or affairs outside of this obligation. He admits the utter incongruity of holding any spheres of his activity apart from the regulation of Christian morality. He recognizes that the divine laws are supreme, not only for private thought and feelings, but for business transactions, on the farm, in the counting-house, in the bank, in all trade and commerce. There is no provided exemption for social clubs or great corporations. God's sovereignty and laws, in and through the dominion of Jesus Christ, sweep the earth in complete, irrevocable supremacy; and not an inch of human life or human relations is left outside of a sure amenability, from the humblest toils of the laborer in shop or field, to the high duties of a monarch or a president whom Providence has set to look after the order and well-being of a nation. By what right can it be claimed that the civil administration may hold all its vast operations, affecting all the interests of men, physically, intellectually and morally, as released from these omnipresent and ceaseless obligations?

With equal certainty is this demand for full secularization in conflict with the great goal in the aim of the divine purpose with the world—the annulling of the world's alienation and its recovery into harmony with the divine order. The whole Christian world is set to praying for the coming of God's kingdom and for obedience to His will on earth as in heaven. But what if one of God's own institutions, the total civil government of the earth, the very rulership of the world, the most tremendous and

dominating power on this planet, determining the life and character and institutions of the nations and the course of history, is to be conducted without recognition of, or practical respect for, the divine plan and laws in Jesus Christ? If civil government, the regulative dominion of all lands, controlling social order and touching and moulding life everywhere and in almost everything, is not to be put in accord with the laws of Christ, how are human affairs ever to be Christianized and “the kingdoms of this world” ever to become “the kingdoms of our Lord?” The State stands as forbidding application of the divine supremacy. In the theory of full State independence and secularization, government, even in the most Christian nations, is entitled to remain atheistic or pagan to the end of time, and go on enacting un-Christian laws and subjecting the people to their corrupting regulation and immoral blight. It is excused from ever feeling the touch of Christ's reign so as to beat swords into ploughshares and spears into pruning-hooks and learn war no more. The malign spirit of war and conquest, of ambition, ungodliness, and corruption, may sit forever at the helm of State and direct the course of human affairs.

It is, moreover, witnessed against by the history of God's dealings in connection with civil action in the past. Not only in the early theocracy, but in the Jewish government under the kings, the civil administration was held bound to respect God's will and authority as truly as were the Church, priesthood, and common people. Any attempt to divorce the functions of the State from obedience was visited with divine displeasure, forming for after ages a mirror of God's mind on the subject. In all the prophecies, too, of the coming Christian day, of the new order of things under our dispensation, Christ's kingly rule over men and civil administrations was put into the front. The kingdom was foretold as destined to break in pieces all opposing kingdoms. “All kings shall fall down before Him; all nations shall serve Him.” Kings should come to the brightness of His rising. And when Christ came, and though accepted and received as King by thousands on thousands in their personal capacity, was rejected by the rulers, both in Jewish and Roman administration, an official illustration of the governmental secularism which says: “We will not have this man to rule over us,” the warning voice uttered long before in the ears of Israel took effect: “The nation that will not serve Thee shall perish.”

The Jewish people remain, but the nation is gone. And just as truly does the fact stand out in the providential history of the ages since that day, as before, that the Government or State that assumes independence of God's laws of order in human affairs, making and executing laws in violation of God's laws, disharmonizes its action with the fixed and irreversible conditions of welfare, and sends down disordering influences through all society, bringing into action forces of penalty and judgment on the land. Human thrones, whether in republics or monarchies, need to keep themselves at the foot of God's throne.

Especially in a land like ours, where the Government is simply "the people" acting in organized capacity, this principle holds in fullest sway. What can warrant a Christian people in saying, collectively, in word or action: "We will be Christian and acknowledge the authority and laws of God in private life, home, business, trade, pleasures, in everything except in our politics, or the way we will govern our State affairs, but in this large business, in deference to infidels, atheists, Jews, and Nihilists among us, Christianity shall be as if it were not, and we will show no more allegiance to God than to the Chinese idol Joss. In such a course a Christian people presents the spectacle, not only of adopting an atheistic order of legislation and administration for themselves, but in the supposed interest of impartial religious freedom enthrone the will of the smallest and worst class in the land, the conglomerate class of those who would obliterate Christianity. Does this escape one-sidedness? Does true, impartial religious freedom require this throwing of the reins into the hands of this class? An essentially Christian administration of the "powers that be," under our system of separation of Church from State and our full religious toleration, takes away no man's rights of conscience. What authority has the anti-Christian conscience above the Christian conscience, to demand that, in addition to full personal religious or irreligious liberty, the State administration shall be submitted to its direction and shaped into the harmony of its low particularistic type?

But we are to add yet the consideration that this extreme secular theory destroys the best efficiency of the State in its own sphere. The State exists for temporal order and welfare. But this can come only along with the intelligence and virtue of the people. It is a political aphorism that the State is not made great by the stretch of its territory, the vastness of its resources, or

the greatness of its armies or navies, but by the high manhood and womanhood of its citizens, the pureness of its morality, the order and prosperity of all useful industries, the culture and excellence of life, the energy and profit of all legitimate enterprise. The excellence of the State is represented by its happy homes, peaceful security to person and property, advancement in learning, progress in science and art, and everything that lifts life to its true dignity and fulfils its purpose. "To political prosperity," said Washington, "religion and morality are indispensable supports. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and cherish them." Even for social and temporal order, there is no ethical system equal to the Christian. And there is no dynamic for a safe and sure moral life apart from the great truths of religion. "Let us with caution," adds Washington, "indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion." "We know," says Burke, "and, what is better, we feel inwardly, that religion is the basis of civil society, and the source of all good and of all comfort." The best welfare of the State is bound up indissolubly with the moral and religious life of the people. Even within the official functions, so immensely varied, extending through every city, town, and hamlet within the wide borders of the land, and employing hundreds of thousands of agents, there must come weakness and corruption of administration, if agents and aims and methods are to be uninfluenced by recognition of God, or the great laws of Christian morality and released from the high motives of religious truth and responsibility. It must open the political field for the full operations of demagogery, and prepare the way for ever-increasing perversion of public offices from the service of the people into places of ambition, gain, and tyranny. And the corruption and blight thus admitted into the whole Governmental service will send down bad influences through all classes, and lower the moral tone and the sway of religious motives in the common life of the people. The Government cannot, by example, teach the principle of transacting secular affairs in divorce from the moral requirements of Christianity and the sanctions of religion, without affecting large masses of the general population. If Christian morality is needful for the best national order and prosperity, the Government cannot refuse it positive encouragement and make its own practice discredit its value or necessity, without not only sinking itself into inferior efficiency for its own divinely-given

task—the best temporal order and welfare of its subjects—but also sending positively blighting influences over into the whole realm of interests it is ordained to guard and foster.

Among the particular applications in which this new theory of extreme State secularism is forcing the issue of to-day, the chief, unquestionably, are in connection with our public education, our marriage laws, and the Christian Sabbath.

Confessedly, the only basis on which the State can take up the business of education is the need, or at least the benefit, thereby secured for its own temporal order and welfare. While normally the teaching function belongs to parents, and for distinctively moral and spiritual ends to the Church, our popular form of government, “of the people, by the people, and for the people,” has developed a strong sense of the necessity of universal education to qualify for the high duties of citizenship and as a safeguard for the purity and permanence of our free institutions. It proposes to educate not for the Church’s ends, but for ends desirable and desired within its own sphere of interests. And so the system of common schools has covered the whole land, and in many of the States universities have been established by State provision and under State control. But in the presence of the discontent of the Roman Catholics, and before the pressure of the non-Christian and anti-Christian element, there has been surrender after surrender of the Christian features of our public education, threatening their total and complete exclusion. This complete exclusion is seconded by many ministers. A plea for it was heard from the platform of the recent Boston meeting of the Evangelical Alliance, and appears in the volume of the published proceedings—a plea based on Hobbes’s deistic notion of the source of civil power. Indeed, the displacement of the Bible from our public schools and hushing all teaching of its moral or religious truths, seems about to be made the great rallying cry of secularism. The recent decision of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin disallowing the reading of the Scriptures in the schools, considered in connection with the attitude of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and more particularly in view of the violent travesty of both logic and sense in the reasoning by which the decision was reached, startlingly reveals the fanaticism of the inaugurated crusade.

It is certainly unfortunate for the extreme secularists, however, that this school question, which they hold up as specially

and pre-eminently showing the correctness of the view they are urging, itself stands as the problem whose only true and safe solution demands the utter defeat of this secularistic fanaticism and folly. It is an offence alike against reason, Christianity, and patriotism. A few considerations suffice to show this.

The alleged need of it, to avoid sectarian instruction and consequent compromise of relation between Church and State, all disappears like flying mist when examined. The reasoning is vicious by a double fault. It confounds Christianity itself with sectarianism, and then becomes sectarian under pretence of impartiality. Without dissent we all concede, and even demand that there must be no *sectarian* instruction in the public schools. But surely “non-sectarian” must not be made synonymous with no religion at all. There is an immense field of religion that is not sectarian, but common and broad as human nature—a vast realm of theistic and religious truth and duty not disputed, save by a few abnormal exceptions to manhood. Why, in order to harmonize religious sects in the use of the school, should it be imagined that we must eject what all the religious sects hold in common? The truth is, that there is no right in classing God’s Word as a sectarian book, or justness in a Christian country’s consenting for a moment to have it so classed. For even Romanism, whose attitude has raised this question of exclusion, claims the Bible in support of its religious teachings, though it claims a right also to establish doctrines on the ground of tradition and its own infallible authority. And every intelligent man among us knows full well that the great doctrines of God—immortality, redemption by Jesus Christ, personal responsibility, future retribution, etc., are parts of Rome’s theological teaching. We believe with Judge Pitman, when in answer to the question, Can the public schools teach a common Christianity? he says: “It were, indeed, a scandal to our religion, if there were no ground upon which its nominal adherents could stand together. Can it be that our schools must be pagan because we are sectarian? Such a conclusion is repugnant to the common-sense of the community.” Professor Huxley, indeed, in his discussion with Professor Wace, has said, in substance, that it is not possible, amid the conflicting representations, to find out what Christianity really is. He made this declaration, however, as a professed agnostic. But will our *Christian* men say so, who wish to apply the idea, as if true, to the school problem? There could be no more

baseless assumption than for a Christian people, in their order of self-government, to treat the Bible, which the denominations all accept, as a sectarian book.

But further, this secularism establishes a sectarian order for the schools in pretence of excluding sectarian relation. The thing, and the only thing, that needs to be excluded, is a teaching of the distinctive doctrines and claims of any particular sect, but the thing excluded, in fact, is the essential truths and moral duties which are common to all. The very opposition of Rome to the reading of the Bible by the people, out of school as well as in it, is itself a feature of the narrowest and intensest sectarianism—a disreputable particularity which has stood in the way of spiritual, mental, and civic freedom for long ages, and is an anachronism in our age and country. In the schools and universities supported by States the widest liberty is allowed in the use of books and non-Christian teaching. The paganisms of ancient Greece and Rome, the Vedas of Hindu theology, the Avestas of Persia, or the Egyptian Book of the Dead, may be read or interpreted. But the Christian Scriptures, with the essential Christianity which has created our civilization and free country, are sought to be put out. Constitutions and Legislatures and courts are invoked simply against positive Christianity, and to guard, so far as school exercises are concerned, the mind of the young from contact with its moral and spiritual truths. The displacement of the Bible from our public education becomes in reality the adoption, so far as the order of our common schools are concerned, of the specialty of Roman Catholic sectarianism as to the non-use of the Scriptures, and a governmental enforcement of it in the daily education, not only upon Roman Catholic citizenship, but also upon all the Protestant population and those unconnected with any church. It concedes more to the wishes of a single sect as against the Bible in education, than to the wishes of all the rest as in its favor; and it proceeds, in deference to a hierarchy which is sworn in supreme allegiance to a potentate beyond the seas, to establish that Roman sectarian peculiarity for the order of our American school system. And in relation to the enemies of Christianity and of all religion, it adopts a practically atheistic basis in an order of “no religious instruction” in the provided education. This gives to the atheistic and non-religious view the actual determination and control, so far as included in the public schools, of the common education. Should this “godless” or-

der satisfy Protestants any better than it does Roman Catholics? For it is to be borne in mind that the Catholic hierarchy, often against the wishes of Catholics, are not seeking “godless schools” as an end, but driving toward secularization with the purpose of compelling the overthrow of the school system, or a division of the school funds. The enemies of Christianity will not tolerate that the Christian view should determine the order and character of our common school education. Why should we tolerate—not their personal freedom—but that their view shall decide and control the character of the entire public education of the State or nation? What special rights or merit has that view? Yielding to its dictation, instead of avoiding, actually establishes in practical control the smallest and worst class or “sect” in the land.

But this scheme of secularizing the public schools shows itself worthy of condemnation, especially when questioned as to its competency for the high task of true and safe education. If, as Daniel Webster, in the Supreme Court of the United States in the Girard will case, declared: “The Christian religion, in its general principles, must ever be regarded as among us the foundation of civil society,” it becomes a vital inquiry what sort of education is best adapted to promote the civil welfare and maintain our free institutions. Is it that which drops out of view the common Christianity which has created our high civilization and free Government? There is no risk in affirming that, as the secularistic view of life and the world did not create for us our goodly heritage, it must be incompetent to the service of continuing it. This incompetence is frankly and fully confessed, even by those who are urging us to yield to secularization. The speech, already referred to, before the Boston meeting of the Evangelical Alliance, puts the truth so clearly that we are tempted to quote: “As members of the Christian Church, as citizens of the Christian commonwealth, we believe that no education is complete, ay, more, that no education is safe without religious nurture; unless the moral nature be educated as well as the intellectual, the heart as well as the brain. Mental training by itself will not make men honest, will not make them truthful, will not make them pure. Purity, honesty, truthfulness, these are moral qualities, and must be educated by moral processes. But moral processes, in order to be efficient, must be associated with religious processes; for morality rests on religion—that is, it rests on God. God is the ground of all moral ob-

ligation, and, if it rests on God, then it must, of course, rest on God as revealed in Jesus Christ, for there is no other. No system of education, therefore, is complete unless it teach morality; and if it teach morality, it must teach religion; and if it teach religion, it must teach the Christian religion. This, at least, is what we Christian people believe, and hence we believe that no education of the young is safe and sufficient education unless it be associated with that nurture which the Christian religion supplies."

Words could hardly express more finely the indispensable necessity of the religious and moral elements in the education of the young. From these come the life, character, and virtues necessary to social welfare and prosperity. The religious side of human nature is a part of its normal constitution, and needs development along with the other parts, if we are to have true or well-ordered humanity. How, then, do our Christian advocates of the secularist scheme propose to retain or secure the beneficent powers of Christian education when Christian truth and Christian morals are no longer taught in the public schools? Plausibly enough, they say the Christian part of the education is to be supplied by the Church. "If the children of this country are to receive Christian education, the Christian Church must give it to them or they will not receive it; and the work that is done in the non-religious schools established by the State must be supplemented by the influence of the Christian family, by the teaching of the Christian pulpit, by the instruction of the Christian Sunday-school." This looks well—as long as we keep our eyes closed to the stern and almost frightful facts of the case. No man could place more stress than we do on the duty of Christian home instruction and nurture, and upon the Church's obligation to teach all the young it can reach through Sunday-schools and every available channel of access to their minds and hearts. But who does not know that, despite all that the Church has been able to do or is likely to accomplish, there are immense masses of our population unreached by the Church's instructions, tens of thousands of children never submitted by parents to the Church's training, found especially in our great cities, whose sole education is that supplied by our common schools? Indeed, there would be comparatively little necessity of the common schools for the proper education of the children of the Church. The public school system has been meant, for civil and political well-be-

ing, to sweep the young under a more universal preparation for the sacred duties of intelligent and pure citizenship. It is not with respect to the children of the Church that the State is anxious in the presence of the ballot without proper education, but with respect to the hundreds of thousands not under Church culture. Now, while it is to be well remembered that the State does not undertake to educate those for spiritual results, or their personal salvation—that would be an intrusion into the function and mission of the Church—and the churches in their special organizations have no right to have the State's funds handed over to them in the interest of their distinctive views, it is still clear as daylight that for the very and only ends for which the State educates at all—*i.e.*, social and civic welfare, it needs the best inclusion and power of essential Christianity and its ethical precepts and sanctions. If, through constitutions, laws, and court rulings, the teachers of its schools cannot hold up in hand the Bible, teach reverence for God and respect for divine law as well as human, and instil into the opening minds and hearts of the children the Christian forces of our civilization and the principles of New Testament morality, the State has despoiled itself of its competence for the teaching function. To attempt to conduct it in this vitiated form must bring disaster to the very interests for which the teaching task has been undertaken. In view of all these facts, this demand for the absolute secularization of our schools has neither justice, piety, nor patriotism to commend it.

This conclusion holds in full force against the same method in State universities. The utter un-Christianizing of the higher education, the exclusion of the touch of divine truth from philosophy, science, and sociology, among those who step up into the ruling places of thought and life, cannot be wholesome for secular purity and civil well-being. As long as God does not withdraw the necessity of religion for the good order of the world's secular affairs, the divorce of it from civic education is unphilosophical and unnatural. The establishment of a National University on this false basis would be another step in the wrong direction. If the Government must exclude Christianity, it would better forego the university.

There is another relation of this absolute secularization of the common schools—the driving of others besides Roman Catholics into the parochial school system. Romanist tactics against the public schools are accompanied by the establishment of an immense

system of parochial schools, an education under a hierarchy in allegiance to a foreign influence, and isolating more widely the Catholic part of the population from the common American life. This is justly felt to be an evil and a danger. But the extreme secularism of the schools is impelling other churches to separate education. And though these are without dictation from a foreign power or alliance with a foreign system, the parochial system tends to aggravate sectarian divisions and prevent a homogeneous social State.

The human-compact and non-Christian theory of government is equally inconsistent with a safe and sure settlement of the laws of marriage and the defence of the integrity of the family. The protection of this social unit from demoralization is essential to the happy constitution of the whole social and civic organism. Can our loose and diversified legislation on marriage and divorce, the source of disorders and wrongs threatening us with untold evils, be rightly corrected and unified except by recognizing the divine law in the case and resting the authority of the human legislation upon that? By what law but the law of God as revealed in Christianity is bigamy or polygamy rightly made punishable as a crime, a *malum in se*? On the secularist idea, and left simply to the different and changeable determinations of passing majorities, the true and stable foundation can never be reached.

And what of Sabbath or Sunday legislation? One of the strangest and most surprising phenomena of our day is the ingenious and labored effort of some of our Christian writers to find a Sabbath for civil enforcement other than that of God's ordination, one not resting on divine authority but adopted by the majority on the social compact basis. It seeks only a "work-free Sunday." It says: "We observe two Sabbaths, entirely distinct in origin, character, and authority: the one civil, the other religious. The latter is divine in its origin and authority, and sacred in character; the former, the civil Sabbath, is wholly human in its origin and authority and secular in its character." This is an amazing solution of the Sunday question. It begins by assuming what does not exist—"two Sabbaths." If there is a Sabbath at all, it is the one and only Sabbath that "was made for man," and of which Jesus Christ is Lord, a Sabbath made for man when man was made, and "for man" as long as the race of man exists, needing it either intellectually, socially, morally, religiously, or physically—enacted by the double ordination of a crea-

tionally established necessity for it in human life and of a given law for it. No Sabbath laws have ever been framed in our land or in the civilized nations of Christendom except in reference to this one Sabbath. Another, "entirely distinct in its origin," is a pure fiction. Then, it proposes to take this other Sabbath, establishing it as "wholly human" by the simple authority of the State, but making it "coincide" with the day of the divine Sabbath. Thus the Christian people of the country will be allowed to have the rest, quiet, and privileges of the divine Sabbath incidentally under cover of this human institution. This plan deserves a patent. Often, indeed, a counterfeit note has had currency in the currency of the genuine article. But here the counterfeit thing is proposed in order to maintain the true. Now it is easy to understand how a State, recognizing a Sabbath made by God "for man," may, without being afraid of thereby giving incidental encouragement to religion, guard that day as a "work-free" day in conditions of quiet and good order, not for spiritual results, but for the sake of the special temporal welfare for which secular government exists. But it is difficult to see any reason for inventing and superimposing this "wholly human" Sabbath. For two great questions at once arise. One is: How does this new two-Sabbath fiction or any other secularistic notion increase the State's authority or ability to ordain and defend a "work-free" Sabbath? The State's right to act in the case rests in its office of promoting State well-being. Is this right increased by claiming a merely human authority for the day? Is it best and most strengthening thus to push the day, with its civil defences, from the divine basis in which it stands in the support of the Christian conscience of the land, to one in which it stands only in the human law-making power, subject to the changes of judgment and preference of majorities? The truth is that when the tides of disorder, greed, lust of gain, helped by irreligion and anarchism, beat against the Sabbath, it needs a defence and support which it can have only by fostering in our whole population the strongest sense of the truth of its basis in the law of Him who is the Supreme Ruler of the world, to whom men and nations are responsible.

The other question is: Would a Sabbath on this low conception and import be the best, or even sufficient for the State's own welfare? It would be only a "work-free" day. It is true the State looks only to temporal good. But can the State secure the

true and full temporal good apart from the moral and religious life of the people? Has it not high interests of its own impossible to be secured by defending the Sabbath only as a holiday instead of as a holy day? Holidays, as a rule, by their license and dissipation, are largely days of both moral and economic loss. If the State makes only these, without regard to Christian morality or religion, it is not measuring up to the full necessities of the grand interests with which it is charged. The failure must bring evil. And the right thing for Government to do, in this Christian country, is to meet its sacred and irrevocable obligations to the law of God without ambiguity and without compromise.

THE PRESENT DESIDERATA OF THEOLOGY.

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THERE can be nothing more discouraging to a student of theology than the notion that the whole work of theology has been already done, and that nothing now remains but to learn by heart the results arrived at by past thinkers and retail them to the public with more or less adroitness and variety of statement. The data, it is said, of theology are given in the Bible, the contents of the Bible have been sifted through the minds of innumerable expositors, the results have been tabulated in systems of theology; and all that we have to do is to convert texts of Scripture into vessels with which to dip into this lukewarm reservoir, and hand them round for the general consumption.

If this really be the position in which the theological student finds himself in our day, what a contrast it presents to that of the student of science! The latter lives among novelties and surprises; he may alight at any moment on a revolutionary discovery; the horizon is constantly widening around him, and new fields tempt him to come and dig in the virgin soil. This is the kind of life which every true thinker must covet, where there is scope for originality and where research will find its reward.

But the notion that, whilst science is virgin soil, the field of theology is exhausted, though it enjoys extensive popularity, is nothing but a prejudice and a delusion. The truth is, the work of theology, so far from being exhausted, is at present terribly in arrear. The progress of thought in other

departments of human interest has brought to the front many questions of great importance which are awaiting replies; but, in the meantime, within the Church speculation is in a far from vigorous condition. The Church is occupied with different work. After generations of torpor she has awakened to an overwhelming sense of her duty to apply the gospel to the life of the population at home and to carry it to the heathen abroad. The instrumentalities for giving effect to these impulses have been so multiplied, that every congregation is a hive of activities, which it requires the whole time and strength of the minister to direct. Even the professors in our colleges are tempted aside from their proper work to absorb themselves in all kinds of benevolent enterprises.

In some ways this state of things is gratifying, for these are signs of revived spiritual life. But meantime the work of speculation languishes and the unanswered questions accumulate, to the world's perplexity and the Church's danger. William Ames, a godly and orthodox divine of a former age, once well known, but now, I fear, nearly forgotten, says in his great work on *Conscience*, that in his day also the same thing took place: under the reviving breath of the Spirit of God evangelistic activity prevailed, the best spirits giving themselves entirely up to it; and, whilst this was regarded as the body of the Church's duty, the toil of thought and speculation was valued only as the body's smaller members. But, says he, it turned out that these small members were the fingers and toes of the body; and without fingers and toes the hands and feet came to be of little use; and without hands and feet the body threatened to become a helpless log, tossed on the currents of the thought of the time. As in the building of the new Jerusalem, he continues, they handled the sword with one hand, while they built the wall with the other, so must evangelistic activity and sacred speculation go hand in hand, if the Church is to be in a healthy state and equal to her whole duty.

This is a true testimony. Through exclusive preoccupation with even the highest work, the Church may expose herself to irreparable damage. The world around the Church never stands still. In our day it is in swift and violent motion; and out of the troubled element new knowledge, new ideals, and new problems are rising in bewildering numbers. Unless the Church has at least a part of her mind disengaged to deal with these new births of time—to understand them and absorb them—even

the most saintly devotion to practical work will not save her from losing hold of the minds of men.

This is part of the work of the ministry. It is not enough to station on the watch-towers a few men to look out for the signs of the time. Only the diffusion through the teachers of the people as a body of an intelligence able to take a wide survey and a firm grasp of the questions as they arise will enable the Christian faith still to continue what its Founder intended it to be, a heaven leavening the whole lump of human life.

A wise man has said that every minister, besides possessing a competent acquaintance with the whole field of theology, ought to have a specialty of which he is master; he ought to be spoken of as the man who knows so-and-so. Probably this is every aspiring student's ideal. But the efforts put forth in this direction are often comparatively fruitless, through ignorance of the lines of study which are the most hopeful and remunerative at the time. A student would naturally choose for his specialty a field that is fresh and unexhausted. There are certain directions in which earnest and original work is more pressingly needed than in others, and work done there will be more exhilarating to the student than work attempted elsewhere. It is the purpose of this paper to point out where these comparatively virgin and undeveloped fields are, which at present invite the work of fresh and willing thinkers.

I.

Undoubtedly the great new phenomenon of the intellectual world in this age is natural science, and the hypothesis with which science is working is EVOLUTION. Darwin, now that his laborious life is ended, is beginning to be regarded in many quarters as the greatest man of recent times. A hundred young disciples, who worship him, are spreading his doctrines in exaggerated and dogmatic forms. He was always ready to acknowledge the difficulties lying in the way of his ideas; but they are ready to draw out the scheme of the universe, in all its elements, physical and spiritual, as an unbroken evolution from primeval matter.

It is an imposing panorama which is thus unfolded. The universe is an infinite mass of world-forming material in all stages of growth. Here it is utterly rude and shapeless; there form is just beginning to emerge out of chaos; in a third case matter has reached full organization; in a fourth it is tumbling from organization back again to

chaos. Our world is only one of millions of experiments of this kind; and in it there has been a gradual ascent from the crudest forms, until man, with the exquisite flower of his intellectual and moral life, has been evolved. How far the evolution may still proceed none can tell; but no doubt our world, like the rest, will sink back into the chaos out of which it has arisen, and again form part of the raw material out of which new experiments of the same kind will in the future be produced. All is under the government of natural law, which is derived from no Lawgiver, but is inherent in the structure of things, and works out its results as a blind perpetual motion.

If any one wishes to see how imposing to the imagination such a history of the universe may be made, he should read the description of it in a book like Strauss' *Old and New Faith*, where it is depicted with an almost poetical dignity and with the warmth of sincere, if somewhat bitter, conviction. As a creed, it has laid strong hold of the mind of Europe, especially on the Continent, and it begins to spread in the East among the educated classes of India and Japan. In this country the cooler heads acknowledge the breaks which interrupt the demonstration; but as a working hypothesis, it has given such a stimulus to discovery, and, between the breaks, the results are so imposing, that there is a constant tendency to overlook these limitations and give it a universal application. The popular mind feels the charm of an idea which brings the details gathered from a hundred fields under a single point of view; and perhaps no other idea of this kind is so fascinating in itself as that of growth—the long extended unfolding of the higher out of the lower.

Here, then, is great and pressing work for theological speculation to do; for it would be mere self-deception to flatter ourselves that Christianity is yet done with this immense new phenomenon. The real apologetic of our age will be the Church's deliberate judgment on Darwinism.

This, however, is still to come. Our great apologetic books, such as Butler and Paley, were written before the movement of which evolution is the outcome had set in. They are still used in our colleges and are useful in their way; but they help us little with the problems of the present time. They come from an age which was agitated with different questions; they were written by men who had mastered the thought of their own time, and were able to give the Christian judgment upon it; but there is

new work to be done in our time, and new men are needed to do it.

It will be necessary for Christian thought, in the first place, to master the facts for which Darwinism is a general name. Mere criticism from the outside is of comparatively little use; Darwinism can only be dealt with by one who knows it from within. The Church will have to find out how far it is true, and work this new truth into the body of her own convictions. On this pathway there lie great gains before her; for there is some truth in the apparently eccentric thesis maintained by the author of *Ecce Homo*, in his book on *Natural Religion*, that the Unknown Cause of the agnostic may be a greater and more impressive conception than the Christian's God, because the universe of the scientist's imagination, for which it accounts, is in some cases a larger and grander one than that of the Christian. Our conceptions of God require to be incessantly refreshed by truer and more extended views of the universe of which He is the cause. A book like Professor Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* is a specimen of the novel and enriching truths which may be gathered in this inquiry, and it is only the first-fruits of a great harvest.

But, however large be the gifts which Christianity may receive from Darwinism, its chief work in regard to it will be, for a time at all events, the reassertion over against it of the principles of a spiritual philosophy. Mind is not the end, but the beginning, of the evolution of the universe. If there has been an evolution from primeval germs, there must first have been an equivalent involution. If the observation of the senses and the activity of the understanding carry us back to the beginning of evolution, there are powers of the mind still more august which irresistibly carry us farther. If the impressions made on the senses lead us to believe in the existence of material things, the impressions made on a still higher range of faculties give us the like reason for believing in a higher realm of existence. Minds absorbed with material things may feel these impressions from the higher realm less and less; but they are the glory of human nature, and in its ultimate reckoning with Darwinism the mind of man will insist on giving them their legitimate place.

II.

The second topic to be named may be said to have been thrown to the surface by chance, in the course of the digging which

has taken place about evolution. Although the scientific movement of the age is called evolution—that is, a progress forward and upward from the germs of things to their developed forms—the method of investigation has really been in the opposite direction, from the world as we now see it back through antecedent forms to the beginning. It has really been a revival of history—history being taken in its widest sense, as embracing the past of animals, plants and minerals as well as the past of man. Only the records of the civilised races were formerly dignified with the name of history; but, under the impulse of the new ideas, research has thrown itself with peculiar ardour on the obscure beginnings of civilisation and on the conditions of life anterior to civilisation. Language and folk-lore, customs and institutions, have been traced back to the remotest past, where the light of human life begins to glimmer out of the great darkness.

Now one thing which this searching investigation of the history of man has disclosed is the universal prevalence of religion. Religion is found to have been always the most influential factor in human life. It is now proved, with a force of evidence never before available, that man is a religious animal. Accordingly there has arisen a science concerning itself with this department of human life—the science of religions or COMPARATIVE RELIGION. It separates from one another the religions of the world, arranging them in the order of development; it specifies the elements which are common to them all and contrasts their differences in ritual and creed; it translates their sacred books and estimates their influence.

This is a result of modern research which, it might be thought, would be highly interesting to the spiritual mind; for the universal prevalence and profound influence of religion would appear to be a proof that religion is an indefeasible element of human nature, which, unless our nature has a lie at its heart, must have an object answering to it outside of itself. It might have been expected that the true religion would have been intensely interested in the false religions, and that Christian theology would have seized on the task of mastering their principles with peculiar avidity. This, however, has not been the case. Theology has allowed this work to be largely done by a science which is anything but theological. The study has its chief seat at present in France; and, pursued as it has been by some of the leading thinkers there, it has grown to be a formidable instrument of unbelief.

For the facts brought to light by the Science of Religions are not in all respects, at first sight at least, favourable to belief. Perhaps, indeed, to a simple faith, few experiences are more trying than a first acquaintance with another religion. Those of our countrymen who go to the East, and are brought face to face with, say, the religions of India, cannot but be struck with the resemblances between them and our own. Both have their places of worship, prayers, sacred books and ministers; and in both human hearts seem to be stirred with the same aspirations and comforted with the same hopes. The suggestion is easy, that there is no fundamental difference between them; and, as we have been taught to look upon these religions as superstitions, the conclusion may be leaped to that Christianity is only one superstition the more.

This train of reflection is one which presses on the mind with far stronger force when a wide survey is made of religions in general. As the student passes from one system to another, he is overwhelmed with unspeakable melancholy; for he is brought in contact everywhere with the tragedy of convictions for which men have been willing to sacrifice every joy and comfort of existence, and even life itself: yet the tragedy seems to be merely a comedy, for do we not hold it to be all a delusion, till Christianity is reached? But, if the human race has been so terribly mistaken in this region from the first, what likelihood is there that it is right at the last?

This is the argument against Christianity urged in *Robert Elsmere*. Widen your knowledge of the history of the race, says the authoress, acquaint yourself with other religions; and you will find that they have the same arguments with which to support themselves as Christianity: they have their miracles and their fulfilled prophecies, just as it has; but we know that in their case the evidence is of no value; in the case of Christianity it seems sound only when you isolate it from the parallel evidence for other religions: bring the two into comparison, and you will see that they have precisely the same character.

What is the answer to all this? Is it that we have been wrong in characterizing other religions absolutely as false? Although false in some respects, are they true in others? Is it the truth in them, as far as it goes, which has made them acceptable and satisfying to those who have believed them? Are they the partially true, leading up to the absolutely true, which is Christianity? Or is Christianity something

which stands wholly apart—the one way of access to God and the only means of salvation—whose glory is made the brighter by the darkness of the universal falsehood with which it is contrasted?

These are pressing questions, but they are by no means simple. If you say, "Yes, these other religions were all good in their degree; they were honest gropings of the human spirit after the Father, and gave real, though imperfect, culture to the same instincts as are nourished by Christianity," you seem to place yourself in direct antagonism to the vehemently expressed convictions of the prophets and the primitive teachers of the true religion, and with the solemn statements of the Author of this religion Himself. If, on the contrary, you answer the other way, you come into collision not only with the spirit of the age, but apparently also with that sense of sympathy and fairness which has been the light by whose guidance the best conquests of the modern intellect have been made. In short, this is a region which believing theology has still to a large extent to master, and in which there is almost boundless scope for both investigation and speculation.

III.

A third region in which there is plenty of work clamantly calling for new workers is BIBLICAL CRITICISM. The tendency of the present age to go back to the beginnings of things and sift the records of the past has naturally concentrated itself on those records which Christians believe to be the most important in existence—the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments; and the instruments of criticism, which have been sharpened with use in the testing of other documents, have been applied with especial thoroughness to these.

The critical movement is the commanding phenomenon of our day in theology. The conclusions about the sacred books—their ages, authors and trustworthiness—arrived at by those who drew up the canon, and accepted for many centuries, have all been called in question; and what shape the conviction of the Church about them will assume, when it becomes fixed again, time alone can determine. To do this work lay in the course of the peculiar tendencies of our time; and it cannot be denied that the accumulation of knowledge and the possession of new methods of research have put the present age in a more advantageous position for investigating this subject than even ages which were far nearer the object of inquiry.

For a hundred years this critical process has been going on in Germany with an immense expenditure of learning and acumen. In Holland and France likewise the movement has had a long history, and, in the former country at least, has not been less thorough in its methods or less disturbing to accepted beliefs than in Germany. The Church has the most vital interest in the process; for the Word of God is the bread of life to her.

But, whilst this warfare of learned opinion has been agitating the Churches of the Continent, we in this country have kept tolerably well out of it. Though the merits of English scholarship have been high in textual criticism, comparatively little has been done here for the higher criticism. The whole process, for example, of investigation in regard to the New Testament from the rise of the Tübingen theories to their partial settlement, which has now perhaps been reached, may, without much exaggeration, be said to have transacted itself without the scholars of this country intervening at all. Our scholars have been content to hover on the outskirts of the battle, waiting to go in, when the combatants had exhausted themselves, and share the spoils.

If the struggle about the New Testament has in some degree quieted down, that about the Old Testament is at this moment in full action. In this case also we may stand by and wait till others have completed the struggle, without taking the trouble to master the learning which is needed to entitle us to have an opinion of our own. But, not to speak of the ignobleness of this position, it is an exceedingly dangerous one; because the whole subject might be sprung on us at any moment by a single man raising the questions, and we should be put to shame before the public, which looks to us as its religious instructors. This was precisely what happened when Professor Robertson Smith threw down the whole mass of Old Testament problems in the midst of the Free Church of Scotland. The Church was taken unprepared; and at last the controversy had to be closed, not by answering the questions, but by ejecting the questioner. This is not the place of course to express any opinion on the justice or wisdom of the ecclesiastical procedure; but, as a question of learning, the conclusion was eminently unsatisfactory. The subject has been flung outside the door, but at any moment it may burst its way in again; and is any of the Churches ready to deal with it?

Of course the great question in the background is the authority of Scripture; and

there are no problems, I imagine, which are perplexing the minds of students of theology more at present than those surrounding the inspiration of the Bible. Has the searching inquiry which has sifted every chapter and verse left it still possible to believe in the Bible as men used to do? Can it be maintained, for instance, that its statements can be reconciled with the ascertained facts of geology, astronomy and history? When two or more accounts of the same events are given, as in the gospels of the New Testament or the historical books of the Old, can the records be proved to agree? Is the miraculous element in the New Testament, and especially in the Old, capable in all details of successful defence? If not—if to any extent mistakes as to matters of fact are to be admitted in the Bible—how can its authority be vindicated in matters of doctrine? Is it reasonable to accept a book as the final standard of truth for faith and conduct, if you say that there are in it myths, exaggerations and mistakes? Is the Bible really “independent of criticism?” or is there a kind of criticism which is inconsistent with any real reverence for its authority?

Many will be found ready, on both sides, to answer these questions off-hand; but it is far wiser to look upon the answering of them as a task imposed by Providence on this generation, which can only be discharged by honest and patient inquiry, but may and ought to be discharged in faith, because it is His.

On the one hand, it is undeniable that the traditional and popular views about the age and origin of the various books of the Bible stand in urgent need of revisal. When the light of modern research is directed on these books, facts are disclosed in great numbers with which the Church has not yet dealt. She will have to deal with them; for while theories change, facts remain. “There is scarce any truth,” says Thomas Goodwin, “but hath been tried over and over again; and still if any dross happen to mingle with it, then God calls it in question again. The Holy Ghost is so curious, so delicate, so exact, He cannot bear that any falsehood should be mingled with the truths of the gospel. This is the reason why God doth still, age after age, call former things in question, because that there is still some dross one way or other mingled with them.”

On the other hand, it is equally undeniable that the experience of other Churches and countries in dealing with these questions is well fitted to warn, and even to alarm; for it shows, that this work may be so man-

aged as to sow the fields of the Church with the salt of barrenness. We need a thoroughly independent and British study of the whole subject, done by theologians in sympathy with the best religious life of the country. Some of our most advanced thinkers in this department are as yet so dependent on German scholarship for their facts and ideas, that their writings could be broken up into sentences, and the fragments referred to the different foreign sources to which they belong. Amiel said of certain Swiss *littérateurs*, that they only poured water into the Seine; and there is a great deal of theological work being done at present in this country which is only the pouring of a few buckets into the Rhine. No past age ever had greater reason than ours to prize and revere the Scriptures; they are read more extensively than they have ever been before, and, wherever they are studied, they prove themselves the power of God. This is a conviction which our best experience has formed in us. But the very intensity and serenity with which the Church holds this conviction ought to make her address herself without delay to the frank and thorough appreciation of all the facts.

IV.

The work of criticism just described has done one thing for the Bible which may at first sight appear an evil: it has converted it from one book into a number of books. To our fathers it was a single book, from every part of which they quoted indiscriminately, as if it were a homogeneous whole; to us it is a literature, a collection of volumes of different ages and of varied character.

This breaking up of the Scripture is an evil, if it make us lose sight of the unity of the Word of God; for after all, it is truer to say that the Bible is one book than that it is a collection of books: it is one message of redeeming love to men, and among the evidences of its Divine excellence a leading place belongs to "the consent of all the parts and the scope of the whole, which is to give glory to God." But, if it be an evil, it is an evil out of which good has come; for it has given rise, within a century, to a new and most fruitful theological science.

BIBLICAL THEOLOGY only became possible when it was recognised that the literature of which the Bible is composed consists of a number of strata, belonging to different ages and of different character, like the geological formation disclosed by a steep cutting. When the dates of the books are

ascertained, and they are arranged in chronological order, it undertakes to show that there is in them a gradual development of revelation, proceeding by slow and sure stages from the earliest to the latest. The older theology was partially aware of such a development from the Old Testament to the New; but this new science undertakes to exhibit it from book to book, or at least, from group to group of books, within each Testament by itself. For example, in the New Testament it distinguishes, say, four great groups of books: first, the synoptic gospels; secondly, the Petrine writings and other books of a similar character; thirdly, the Pauline epistles; and, fourthly, the Johannine writings. In each of these groups there is a complete view of Christianity, proceeding from a central idea and ramifying outwards to the circumference; and Biblical Theology undertakes to reconstruct this view from the documents. As, however, you pass from one of these circles to another, you perceive that you are passing from a simpler to a more advanced view of the subject, till, when the last is reached, the revelation is complete.

There is something intensely fascinating in this mode of study; you might almost call the science which has risen out of it the romance of theology. Perhaps it is the sense of growth which is so attractive; for in all studies this is an inspiring idea. Besides, it brings theology into line with what is the guiding principle of science at the present day. There has been evolution in revelation. God did not give the truth all at once, but "at sundry times and in divers manners." It is thus like all His other works. All God's creations grow. In the field we have first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear; and in human life there is a progress through the stages of childhood, youth, manhood and old age. The delight which we feel in watching things grow seems to be borrowed from the Divine mind itself; and the same characteristic which makes the study of nature so fascinating lends, when it is perceived, a new interest to revelation.

There are other advantages which will accrue from this fruitful line of study. It throws light on the difficulties, to which great importance has sometimes been attached, to be met with in the imperfect views of God and morality given in the earlier books of Scripture; for these would appear to be inseparable from this mode of revelation. It is rapidly putting some of the shallower systems of doctrine which have claimed scriptural sanction out of court. It

has already, for example, made the claim of Unitarianism to any kind of scriptural support untenable; for it has shown that the deity of Christ is not only proved by isolated texts, as the older divinity was able to show, but lies at the very heart of the whole system of thought of every New Testament writer. Above all, by the thoroughness with which it ascertains the exact contents of every part of Scripture, it is accumulating the materials for a more complete and certain exhibition than the Church has ever hitherto been able to give of what the precise teaching of the Bible is on the various problems with which it deals.

It is not creditable to British theology, that those desiring to begin the study of this noble science, which has existed for a hundred years, should have scarcely any resource but to turn to text-books translated from the German, French or Dutch. The chaos which at present reigns in Old Testament criticism may, indeed, well scare scholars from the task of attempting a Theology of the Old Testament; but the toil, which goes on incessantly, of writing on the books of the New Testament commentaries which are not better than those which already exist might perhaps pause for a time to allow the results of exegesis to be gathered up in systems of New Testament Theology; for the latest writer on this science has not formed too enthusiastic an estimate of his own subject when he says: "To me, Biblical Theology is the most important organ which the Church of the present, longing for new spiritual power, and the Dogmatic of the present, thirsting for new principles, possess for bringing living water out of that well from which alone it can be drawn."

V.

One of the advantages suggested above as likely to be derived from the cultivation of biblical theology is, that from the exacter ascertainment of what the Bible actually teaches the materials may be obtained for a new development of dogmatic theology. It can scarcely however be said that dogmatic theology is at present an inviting field to those who, warm with the passion for discovery, may be wishing to dig in virgin soil. Dogmatic theology had its long day of favour, and it will have it again; but in the meantime the temper of the age rather turns away from it. Perhaps the materials on which it has worked are exhausted, and it must wait till new ones accumulate.

Yet there is one portion of the dogmatic domain which, in this country at least, has

been but imperfectly cultivated, and seems at present to promise abundant returns for work which may be expended on it. I mean the field of theological or CHRISTIAN ETHICS.

In our catechisms and systems of divinity it has been usual to find a place for an exposition of the ten commandments as a summary of human duty. In some cases—as, for example, in the *Larger Catechism*—this work has been brilliant of its kind; but it has scarcely deserved to be called scientific. In fact, the exposition has generally had the appearance of a long and awkward excursus, rather than of a component part of the dogmatic system. The tendency therefore, which has manifested itself on the Continent of late, to treat Christian Ethics as a separate science, parallel with dogmatics, is a happy one; and some of the most profound and attractive books of the century are on this subject.

In this country we have a very extensive ethical literature; but as a rule it has carefully avoided the Christian or biblical standpoint. Man as an ethical being has been treated simply as a portion of nature, and the new outlooks and possibilities opened to him by revelation have been ignored. This has imported peculiar poverty and coldness into much of our ethical literature. Indeed, to pass from one of our ordinary books on moral philosophy to one of the great works on Christian Ethics produced during the present century on the Continent is like passing from the polar regions to the tropics. In the former, there is usually a careful avoidance of reference to what Christians believe to be the strongest forces working for good and evil in the world—sin, redemption, the Spirit of God, the Church; but in the latter these are the most prominent subjects. Ethical work of great value has recently been done by our native thinkers on questions which belong to the prolegomena of the science; but one does not know where in our literature to look for a system of ethics such as one imagines possible, in which the whole of human life should be pictured forth in grandeur and repose, like a rich and varied landscape seen from a mountain top, with a man's own pathway from time to eternity lying clearly indicated through the midst of it.

The thorough philosophical training which our students receive, and the enthusiasm for philosophy which at present prevails in our universities, ought to make a new development in this direction easy. Many of those who enter the ministry of our Churches have been distinguished in the philosophical classes, and it is surprising

that so few of them afterwards produce anything in the line of their academic attainments. The reason seems to be, that they have not courage enough to forsake the beaten path of ethical discussion and strike into pathways of inquiry more akin to the work of their own office.

These are perhaps the most pressing of the tasks which theology has at present to face ; and it will be acknowledged that they present work enough to even the keenest and most aspiring minds. To timid minds, indeed, the description of them may be discouraging. If, it may be asked, so many things are unsettled, is a man justified in going forward to preach the gospel, before the difficulties have been cleared away? When reading the history of our own country in times of conflict, such, for example, as the period of the Napoleonic wars, a reader may become so absorbed in campaigns and sieges, fields of battle and fights at sea, as to have the impression that during those years all England must have been standing on tiptoe, watching with straining eyes and beating heart to see what was to be the issue of the conflict which imperilled her existence. But it will surprise him, upon making a closer acquaintance with the history of the period, to discover that during these years, on the island "ribbed and paled in with rocks unscalable and roaring waters," life was going on much as usual : the fields were tilled and the harvests reaped ; spring with its freshness and summer with its glory gladdened the land ; the mill-wheel went round, the hammer rang on the anvil, and the shuttle flew through the web ; men slept and woke and ate their daily bread ; children were born, lovers married, and widows wept ; nor were laughter and merriment much less loud than usual ; the various life of a great and happy people went on from day to day. In the same way, the warfare with unbelief is at present loud and far-extended, and sometimes the problems of the day will seem to us, as we study them, to be so momentous, that we think everything ought to stop till they are settled. But Christianity is not a country which still needs to be discovered. It is a home of human souls, wide, well known and intensely loved, from whose soil a hundred generations have been nourished ; and, though there is at present pressing work in theology for the soldier-thinker to do, who marches to the borders to defend the faith against the inroads of scepticism, and for the pioneer-thinker, who goes in search of lands in which belief may find new dwell-

ings, yet to cultivate the fields of the old home as faithful husbandmen, that its children may not lack their food, but grow up in spiritual health and strength, will ever be the main work of the Christian ministry.

THE IMPREGNABLE ROCK OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

BY THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.

From *Good Words*, London, April, 1890.

It is a serious question how far one ignorant, like myself, of Hebrew, and having no regular practice in the study and explanation of the text of the Old Testament, is entitled to attempt representations concerning it, which must present more or less the character of advice, to any portion of his fellow-countrymen. It is clear that he can draw no sufficient warrant for such a course from the mere warmth of his desire that such portion of the British public should not lose or relax their hold upon the Book which Christendom regards as an inestimable treasure, and thereby bring upon themselves, as well as others, an inexpressible calamity. But, on the other hand, he has some better pleas to urge. The first is that there is a very large portion of the community whose opportunities of judgment have been materially smaller than his own. The second is that though he is greatly wanting in the valuable qualifications growing out of special study in this field, he has, for more than forty years (believing that change of labour is to a great extent the healthiest form of recreation), devoted the larger part of all such time as he could properly withdraw from political duties to another, and in several respects a similar, field of specialism—namely, the earnest study of prehistoric antiquity and of its documents in regard to the Greek race, whose destinies have been, after those of the Hebrews, the most wonderful in themselves, and the most fertile of results for us, among all the races of mankind. As between this field, which has for its central point the study of Homer, and that of the early Scriptures, which may in the mass be roughly called contemporary with the Homeric period, much light is, and with the progress of research more can hardly fail to be, given and received. Moreover, I have there had the opportunity of perceiving how, among specialists as with other men, there may be fashions of the time and school, which Lord Bacon called idols of the market-place, and currents of

prejudice below the surface, which may detract somewhat from the authority which each inquirer may justly claim in his own field, and from their title to impose their conclusions upon mankind. As a judicious artist likes to know the opinion even of one not an expert on his picture, and sometimes derives benefit from it, so in all studies lights may be thrown inwards from without ; and this in far the largest degree where the special study deals with a subject-matter that has deep root in our nature, and is the source of profoundly interesting controversies for mankind at large. Yet I do not feel sure that these considerations would have led me to make the present attempt were they not capped with another of great importance. It appears to me that we may grant, for argument's sake, to the negative or destructive specialist in the field of the ancient Scriptures all which as a specialist he can by possibility be entitled to ask respecting the age, text, and authorship of the books, and yet may hold firmly, as firmly as of old, to the ideas justly conveyed by the title I have adopted for this paper, and may invite our fellow-men to stand along with us on "the impregnable rock of Holy Scripture."

These words sound like a challenge. And they are a challenge to some extent, but not in the sense that might be supposed. They are a challenge to accept the Scriptures on the moral and spiritual and historical ground of their characters in themselves, and of the work which they, and the agencies associated with them, have done and are doing in the world. We may, without touching the domain of the critic, contend for them as corresponding by their contents to the idea of a Divine revelation to man. We are entitled to attempt to show that they afford that kind of proof of such a revelation which is analogous to the known divine operations in other spheres ; which binds to conduct ; and which in other matters, inasmuch as we are rational beings, we recognise as entitled so to bind us. We may legitimately ask whether they do not differ in such a manner from the other documents of prehistoric religions, while they too are precious in various ways, as to make them witnesses and buttresses to the office of Holy Scripture rather than sharers in it, although in their degree they may be this also.

But all these assertions lie within the moral and spiritual precinct. No one of them begs any literary question of Old Testament criticism. They leave absolutely open every issue that has been or can be

raised respecting the origin, date, authorship and text of the sacred books, which for the present purpose we do not require even to call sacred. Indeed it may be that this destructive criticism, if entirely made good, would, in the view of an inquiry really searching, comprehensive, and philosophical, leave as its result not less but greater reason for admiring the hidden modes by which the great Artificer works out His designs. In proportion as the means are feeble, perplexed, and to all appearance confused, is the marvel of the results that stand before our eyes. And the upshot may come to be, that, on this very ground we may have to cry out with the Psalmist* absorbed in worshipping admiration, "Oh, that men would therefore praise the Lord for His goodness, and declare the wonders that He doeth for the children of men !" Or "How unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out." For the memories of men, and the art of writing, and the care of the copyist, and the tablet and the rolls of parchment, are but the secondary or mechanical means by which the Word has been carried down to us along the river of the ages ; and the natural and inherent weakness of these means is but a special tribute to the grandeur and greatness of the end, and of Him that wrought it out.

So, then, these high-sounding words have been placed in the foreground of the present observations, because they convey in a positive and definite manner the conclusion which the observations themselves aim at sustaining, at least in outline, on general grounds of reason, and at enforcing as a great rule of thought and life. They lead upwards and onwards to the idea that the Scriptures are well called Holy Scriptures ; and that, though assailed by camp, by battery, and by mine, they are nevertheless a house builded upon a rock, and that rock impregnable ; that the weapon of offence, which shall impair their efficiency for practical purposes, has not yet been forged ; that the sacred Canon, which it took (perhaps) two thousand years from the accumulations of Moses down to the acceptance of the Apocalypse to construct, is like to wear out the storms and the sunshine, and all the wayward aberrations of humanity, not merely for a term as long, but until time shall be no more.

And yet, upon the very threshold, I embrace, in what I think a substantial sense, one of the great canons of modern criticism,

* Ps. cvii. 8.

which teaches us that the Scriptures are to be treated like any other book in the trial of their title. The volume which is put into our hands when young under that venerated name, is, like any other volume, put together as a material object by human hands. The many and diversified utterances it contains proceeded from men; and the question, whether through supernatural guidance they were, for this purpose, more than men, is to be determined, like other disputable questions, by the evidence. The books have been transmitted to us from their formation onwards in perishable materials, and from remote dates; and, until four hundred years ago, by the agency of copyists, as in the case of other literary productions, and presumably with a like liability to error. That in some sense the Holy Scriptures contain something of a human element is clear, as to the New Testament, from diversities of reading, from slight conflicts in the narrative, and from an insignificant number of doubtful cases as to the authenticity of the text. We have also the Latin Vulgate partially competing with the Greek original on the ground that it has been more or less founded on manuscripts older than any we now possess. As regards the Old Testament, we find the established Hebrew text to be of a date not earlier than I believe the tenth century of our era, and to be at variance in many points with the Greek version, commonly termed the Septuagint, which is considered to date wholly or in part from the third century before the Advent of our Saviour. Thus the accuracy of the text, the age and authorship of the books, open up a vast field of purely literary controversy, and such a question as whether the closing verses of St. Mark's Gospel have the authority of Scripture must be determined by literary evidence as much as the genuineness of the pretended preface to the *Æneid* or of a particular stanza in *Catullus*.

Towards summing up these observations, I will remind the reader that those who believe in a Divine Revelation, as pervading or as contained in the Scriptures, and especially who accept the doctrine of literalism as to the vehicle of that inspiration, have to lay their account with the following (among other) considerations, which it is hard for them to repudiate as inadmissible. There may possibly have been—

1. Imperfect comprehension of that which was communicated :
2. Imperfect expression of what had been comprehended :
3. Lapse of memory in oral transmission :

4. Errors of copyists in written transmission :

5. Changes with the lapse of time in the sense of words :

6. Variations arising from renderings into different tongues, especially as between the Hebrew text and the Septuagint, which was probably based upon MS. older than the compilers of the Hebrew text could have had at their command :

7. That there are three variant chronologies of the Old Testament according to the Hebrew, the Septuagint, and the Samaritan Pentateuch, and that it would be hazardous to claim for any one of them the sanction of a Divine revelation : while an historical argument may be deducible, on the other hand, from the fact that their variations lie within certain limits.

No doubt there will be those who will represent any association between the idea of a Divine revelation and the possibility of even the smallest intrusion of error in its vehicle. But ought they not to bear in mind that we are bound by the rule of reason to look for the same method of procedure in this great matter of a special provision of Divine knowledge for our needs as in the other parts of the manifold dispensation under which Providence has placed us. Now that method or principle is one of sufficiency, not perfection; of sufficiency for the attainment of practical ends, not of conformity to ideal standards. Bishop Butler, I think, would wisely tell us that we are not the judges, and that we are quite unfit to be the judges, what may be the proper amount and the just conditions of any of the aids to be afforded us in passing through the discipline of life. I will only remark that this default of ideal perfection, this use of twilight instead of a noonday blaze, may be adapted to our weakness, and may be among the appointed means of exercising our faith. But what belongs to the present occasion is to point out that if probability, and not demonstration, marks the Divine guidance of our paths in life as a whole, we are not entitled to require that when the Almighty, in His mercy, makes a special addition by revelation to what He has already given to us of knowledge in Nature and in Providence, that special gift should be unlike His other gifts, and should have all its lines and limits drawn out with mathematical precision.

I have then admitted, I hope in terms of sufficient fulness, that my aim in no way embraces a controversy with the moderate or even the extreme developments of textual criticism. Dr. Driver, the Regius Profes-

sor of Hebrew at Oxford,* personally as well as officially a champion of the doctrine that there is a Divine revelation, has recently shown with great clearness and ability that the basis of that criticism is sound and undeniable. It compares consistencies and inconsistencies of text, not simply as would be done by an ordinary reader, but with all the lights of collateral knowledge. It pronounces on the meaning of terms with the authority derived from thorough acquaintance with a given tongue. It investigates and applies those laws of growth which apply to language as they apply to a physical organism.

It has long been known, for example, that portions of the historical books of the Old Testament, such as the Books of Chronicles, were of a date very far later than most of the events which they record, and that a portion of the prophecies included in the Book of Isaiah were later than his time. We are now taught that, according to the prevailing judgment of the learned, the form in which the older books of the Old Testament have come down to us does not correspond as a rule with their titles, and is due to later though still, as is largely held, to remote periods; and that the law presented to us in the Pentateuch is not an enactment of a single date but has been formed by a process of growth, and by gradual accretions. To us who are without original means of judgment these are, at first hearing, without doubt, disturbing announcements. Yet common sense requires us to say, let them be fought out by the competent, but let not us who are incompetent interfere. I utterly, then, eschew conflict with these properly critical conclusions.

But this acquiescence is subject to the following remarks. First, the acceptance of the conclusions of the critics has reference to the literary form of the works, and leaves entirely open every question relating to the substance. Any one who reads the books of the Pentateuch, from the second to the fifth, must observe how little they present the appearance of consecutive, coherent, and digested record; but their several portions must be considered on the evidence applicable to them respectively, and the main facts of the history they contain have received strong confirmation from Egyptian and Eastern research. With regard to the Book of Genesis, the admission which has been made implies nothing adverse to the truth of the traditions it em-

bodies, nothing adverse to their antiquity, nothing which excludes or discredits the idea of their having formed part of a primitive revelation, simultaneous or successive. The forms of expression may have changed yet the substance may remain with an altered literary form, as some scholars have thought (not, I believe, rightly) that the diction and modelling of the Homeric Poems is comparatively modern, and yet the matter they embody may belong to a remote antiquity.

Further, our assent to the conclusions of the critics ought to be strictly limited to a provisional and revocable assent; and this on practical grounds of stringent obligation. For, firstly, these conclusions appear to be in a great measure floating and uncertain, the subject of manifold controversy, and secondly they seem to shift and vary with rapidity in the minds of those who hold them. In editing and revising the work of Bleek,* Wellhausen accepts in a great degree the genuineness of the Davidic Psalms contained in the First Book of the Psalter. But I understand that this position has been abandoned, and that, standing as he appears to do at the head of the negative critics, he brings down the general body of the Psalms to a date very greatly below that of the Babylonian exile. It is certainly unreasonable to hold a critic to his conclusions without exception. But, on the other hand, it may be asked whether they ought not to contain some element of stability? The opening of new sources of information may justify all changes fairly referable to them; and in minor matters the fine touches of the destructive, as well as the constructive, artist may complete his work. But if reasonable grounds for change do not determine its limits, there must be limits on the other hand to the duty of deference and submission on the part of the outer and uninstructed world with respect to these literary conclusions. The most liberal estimate can hardly carry them farther than this, that we should keep an open mind till the cycle of change has been run through, and till time has been given for the hearing of those whose researches may have led them to different results.

In the present instance we have an example which may not be without force in support of this warning. Mr. Margoliouth, the Laudian Professor of Arabic at Oxford, and a gentleman of academical distinctions

* "Einleitung in das Alte Testament." Haupttheil I., C. Die Psalmen. [The edition published and adopted by Wellhausen, to which I refer, is (I think) dated 1870; but the book had been published in 1860.]

* *Contemporary Review*, February, 1890, pp. 215-9.

altogether extraordinary, has published his Inaugural Lecture,* in which he states his belief that, from materials and by means which he lucidly explains, it will be found possible to reconstruct the Semitic original, hitherto unknown, of the Book of Ecclesiasticus. It was written, he states, by Ben Sira, not in the Hebrew of the Prophets, but in the later Hebrew of the Rabbis (p. 6). I understand that there are three great stages, or states, of the Hebrew tongue—the Ancient, the Middle, and the New; and that of these the earlier or classical Scriptures belong to the first, and the Book of Nehemiah (for example), to the second. The third is the Rabbinical stage. The passage from one to another of these stages is held, under the laws of that language, to require a very long time. Professor Margoliouth finds that Ben Sira wrote in Rabbinical Hebrew, and the earlier we find Rabbinical Hebrew in use, the farther we drive into antiquity the dates of books written in middle and in ancient Hebrew. Suppose, by way of illustration, that Professor Margoliouth shows Rabbinical Hebrew to have come into use two hundred years earlier than had been supposed, the effect is to throw back by two hundred years the latest date to which a book in middle or in ancient Hebrew could be assigned. No wonder, then, that Professor Margoliouth observes (p. 22)—

“Some students are engaged in bringing down the date of every chapter in the Bible so late as to leave no room for prophecy and revelation.”

But he goes on to add that if, by the task which he has undertaken, and by those who may follow and improve upon him, this Book shall be properly restored,

“Others will endeavour to find out how early the professedly post-exilian books can be put back, so as to account for the divergence between their awkward Middle-Hebrew and the rich and eloquent New-Hebrew of Ben Sira. However this may be, hypotheses which place any portion of the classical or Old-Hebrew Scriptures between the Middle-Hebrew of Nehemiah and the New-Hebrew of Ben Sira will surely require some reconsideration, or at least have to be harmonized in some way with the history of the language, before they can be unconditionally accepted.”

Hence the spectator from without, perceiving that there is war, waged on critical grounds, in the critical camp, may surmise that what has been wittily called the order

of disorder is more or less menaced in its central seat; and he may be the more hardened in his determination not to rush prematurely to final conclusions on the serious, though not as I suppose vital, question respecting the age and authenticity of the early books of the Old Testament in their present literary form.

There is such a thing as mistaking the indifferent for the essential, and as a slavish adherence to traditions insufficiently examined. But the liabilities of human nature to error do not all lie on one side. It may on the contrary be stated with some confidence that when error in a certain direction after a long precedence is effectively called to account, it is generally apt, and in some cases certain, to be followed by a reign of prejudices or biased judgments more or less extended and in a contrary direction. There is such a thing as a bias in favour of disintegration. Often does a critic bring to the book he examines the conclusion which he believes that he has drawn from it. Often when he has not thus imported it, yet the first view, in remote perspective, of the proposition to which he leans will induce him to rush at the most formidable fences that lie ahead of him, instead of taking his chances of arriving at it by the common road of reason. And often, even when he has attained it without prejudice, he will after adopting defend it against objectors, not with argument only, but with all the pride and pain of wounded self-love. And every one of these dangers is commonly enhanced in the same proportion in which the particular subject matter embraces the highest interests of mankind.

What I would specially press upon those to whom I write is that they should look broadly and largely at the subject of Holy Scripture, especially of the Scriptures of the older dispensation, which are, so to speak, farther from the eye, and should never allow themselves to be won away from that broad and large contemplation into discussions which, though in their own place legitimate, nay, needful, yet are secondary, and therefore, when substituted for the primary, are worse than frivolous. I do not ask this from them as philosophers or as Christians, but as men of sense. I ask them to look at the subject as they would look at the British Constitution, or at the poetry of Shakespeare. If we were pressed by the apparent absurdity that any one branch of the British Legislature can stop the proceedings of the whole, or that the House of Commons can reduce to beggary the whole Army, Navy, and Civil Service

* “On the place of Ecclesiasticus in Semitic Literature,” Clarendon Press, 1890.

of the country, and that neither law nor usage make any provision for meeting the case, though there would ensue nothing less than a frustration of the purposes for which men join together in society, there are probably not ten men in the country whose estimate of the Constitution they live under would be affected by these supererogatory objections. And if we are in any measure to grasp the office, dignity, and authority of the Scriptures, we must not suppose we are dealing adequately with that lofty subject by exhausting thought and time in examining whether Moses edited or wrote the Pentateuch as it stands, or what was the book of the law found in the temple in the times of Josiah, or whether it is possible or likely that changes of addition or omission may have crept into the text. If the most greedily destructive among all the theories of the modern critics (so seriously at variance with one another) were established as true, it would not avail to impair the great facts of the history of man with respect to the Jews and to the nations of the world; nor to disguise the light which those facts throw upon the pages of the Sacred Volume; nor to abate the commanding force with which, bathed, so to speak, in the flood of that light, the Bible invites, attracts, and commands the adhesion of mankind. Even the moral problems, which may be raised as to particular portions of the volume, and which may not have found any absolute and certain solution, are lost in the comprehensive contemplation of its general strain, its immeasurable loftiness of aim, and the vastness of the results which it and its immediate accompaniments in institution and event have wrought for our predecessors in the journey of life, for ourselves, and for the most forward, dominant, and responsible portions of our race.

In a passage which rises to the very highest level of British eloquence, Dr. Liddon,* exhausting all the resources of our language, has described, so far as man may describe it, the ineffable and unapproachable position held by the Sacred Volume. It is too long to quote, too special to appropriate; and to make extracts would only mangle it. The commanding eminence of the great preacher of our metropolitan Cathedral will fasten the public attention on the subject, and powerfully serve to show that the Scriptures, in their substantial tissue, rise far above the region of criticism, which can do nothing permanent or effectual to lower

their moral and spiritual grandeur, or to disguise or intercept their gigantic work.

The impression prevails that in this and other countries the operative classes, as they are termed, have at the great centres of population, here and elsewhere, largely lost their hold upon the Christian creed. There may be exaggeration in this belief; but, all things taken together, there is evidently a degree of foundation for it. It does not mean, at least among us, that they have lost respect for the Christian religion, or for its ministers; or that they desire their children to be brought up otherwise than in the knowledge and practice of it; or that they themselves have snapped the last ties which, on the cardinal occasions of existence, associate them with its ordinances; or that they have renounced or modified the moral standards of conduct which its conspicuous victory, after an obstinate contest of many centuries, and its long possession of the social field, have established. It means no more and no less than this, that their positive, distinct acceptance of the articles of the Creed, and their sense of the dignity and value of the Sacred Record, are blunted or effaced.

In passing I may be permitted to observe that the assent thus more or less largely withheld by the less well-to-do segment of society is still, notwithstanding the sceptical movement of the day, very generally yielded by the leisured and better provided classes. There seems to be within certain limits some approach to a reversal of the respective attitudes which prevailed in the infancy of our religion. Then the "poor" were the principal objects of the personal ministry of Christ Our Lord, and it was their glory to be the readiest receivers of the Gospel. They were then, "the poor of this world, rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which He hath promised to them that love Him."* They had fewer obstacles, especially within themselves, to prevent their accepting the new religion. It was less hard for them to become "as little children." They had by contrast more palpable interests in the promise of the life to come, as compared with the possession of the life that now is. The apparent change in their comparative facility of access to the Saviour as respects belief is one to afford much matter for meditation. The present purpose is to deal, in slight outline at least, with one of its causes. I mean the wide disparagement of the Holy Scriptures recently observable in the surface currents

* Sermon preached at St. Paul's on the Second Sunday in Advent, Dec. 1889; pp. 28-31.

* James ii. 5.

altogether extraordinary, has published his Inaugural Lecture,* in which he states his belief that, from materials and by means which he lucidly explains, it will be found possible to reconstruct the Semitic original, hitherto unknown, of the Book of Ecclesiasticus. It was written, he states, by Ben Sira, not in the Hebrew of the Prophets, but in the later Hebrew of the Rabbis (p. 6). I understand that there are three great stages, or states, of the Hebrew tongue—the Ancient, the Middle, and the New; and that of these the earlier or classical Scriptures belong to the first, and the Book of Nehemiah (for example), to the second. The third is the Rabbinical stage. The passage from one to another of these stages is held, under the laws of that language, to require a very long time. Professor Margoliouth finds that Ben Sira wrote in Rabbinical Hebrew, and the earlier we find Rabbinical Hebrew in use, the farther we drive into antiquity the dates of books written in middle and in ancient Hebrew. Suppose, by way of illustration, that Professor Margoliouth shows Rabbinical Hebrew to have come into use two hundred years earlier than had been supposed, the effect is to throw back by two hundred years the latest date to which a book in middle or in ancient Hebrew could be assigned. No wonder, then, that Professor Margoliouth observes (p. 22)—

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What I would specially press upon those to whom I write is that they should look broadly and largely at the subject of Holy Scripture, especially of the Scriptures of the older dispensation, which are, so to speak, farther from the eye, and should never allow themselves to be won away from that broad and large contemplation into discussions which, though in their own place legitimate, nay, needful, yet are secondary, and therefore, when substituted for the primary, are worse than frivolous. I do not ask this from them as philosophers or as Christians, but as men of sense. I ask them to look at the subject as they would look at the British Constitution, or at the poetry of Shakespeare. If we were pressed by the apparent absurdity that any one branch of the British Legislature can stop the proceedings of the whole, or that the House of Commons can reduce to beggary the whole Army, Navy, and Civil Service

* “On the place of Ecclesiasticus in Semitic Literature.” Clarendon Press, 1890.

of the country, and that neither law nor usage make any provision for meeting the case, though there would ensue nothing less than a frustration of the purposes for which men join together in society, there are probably not ten men in the country whose estimate of the Constitution they live under would be affected by these supererogatory objections. And if we are in any measure to grasp the office, dignity, and authority of the Scriptures, we must not suppose we are dealing adequately with that lofty subject by exhausting thought and time in examining whether Moses edited or wrote the Pentateuch as it stands, or what was the book of the law found in the temple in the times of Josiah, or whether it is possible or likely that changes of addition or omission may have crept into the text. If the most greedily destructive among all the theories of the modern critics (so seriously at variance with one another) were established as true, it would not avail to impair the great facts of the history of man with respect to the Jews and to the nations of the world; nor to disguise the light which those facts throw upon the pages of the Sacred Volume; nor to abate the commanding force with which, bathed, so to speak, in the flood of that light, the Bible invites, attracts, and commands the adhesion of mankind. Even the moral problems, which may be raised as to particular portions of the volume, and which may not have found any absolute and certain solution, are lost in the comprehensive contemplation of its general strain, its immeasurable loftiness of aim, and the vastness of the results which it and its immediate accompaniments in institution and event have wrought for our predecessors in the journey of life, for ourselves, and for the most forward, dominant, and responsible portions of our race.

In a passage which rises to the very highest level of British eloquence, Dr. Liddon,* exhausting all the resources of our language, has described, so far as man may describe it, the ineffable and unapproachable position held by the Sacred Volume. It is too long to quote, too special to appropriate; and to make extracts would only mangle it. The commanding eminence of the great preacher of our metropolitan Cathedral will fasten the public attention on the subject, and powerfully serve to show that the Scriptures, in their substantial tissue, rise far above the region of criticism, which can do nothing permanent or effectual to lower

their moral and spiritual grandeur, or to disguise or intercept their gigantic work.

The impression prevails that in this and other countries the operative classes, as they are termed, have at the great centres of population, here and elsewhere, largely lost their hold upon the Christian creed. There may be exaggeration in this belief; but, all things taken together, there is evidently a degree of foundation for it. It does not mean, at least among us, that they have lost respect for the Christian religion, or for its ministers; or that they desire their children to be brought up otherwise than in the knowledge and practice of it; or that they themselves have snapped the last ties which, on the cardinal occasions of existence, associate them with its ordinances; or that they have renounced or modified the moral standards of conduct which its conspicuous victory, after an obstinate contest of many centuries, and its long possession of the social field, have established. It means no more and no less than this, that their positive, distinct acceptance of the articles of the Creed, and their sense of the dignity and value of the Sacred Record, are blunted or effaced.

In passing I may be permitted to observe that the assent thus more or less largely withheld by the less well-to-do segment of society is still, notwithstanding the sceptical movement of the day, very generally yielded by the leisured and better provided classes. There seems to be within certain limits some approach to a reversal of the respective attitudes which prevailed in the infancy of our religion. Then the "poor" were the principal objects of the personal ministry of Christ Our Lord, and it was their glory to be the readiest receivers of the Gospel. They were then, "the poor of this world, rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which He hath promised to them that love Him."* They had fewer obstacles, especially within themselves, to prevent their accepting the new religion. It was less hard for them to become "as little children." They had by contrast more palpable interests in the promise of the life to come, as compared with the possession of the life that now is. The apparent change in their comparative facility of access to the Saviour as respects belief is one to afford much matter for meditation. The present purpose is to deal, in slight outline at least, with one of its causes. I mean the wide disparagement of the Holy Scriptures recently observable in the surface currents

* Sermon preached at St. Paul's on the Second Sunday in Advent, Dec. 1889; pp. 28-31.

* James ii. 5.

which case it was in the Aramaic language, —or it was an oral gospel, preserving the story of the Lord's words and doings.

The majority of scholars accept the first alternative, but with a divergency as to character and contents of this original gospel, and the relations of the present gospel to this, the two clans being respectively headed by Weiss and Holtzmann. The whole view is based chiefly upon the statement of Papias of the early existence of a collection of "Logia," or sayings of the Lord. The conditions for peace and agreement in this literary question seem to be wanting. Pastor Primarius Resch, who has recently, by his publication of the "Agrapha," or the un- and extra-canonical sayings of the Lord ascribed to him by patristic literature, introduced a new element into the vexed question, very properly calls the synoptic problem a battle-field where the contestants are for the time resting on their arms, unable to terminate the struggle.

"The golden ring" of Pauline Epistles, as Harnack recently called the four uncontested epistles of Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians, is now not without its opposition, although this has not developed material strength. On the other hand, the Johannean authorship of the fourth Gospel has been gaining in defenders from year to year, the number of those who see in it the religious reflections and dogmatic speculations of a later age is constantly becoming fewer. The attacks on the Pauline authorship of the pastoral letters, and, to a measure, on the other Epistles not in "the golden ring," have not ceased; but their defence in the name of fair criticism has grown extensively and intensively. The greatest doubts seem yet to exist in regard to one or more of the general Epistles.

The superstructure which is reared on the foundation of this criticism of the sources is in accordance with the premises. While the Tübingen views have no pure representatives, the general character of the theories concerning the origin and character of original Christianity, in so far as these theories differ from the commonly accepted views of conservative scholars, agree in maintaining that in later Christianity, as found depicted in the New Testament records, elements were introduced that sprang from sources other than the Founder of this religion and his authorized ambassadors. A favorite view at present is this, that Greek thought and philosophy modified primitive Christianity, not only formally, but also materially, thus diverting the development from its original lines. On the whole, the radicalism

in this regard is probably not as strong as it is in the new construction of the Old Testament religion by the Wellhausen-Kuenen school, but the trend is the same; namely, the reduction of the divine element in both the contents and the composition of the biblical books to as small a measure as possible. In harmony with the general thought of the day, the tendencies in advanced thought are here too toward naturalism.

SHORT-CUT AND CROSS-CUT.

BY JAMES W. WILLMARTH, D.D.

From *The Examiner* (Baptist), New York, March 27, 1890.

THE opening in Minneapolis and Boston of what are commonly known as "short-cut" schools, raises some questions of very grave importance to the Baptist denomination.

If the sole purpose of these schools were to fit laymen for usefulness as pastors' assistants, colporteurs, lay workers in city missions, etc., and also as helpers (where needed) to foreign missionaries, that would be one thing; and whether the plan should prove to be wise or unwise, no very serious issues would be involved. But if the purpose is to prepare men by this "short-cut" for the work of the ministry, at home or abroad or both, then that is a very different matter.

THE "SHORT-CUT" TO THE MINISTRY.

We are not permitted to believe that the "short-cut" schools, now under consideration, are intended only for the benefit of laymen who will not aspire to the ministry. Dr. Gordon entitles his recent article, "Who may preach?" In seeking shelter under the illustrious and venerable name of Francis Wayland, he quotes from that great man's writings on the ministry and on preparation for the ministry. The avowed purpose of the Boston school is to "encourage" persons of "only a very limited education to enter missionary service." Dr. Mabie, whom I highly esteem, in setting forth the claims of the Minneapolis school, broadens the scope of this new departure so as to include "the evangelization of the new Northwest," and the supply of preaching to "mission churches" there. These schools, then, are designed, beyond all questions, as an essential and dominant part of their work, to open and make easy a "short-cut" into the ministry, *i.e.*, to encourage

and aid men to become preachers of the gospel and (in some cases, at least) pastors of churches without thorough training. And more than this, it is proposed to take "working men," "men without classical or theological education," and after a "simple and practical course of instruction," which, in the nature of the case, must be very "simple" indeed, and almost entirely "practical," to send them forth as foreign and home missionaries. So that we are face to face with this question: Is this policy called for in the providence of God, wise, timely, and free from serious danger?

In considering the question now at issue let us endeavor to know exactly and definitely what it is. And so let us first name certain things which are not in question, and which ought not to be represented as in question, or as involved in this new issue.

THINGS NOT IN QUESTION.

1. It is not in question that laymen have a work to do for Christ, and should in some way be taught to do that work efficiently. I know of no Baptist who doubts as to this.

2. It is not in question that true ministers are called to their work by the Holy Spirit. I am surprised that a man so highly esteemed by us all for piety, ability, and candor as Dr. Gordon, should allow himself to represent that it is otherwise. Dr. Bright, Dr. Johnson, every other Baptist, believes in a divine call to the ministry as much as he does. It is a distinguishing tenet of our denomination. At the same time it is necessary to guard against abuses of this doctrine. The call must be witnessed not only by the man's own "consciousness," but (in ordinary cases) by that of his brethren. If they are not convinced that he is called, he may properly conclude that he is mistaken. So teaches Francis Wayland. (*Principles and Practices of the Baptists*, pp. 106-108.) It is not safe to assume that every one is called to the ministry who thinks he is called. Therefore preparation for the ministry should be under the supervision of the church and of the ministry in a regular and orderly fashion.

3. It is not in question that many men may lawfully enter the ministry without pursuing the "full course." In all our seminaries provision is made for those who must take an "English course" or a "shorter course." As a trustee of Crozer Seminary, I beg to say emphatically that students of this class are welcomed, respected, helped in every way. Special instruction is given to them. If a man must

content himself with only one or two years of theological study, or if he is not in condition profitably to study the Bible in the originals, every kindly facility is provided that he may gain the best preparation possible in the circumstances. No man is more enthusiastic and painstaking in this good work than our "young professor," Johnson. (Long may he remain "young"!) I have no doubt the same thing is essentially true of all our seminaries.

Nay, more. Suppose a business man, with fair English education and in middle life, feels called to the ministry and gives evidence of fitness for it; and suppose that he should, under the guidance of some able minister, study the gospel and the doctrines of the New Testament, and the Bible as a whole, say for a year; and suppose that he should be able to pass a fair examination as a candidate for ordination, would it be easy to find a Baptist council that would refuse to ordain him because he had never been in college or seminary?

WHAT IS IN QUESTION:

What is in question is this: Is it good that schools should be established to enable and encourage men to enter the ministry with what may properly be called almost the least possible preparation? Let it be remembered that it is the avowed purpose of these schools to take "working men," persons who have generally only a common school education, and often less than that, and by a course of "simple and practical instruction" fit them for "preaching" and for "missionary work."

And further, Are these schools, on the plan proposed by the founders, likely to be safe? In considering these queries, I shall refer chiefly to foreign mission work; but the same principles are essentially applicable to work at home.

I. In regard to the first point, everything depends upon what is our theory of missions. There are three theories current:

THEORIES OF MISSIONS.

1. The theory of conquest, *i.e.*, that God intends by the preaching of the gospel to convert the entire race and introduce a period of universal holiness and happiness in this dispensation. The writer does not accept this theory. It seems to his mind impossible to hold it, in view of the constant teaching of the New Testament. For example, our Lord tells us positively that the "tares and the wheat" will grow together "until the harvest." Many honored brethren

ren, however, do hold this theory. But as the careful and wise policy which fits this theory fits also with equal exactness the third theory, it is not necessary, for present purposes, to discuss the comparative merits of the two views. But there is a theory now promulgated which demands a very different policy.

A CROSS-CUT METHOD OF EVANGELIZATION.

2. The theory of a single proclamation. It is now confidently declared that if the gospel can only be announced once to "every creature," the condition precedent to the Lord's return will have been fulfilled. Mr. Taylor, of the China Inland Mission, has made an elaborate calculation as to how many missionaries would be required, in order to go throughout all China and announce the gospel once to every inhabitant within the space (if I remember right) of three years. Such a work, we may infer, he considers a fair fulfilment of the condition "preached for a witness." I think that this plan may properly be called a cross-cut method of evangelization. No painful toil in founding and maintaining stations; no prayerful painstaking in "reasoning" with men "and persuading" them, after the example of Paul; no earnest devotion to the Christian culture of converts, if there should be any; no labor in Christian schools. A cross-cut, indeed, through the fields of evangelical work! Not so did Christ or his apostles understand labor in the gospel. I make bold to say that this is a preposterous method of evangelization. Not one in a hundred would understand, for this requires "line upon line, precept upon precept;" not one in a thousand would be impressed; not one in a hundred thousand would be converted. This plan is inspired by a certain extreme, restless and feverish form of "pre-millenarianism," which is so unhealthy that sensible people instinctively recoil from it, and which is peculiarly offensive, in my view, not only as tending to fanaticism and heresy, but as sure to bring what I sincerely believe to be the "way of truth" into evil report, even among sincere Christians.

3. The theory of evangelization by establishing witnessing churches. This was the working plan of the apostles. They struck for the cities as centres of influence. Entering a city, they preached and taught persistently. They organized the new converts into a church, diligently teaching them all things that Jesus had commanded. Generally they remained on the ground till

persecution broke out. Then they passed on to the next city, and by God's grace repeated the process. In due time they revisited the new-born churches, ordained elders, if this had not been done before, and confirmed the souls of the disciples in the faith. Later, they visited them again, or sent a competent substitute, or addressed to them letters of instruction and council. This is the policy which seems to me unquestionably the right one. The witnessing churches will grow, extend their influence, and fill the "region round about" with the sound of the gospel. The majority, always and everywhere, will refuse the gracious call; but the elect will hear. This is the only practicable theory of missions, with such modifications as circumstances may demand. No nation can be evangelized by men of another land. They must be leaders, teachers, generals. The main force must be native laborers, raised up in the witnessing churches. This work, in my opinion, ought to be carried on, as widely as possible, until the Lord shall come.

THE KIND OF MEN NEEDED.

If we were to adopt the second theory of missions, there would be reason in filling the land with "short-cut" schools, so that thousands might go forth to perambulate the world and preach the gospel, *i.e.*, announce salvation by Christ, once, to "every creature." A very meagre preparation would suffice for that. But if our missionaries are to plant and to plan, to establish witnessing churches, to instruct native preachers and assistants, to furnish a Christian literature, to meet the subtle errors of hoary superstition, and guard the new-born churches from error, corruption, and fanaticism—if this is their task—ought they not to have at least a fair literary and theological education, and whenever possible, the full, thorough training?

The easy-made or ready-made evangelists of our day would cut a sorry figure in reasoning with the acute Brahmin or Confucian, coping with the wily Jesuit, planting churches, planning for the future, guarding the converts against errors which they themselves do not understand, guiding those who might know almost as much as their teachers. Better set a youth who can draw a house distinguishable from a horse to plan a cathedral! Similar considerations apply, with almost equal force, to work in the ministry among the active, restless, and sceptical minds that throng our Western towns and cities.

Therefore, as "cross-cut evangelization" does not appear to be the right conception of missionary work, so it does not seem to be good that we should have "short-cut" schools, by means of which men shall be enabled and encouraged to enter the ministry, with the minimum of knowledge and training.

A FEW QUERIES.

II. Are the "short-cut" schools likely to be safe? That is, are there dangers, other than that just named, which may probably or possibly arise from their work or from the precedent set by it? On this part of the subject I am not fully informed. Some things we know; other things we infer from what we read; others occur to us as possibilities. A few queries only will, therefore, now be suggested.

1. Why undenominational? What possible advantage in this feature? Theological education ought to be under the careful supervision of the church and the ministry; how can this be secured except through the action of each denomination by itself? If men of various denominations, however good or able, but self-chosen and self-associated, undertake this work, to whom are they responsible or under what control can their work be?

Again, these schools profess to teach men to preach the gospel, if nothing else. Ought not the teachers to be agreed as to what the gospel is? Do not Baptists believe that baptism is a part of the gospel? Can the pupils in these schools be trained in our doctrine and practice? A young man of culture, well indoctrinated, might take a course at Princeton and come forth a straight Baptist. But how will these men, not of culture or well indoctrinated, come forth from the "short-cut" schools? Are we to have an inundation of evangelists and missionaries who will not preach "repent and be baptized," but mutilate the one thing which they are supposed to proclaim?

2. Why are women in these schools? No one denies that women may be useful in certain lines of religious and missionary work. But preaching the gospel, public address, and presiding over churches and mission stations do not fall within those lines, according to the plain teaching of the New Testament, and the faith and practice of our denomination. Will these principles be clearly inculcated? Is it understood that the women will not be encouraged to aspire to work which belongs to men? Or, are these schools to send out female evan-

gelists? If so, we may have more women in the "new Northwest" receiving "ordination," as has already happened, at least once, in Nebraska. And we may have female preachers in the foreign field. Mr. Taylor speaks, I think, of what could be done by some thousands of men and women traversing China with the gospel message. It would be an edifying spectacle, indeed, to see a company of American Baptist men and women, mostly unmarried, going out together to travel as evangelists, dressed in native garb, and flitting from town to town, somewhat after the manner of the Salvation Army. Will these schools encourage and train women to preach?

3. Will fanaticism be encouraged or discouraged? It is well known that there are already wandering "evangelists," both male and female, who have abandoned the safe and true doctrine that the Holy Spirit makes to us no new or direct revelations, but guides our minds by the light of revelation and reason. They profess to be specially and immediately "directed" by him; and this leads not only to much folly, but often to the making void of the commandments of God. How will these schools teach on this point?

Many preach a gospel almost devoid of repentance, regeneration, and obedience to the commands of Jesus; "only believe," they say, in a sense far from scriptural; with them, if one wishes to be a Christian, and will "stand up," or "kneel down," or "give his name," he is a Christian. Will these schools carefully guard their pupils against such soul-destroying errors in doctrine and practice?

Some are maintaining the "no purse and scrip" theory; others expect to get food and clothing "in answer to prayer," and are virtually beggars. Will such be taught to act in a sane and manly manner?

Some have wild notions as to "faith" and the "prayer of faith." They no longer define "faith" as confidence in God and in his promises, so far as we have promises, coupled with submission to his will. When in their own imagination they have "faith, to believe" that this or that will come to pass, *i.e.*, work themselves up to such a belief or "impression," they consider this a token and pledge that God will surely grant their request. At these schools will such hurtful errors be corrected and the sensible and scriptural view be taught?

Many accept and teach the doctrine of "faith healing," that caricature and perversion of the biblical conception of miracles. Will these schools, or either of them, give

the least encouragement to such ideas? Unquestionably many ignorant and unstable persons, with very crude notions, will resort to the "short-cut" schools. Will every effort be made to correct their crude notions by Scripture and reason? For example, if one of the students, suffering from astigmatism or some other defect of vision, were to announce that he "had been to Jesus about his eyesight" and had abandoned oculist and glasses, as needing them no more, and should exhort others to act on the same principle, would so foolish a delusion be kindly checked and repressed? Or if one, like some of Bishop Taylor's missionaries in Africa, were to refuse quinine when suffering from malaria and expect healing in answer to prayer without the use of means, also exhorting others to do likewise, would the sin and folly of such conduct be emphatically pointed out and these fanatical views be firmly checked and repressed?

If these questions could receive a perfectly frank, plain, and straightforward answer, we could judge better than we can now, whether any perils attend the new departure in ministerial education, beyond the obvious one involved in encouraging men to enter the ministry with an exceedingly meagre preparation.

A cold-hearted, unspiritual ministry, minimizing the divine call and the need of the Holy Spirit's aid, would be a terrible curse; only less terrible than an ill-trained, mis-trained ministry; men mistaking their own vain impressions for the monitions of the Holy Spirit; rash, headstrong, and arrogant in exact proportion to their ignorance and self-conceit; ready for any vagary or heresy. A swarm of such evangelists and missionaries would do incalculable harm at home and abroad. It behooves our denomination to inquire seriously whether there is any danger of our being visited with a plague—worse than the plague of locusts.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.

BY R. R. McBURNEY.

From *The Christian Advocate*, New York, March 20, 1890.

ORGANIZATIONS for religious work by young men for young men have been in operation from an early period. Wilson, in his *History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches*, mentions the existence of such

societies in London in 1632, and states that the members met for prayer, reading, and religious conversation with the view of strengthening each other against the solicitations of evil company. The Rev. Thomas Hartwell Horne, in his *Life of Bishop Beveridge*, states that the societies greatly contributed to the revival of religious feeling in London, and extended into different parts of the country. Bishop Burnett, in the *History of His Own Times*, speaks highly of the good done by them.

The Rev. Josiah Woodward, D.D., in his history of the rise and progress of these societies, says:

As their sense of the blessedness of religion and the value of immortal souls increased, they could not but exercise bowels of compassion toward such as discovered little concern about these important matters. . . . This inclined them to endeavor, by discourse with their acquaintances in proper seasons, to press upon them those divine arguments whereby themselves had been roused out of a state of carnal insensibleness; and, finding that the grace of God many times seconded these their Christian admonitions to good effect, they became more habituated to good discourse, especially where there was any probability of civil acceptance of it, insomuch that at length they could not but stand amazed at the success which it pleased God to give them.

These religious societies of young men beginning during the reign of Charles I. maintained a continuous existence for nearly one hundred years throughout the Revolution and the reigns of Charles II. and of James II., and attained their highest prosperity during the reign of William and Mary.

About 1729, when John Wesley was a fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, a serious man, whom he had travelled many miles to see, said to him: "Sir, you wish to serve God and go to heaven. Remember that you cannot serve Him alone; you must therefore find companions or make them. The Bible knows nothing of solitary religion." The Rev. Henry Moore, his biographer, says that he never forgot this, and that on his return to the university he first spoke to his brother Charles, and afterward to Mr. Morgan, Mr. Hervey, Mr. Whitefield, and others, and this led to the formation of an association by these young men in the university. It was tauntingly named by their fellow-students "The Godly Club."

"Several members of this association afterward went as missionaries to Georgia. During their visits to London, going and returning, these students became intimately associated with the young men's societies mentioned by Woodward, and with others, especially those meeting in Westminster, Fetter Lane, and Aldersgate Street."

It was in the meeting in Aldersgate Street, May 24, 1738, that John Wesley experienced a change wrought in his own soul, of which he says:

"In the evening I went very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate Street" (the society to which Mr. Wesley refers met in Nettleton Court, Aldersgate Street, close by what is now called Nicholl Square, Cripplegate, E. C.), "where one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was

describing the change God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ—Christ alone—for salvation; and an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death. I began to pray with all my might for those who had in a more especial manner despitefully used me and persecuted me. I then testified openly to all there what I now first felt in my heart."

The present movement, known as the Young Men's Christian Association, was begun in London by George Williams, then a young clerk in a dry-goods house, in St. Paul's Church-yard. He was so moved by the irreligion of his fellow clerks that one by one he invited them into his bed-room for prayer and the study of the Scriptures. Soon the room became too small. In June, 1844, an organization was effected, and public meetings were held in St. Margaret's Coffee House, St. Martin's Court, Ludgate Hill, until permanent quarters were secured.

The little one has become nearly four thousand. Throughout the Christian world, and in heathen lands where the Missionary work of the Church has opened the way, associations are found. On this continent there are over 1,300; in Great Britain and Ireland, 611; in France, 61; in Germany, 680; in Holland, 448; in Denmark, 86; in Switzerland, 384; in Norway and Sweden, 63; in Italy, 34; in Spain, 9; in Belgium, 27; in Austria and Hungary, 9; in Russia, 9; in India, 6; in Ceylon, 15; in China, 5; in Japan, 6; in Asiatic Turkey, 11; in Syria, 6; in Madagascar, 2; in South Africa, 10; in Australasia, 18; in Hawaii, 4; in the West Indies, 5; in European Turkey, Persia, Mexico, Bermuda, Argentine Republic, British Guiana, and Chili, 1 each.

In order to reach college men associations have been formed in over 300 American colleges, and to reach railroad employes branches of the association are in operation at 90 railroad centres. Railroad officials so recognize their usefulness in the improvement of their men that hearty moral and financial support is rendered.

For other special classes branches have been called in to being, namely, for Germans, French, commercial travellers, colored young men, miners, woodsmen, and Indians, each doing a special work for its own class, and all, we believe, inspired by the Spirit of Him who came, not to be ministered unto, but to minister.

At the outset it was deemed sufficient to hire one or two rooms in the third or fourth floor of a building in an obscure street for a reading-room and for prayer-meetings. The

leaders in America soon discovered that, if those who most needed the association were to be reached, the association must come down stairs, where the young men were to be found, and adapt their agencies, so far as possible, to the varied needs of the class sought. The men of the New York Association were the first to aggressively assert that, if the associations were to be successful in their mission, they must include the whole man in their plan of work. In order to this the erection of buildings specially adapted to the enlarged scheme became necessary. Much preliminary effort was demanded. This was heartily and zealously undertaken by such Christian men as Mr. William E. Dodge, Jr., Mr. Morris K. Jesup, Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, Mr. Cephas Brainerd, Mr. Abner W. Colgate, Mr. John S. Kennedy, Mr. John Crosby Brown, Mr. Bowles Colgate, Mr. James Stokes and their associates. The clergy and the press became interested. Money was secured, lots purchased, and the building on the corner of Twenty-third Street and Fourth Avenue was erected, at a cost of nearly \$500,000, and the enlarged work was commenced December, 1869. Evening educational classes, a library, reading, and social rooms, and gymnasium were opened, and within two months six thousand young men entered upon the enjoyment of the advantages. The building was opened only for one hour on Sundays, while a Bible class was in session. The late Bishop Edmund S. Janes urged the opening of the social rooms and library on Sundays. This was done later. Now these rooms are open except during the hours of morning service in the churches. Following the example of New York, in all the leading cities and in many small towns buildings have been erected aggregating in value nearly \$8,000,000. In New York State alone there are thirty-five buildings, eight of which are the free gift of individuals, namely, at Albany, Addison, Brooklyn, Clifton Springs, Cornell University, Hamilton College, Railroad Men's Building in New York, and at Watertown.

Young men in our cities and towns have now placed within their reach places of moral, spiritual, and intellectual, healthful, social resort in which to spend their leisure hours. In this city branches are in operation in well adapted buildings for all classes of young men, namely, at Twenty-third Street and Fourth Avenue, at 222 and 224 Bowery, 153 and 155 East Eighty-sixth Street, and at 3, 5, and 7 West One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street; for young

men out of employment and in destitute circumstances at 153 Bowery, corner of Broome Street, where lodging and food are furnished free, and religious services for men only are held every evening of the week and on Sunday afternoons; for German-speaking young men at 140 and 142 Second Avenue, near Ninth Street. The branch for French-speaking young men occupies rented rooms at 128 West Twenty-third Street, and work for railroad men is carried on in the Railroad Men's Building, the gift of Mr. C. Vanderbilt, on Madison Avenue, corner Forty-fifth Street, and at the old Hudson River Railroad Station, West Thirtieth Street, near Tenth Avenue, at the Round House, Seventy-second Street and Eleventh Avenue, and at the Weehawken Station, and at New Durham, N. J. At all of these points the work is under the control and direction of the Board of Directors of the Young Men's Christian Association of this city. The expenses of the work in New York City in 1889, except that of the Railroad Department, which is wholly met by the railroad officials and the dues of the members, amounted to \$107,679. Of this sum \$32,489 was received from members' dues, \$38,616 in gifts from friends, and the balance, \$36,574, from rentals and other sources.

In 1866 the International Committee charged with the supervision of the association work in the United States and the Dominion of Canada was located in New York City. For some years the members of the committee carried on the work committed to them through correspondence and some slight visitation. The plan worked ineffectively, as the business men composing the committee could not spare the time necessary for extended visitation. It became apparent that competent men must be secured to give their entire time to the work of visitation. Now fifteen secretaries and four assistants are employed by the committee. In 1866 but \$800 was expended in publication and travelling expenses. Last year \$50,444 was expended, one-quarter of which was the gift of friends in this city.

In 1866 less than twelve men were giving their entire time as secretaries of the local associations; now nine hundred are so employed. The expenses of the local associations last year amounted to nearly \$1,500,000, and that of State committees to about \$90,000.

These gifts in money come from thoughtful, observing men, and to a considerable extent from members of churches of the various Denominations under whose eyes it

is carried on, and give ample proof that the work of the association is thoroughly appreciated. In all these respects there has been remarkable growth, for which the friends of young men have abundant cause for gratitude to God.

In the beginning the movement was looked upon with distrust by many pastors and many Christian people. This was due to the unwise zeal of some of the associations and to a want of intelligent knowledge by them and by pastors and the Christian public of the true object and methods of the work. It is now rare indeed to find in any community a pastor or parent who does not approve of the methods and work of these societies.

Among the reasons of the growth in prosperity and favor with which the associations have been blessed may be named:

First, they meet a real and felt need. Young men will have places of resort in which to spend leisure hours. Some may say those who have homes should spend their leisure hours there; but young men are gregarious, and will have associations of some kind, and unless safe places are provided they will frequent such as lead downward. In all our towns and cities there are large numbers of young men without homes living in cheerless boarding-houses with few agreeable surroundings. Very few young men full of life and energy will spend their evenings in small, cold, and cheerless bedrooms, when warm and well-lighted saloons invite them at every corner. The association meets the needs of young men in these respects as no other agency does.

Some say the local church should provide gymnasia, educational classes, libraries, reading-rooms, recreation, amusement, and social resorts for its young men. As a matter of fact, which should not be overlooked, very few churches in any community have the means to do so. The united churches of a community, where a well equipped association is carried on, do furnish these advantages under Christian influences, and the controlling body in every association is composed of communicants of churches.

Second, the recognition by the associations of the subordinate relation they sustain to the Church of Christ; that the association is of human and the Church of divine institution; that the chief affection and service of the members is due to the churches to which they respectively belong.

Experience has shown that the most active workers in the associations are among the most loyal and active workers in their own churches, and that the churches having

the largest number of active members in the associations receive in return the greatest good from the work of the associations. Every available means is used by the associations to bring young men who come under their influence into relation to a church of their choice.

Third, the prominence given to the study of the Holy Scriptures, to the necessity of the new birth, and to the work of the Holy Spirit in the renewal and sanctification of the heart and life, and the subordination of all agencies to the spiritual aim of the associations.

Fourth, the confining of the work to young men by young men.

In a word, the associations seek to awake and develop in their active membership an unselfish Christ-like concern for all young men with whom they come in contact, in order that such of them as follow not Christ may by God's blessing upon their efforts be led into the Christian life.

These are among the reasons in the opinion of the writer why God has so signally blessed these societies, and given them favor with the pastors, fathers, and mothers, and large-minded men and women in every community.

FRANZ DELITZSCH.

From *The British Weekly*, London, March 14, 1890.

WHEN about to write an account of the most important contribution made for many a day to the defence of the Old Testament, we received the following :

Heute früh nach sechs Uhr entschlief sanft im Herrn nach längerem Leiden im 78. Lebensjahr unser innigstgeliebter Gatte, Vater, Schwiegervater und Grossvater, D. Theol. et Phil. Franz Delitzsch, ordentlicher Professor der Theologie an der Universität Leipzig, u.s.w. Schmerzerfüllt zeigt dies hierdurch an, zugleich im Namen der übrigen Hinterbliebenen.

Leipzig, den 4. März, 1890.

CLARA DELITZSCH geb. SILBER.

(Soon after six o'clock this morning our dearly beloved husband, father, father-in-law and grandfather, Franz Delitzsch, D.D., Ph.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Leipzig; etc., fell peacefully asleep in the Lord, after a lengthened period of suffering, in his 78th year. This announcement is published by his mourning widow in the name of the other surviving relations.

CLARA DELITZSCH née SILBER.

Leipzig, March 4, 1890.)

So has gone out one of the greatest lights of Christendom. His holy spirit now shines by the Seven Lamps of Fire on which he loved to dilate. After a life of measureless

love and labor, he is now with Him who for nearly sixty years has known his works, and charity, and service, and faith, and his patience, and his works; and the last to be more than the first.

The profound and far-reaching authority of Dr. Delitzsch had its spring in his personal character. Who could look on that dear, solemn, serious face, with its wistful, benignant eyes, and its lines of care, without recognizing the soul that gave it such brightness? It lay next in his faith and piety. A mystic born out of due time, or rather taken away in the dawning revival of apostolic theology, he struck the deep resounding notes which there are always ears to hear in the meanest, shallowest days. His stores of knowledge were so vast that in some respects he was without a rival in Europe, and his insight into Scripture was so delicate and profound that among its interpreters he had but few peers. His industry was more than German. To a guest in his house it seemed as if he was always awake. Labor was piled on labor, and yet (except when he were sorely worried by examinations) all seemed to be done lightly; he more than conquered the claims made upon him; he had time to rest, and talk pleasantly on all that passed, beaming through his spectacles; and there seemed to be nothing of which he was ignorant. Dr. Delitzsch loved to know what his pupils were doing: he kept friendly watch over them, and would inquire for those scattered through England, Scotland, and America, with an interest as keen as he showed in those of his own country.

We earnestly hope that Dr. Delitzsch's letters and manuscripts will be put in skilful hands, and that a full biography will appear without exorbitant delay. These materials are almost unexampled in richness and value. As is well known, he was a native of Leipzig, where he died. But many are not aware that his tenure of a professorship there is of comparatively recent date—only since 1867. He was first at Rostock, that quaint Mecklenburg town, with its "Baltic Gothic" churches visible far out at sea. Rostock was then, and remains, the headquarters of strict orthodoxy in Germany. Delitzsch was not very comfortable there, but we need not revive the memory of the theological controversies in which the Rostock theologians were involved with him and others of his friends. About ten years ago we visited at Rostock the veteran Philippi, whose commentary on Romans is not unknown in this country. Philippi retained his early distrust of Delitzsch as "in all

things too susceptible ;” “the man who made a hole in the wall.” After four years he removed to Erlangen, where he found himself with more congenial spirits—above all, with the great and sainted Hofmann, the Delitzsch of the New Testament. Here he taught with eminent success and growing fame for sixteen years, when he removed to Leipzig. His work there is known in all the Christian world, and he sustained his fame to the last—never having the humiliation which even came to Ewald of having to face empty benches. He kept busy with his pen, issuing articles, new books, and fresh editions constantly. The final and definitive edition of his noblest work—that on the Psalms—with the last corrections of his own hands, is issued in the “Foreign Biblical Library” of Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton, and “Isaiah” will shortly follow. “Iris,” a charming little volume of essays, has just been issued by Messrs. Clark, of Edinburgh.

The great peculiarity of Delitzsch was that he combined the scholar and the mystic—or rather, perhaps, the theosophist. As a Hebraist he was confessedly among the first : in his knowledge of post-Biblical Hebrew he was unrivalled. It is touching to know that his deep concern for the salvation of Israel, “without which the circle of God’s commiserations remains unclosed,” was the first inducement that led him to the study of Hebrew. How this passion glowed and burned in him to the very last of life—what toils, sacrifices, and heartbreaking disappointments he went through that Israel might be saved, only the Shepherd of Israel knows. In his magazine *Saat auf Hoffnung* he unceasingly pleaded the cause, and his heart was refreshed by the remarkable movement of Rabinowitz. But his chief contribution, and the work he valued above all the rest, was his Hebrew translation of the New Testament, on which he bestowed incredible toil. He was, perhaps, not so great in criticism as in exegesis. Wellhausen once said to the present writer, “Delitzsch knows much, but he has no method ;” and other critics less prejudiced have judged similarly. But it was no small thing that his saintly character and overwhelming authority were given to the encouragement of earnest and reverent criticism of the Old Testament. “Fear nothing,” said he on one occasion to the writer, “from any criticism that is believing, but let all critics fear to offend the little ones of Christ.” He even went further than many think necessary in concession to modern criticism ; and treated with proud

gentleness those who accused him of unfaithfulness to the Gospel.

For he was faithful—a father of the faithful. The first book which deeply moved him, by an East Frisian schoolmaster, Niddersten, “Feelings and Experiences in Christianity,” was always his dearest companion. “There,” said he, “you will find the real kernel of my theology.” Two men of our day above all their European contemporaries have been recognized as able to set forth the deep things of God—Martensen and Delitzsch. Both were pupils of Jacob Böhme, the greatest of all theosophists. “I have,” said Delitzsch, “busied myself with his writings much and long, and have derived from him largely my view of God and the world.” (We are quoting from memory.) Then, as he explained in his memorable *Expositor* article, the miracles of Divine grace which he witnessed under the preaching of the Gospel in his early days, set his feet on a rock. “There is,” said he in a letter we published on November 18, 1887, “a realm of nature and a realm of grace. He who denies the realm of grace must also deny the efficacy of prayer, the work of the Holy Spirit in the soul, and consequently the freedom of man. As for me, I am a supernaturalist. As I say in the preface to my new Commentary on Genesis, I do not profess the ‘religion of the age of Darwin.’” These golden words he has enlarged and fortified in many pages which we could wish to see competently edited and translated. His “System of Biblical Psychology” is so badly rendered that many paragraphs look like, and really are, sheer gibberish. His “System of Christian Apologetics,” published about the time he came to Leipzig, deserves to be far better known. His life and faith, however, were their own justification. He had a direct and seldom obscured vision of the spiritual universe. The epitaph of another might well be inscribed on his grave : “Here lies one who loved and believed, and prayed.”

THE FEDERATION OF CHURCHES.

BY THE REV. JULIUS H. WARD.

From *The Churchman* (Episcopalian), New York, March 22, 1890.

IN the movement toward Christian unity one’s sense of advance depends very much upon his point of view. If he sees the movements of the day in the light of his own religious body there is almost no ad-

vance at all. The way is not clear, and the barriers are seemingly insurmountable. If a different position is taken, if one looks at the centripetal forces in religious society, it is possible to see things very differently. All the organized Christianity in this country emphasizes our divisions, but the higher thought of the hour and the better judgments of good men bring us into close agreement. It is in the flowing together of Christian sympathies, in the drawing together of people who are so earnest in reaching out to great ends, that they forget the doctrinal differences which divide them, that one can trace to-day perhaps a more determined effort to reach a working and practical unity among Christians than has been noted before in the United States. The declaration of the bishops in 1886 has had a perceptible influence, and for the different Christian bodies the Evangelical Alliance has begun a work that promises good results in every community. We need to strive for unity in two directions. People need to be instructed in the reasons why our own Communion adheres to the Episcopate and insists that it shall be recognized as one of the conditions of unity. Outside of the Episcopal Church not one person in a hundred has the slightest conception of what an authoritative ministry means. The personal duty in Christian living has been insisted upon, but the conception of the Church as a religious home and of what the Church does for one has never been presented or considered, much less the nature of the Church and its historical continuity. It is for this reason that an immense amount of the simplest instruction is needed before any sort of adequate conception of what the Church is in its integrity can be widely diffused among Christian people outside of our own membership. In this light we are a long way from unity.

Dr. McCosh has recently proposed, and the Evangelical Alliance has already entered upon the undertaking wherever it is practicable, that the neglected and non-church-going class in Protestant communities shall be reached by a method of co-operative visiting from house to house, by which it shall be ascertained how far the present religious organizations reach the whole of the community, and the non-church-going class may be put in touch with the religious bodies for which they have a personal preference. There can be no question that the non-church-goers form a large and increasing portion of the community, and that no efforts for the uplifting of the people as a

whole will be satisfactory where such co-operative efforts are not thoroughly made and followed up with adequate personal visitation and kindly sympathy. This is the beginning of efforts toward treating the field by co-operation as a competent pastor would treat a community where he had the sole spiritual charge. The difficulty is that a working agreement must be entered into before any such plan can be successful. It is not impossible to work by such a method in the Protestant denominations, and one can see that great benefits may accrue from such a combination of effort, but it must proceed upon unsectarian and non-proselytizing lines. It is a strong test of human nature to enter upon an effort like this and carry it through with a large charity and with the thoroughness which enlists one's full convictions, but in the realization of such simple methods of reaching a working unity lies the success of the larger plan which implies the reconciliation of different denominations to one another on a higher basis than that which we at present occupy. The Evangelical Alliance has found a practical field of operation in the cities and in some of the large towns by inducing the different pastors to work in concert for the hunting up of neglected people, and as far as this work can be entered upon it is of great value. Dr. McCosh does not go much farther than the practical development of this plan in town and country. It is easy to see the difficulties which beset it, but these are no greater or more serious than those which constantly beset the worthiest enterprises. It is the beginning of Christian effort in which the lines of work are not inconsistent with devotion to one's own denomination. The Episcopal Church would have more at stake in such united efforts than the other denominations which differ mostly in the emphasis which they give to different doctrines, but there is no essential reason why we should not co-operate with our religious neighbors in an effort which is sure to bring excellent results in every community or neighborhood where it is consistently introduced and followed up. Here is really the first step, and in these initiatory efforts the Evangelical Alliance, under its present management, is entitled to great praise for making the right sort of beginning.

The plan here proposed and already introduced in many places is really the beginning of practical unity, but the effort to bring people out to religious worship is only a small part of what needs to be done in order to lift up the tone of both city and com-

munity and make our present life strong and wholesome. In all denominations the religious life has been too much regarded on its doctrinal side and too little attention has been given to the building up of the social life in which our religion is put on trial. The enlargement of the sphere of Christian action, so that the parish shall represent all that is wholesome in life, is one of the most pressing demands to-day in our social development, and it is by these marks, at least in part, that the friends of Christ among us are now best known. In these efforts to make society Christian a higher work is undertaken than that of hunting up people who do not go to Church. It is the second step in reaching the community through the individual. The federation of churches, if it is ever accomplished, must be reached by indirect methods, through which the ministers and the active people in different denominations in the same community learn to work in common, and to set greater store upon making the social life of their neighborhood wholesome than upon enlarging the membership of their churches. It is not beyond the range of the Evangelical Alliance to promote such efforts, and they are the outcome of what Dr. McCosh proposes in the way of Christian federation. But this secondary step is valuable in another respect. The religious leaders in every community know far too little of the good things in other bodies than their own, and the working together for something beyond their own limits and in which they share the life of others would soon bring them to appreciate that with which they are not familiar; and when prejudices have been worn off, the more constructive efforts which have to do with organic unity could be put forth. This is where the lines of effort to-day are practicable. We have something more to do than to set down the fixed terms on which, as a religious body, we will unite with other Christians. That is too much like squaring off in an attitude of self-righteousness from which no good is likely to come. The Episcopal Church has nothing to lose and very much to gain from coming into closer contact with the different Protestant organizations, and where united work and comprehensive effort does not involve the denial of principles, the sharing in the sympathies and labors of others for great common ends is sure to bring the blessing of Christ and of the Holy Spirit upon what is done. In this light the federation of Churches is not a dream of the imagination, and it involves the possible making known of the good things which the Church would

gladly communicate to those who have never found out the better method which has been transmitted from the beginning.

THE MARIES OF THE GOSPELS.

BY THE RIGHT REV. C. J. ELLICOTT, D.D.

From *The Sunday-School Times*, Philadelphia, April 5, 1890.

It may not be uninteresting or unprofitable to the general reader if we make a few historical comments upon the subject which stands at the head of this article. Questions of some intricacy are involved in the discrimination between the holy women bearing the name of Mary, and controversies of real moment turn upon the relationships existing, or supposed to exist, between two at least of those who will come before us in the following sketch.

There would seem to be, then, no better way of proceeding than, in the first place, to put together all that can be collected in the Holy Gospels relating to each one of the name; and then to consider the more difficult matters of relationships and identity.

To begin, then, we seem clearly justified by the sacred narrative in recognizing four different persons each bearing the same, not then uncommon, name of Mary—namely, (1) the blessed Virgin Mary, (2) Mary of Magdala, (3) Mary of Bethany, and (4) Mary, the wife of Clopas. In the Acts of the Apostles (Acts xii. 12), we meet with yet another Mary, the mother of John Mark; but in the present paper we have only to consider the first four.

What does the gospel history tell us of each?

1. In regard of the Blessed Virgin, we have somewhat full notices of her early life, only two or three notices of her after life, and one faint but most touching indication of with whom, and perhaps also where, in all probability, her holy life was ultimately spent. Legend and apocryphal story has, as we might have expected, sought to supply fuller details, but to these we can only make passing allusions.

The Blessed Virgin comes before us in the narrative of St. Luke as dwelling, at least at the time of the annunciation, at Nazareth in Galilee, being then betrothed to Joseph, an undoubted descendant of David, and so spoken of by the angel in the dream recorded by St. Matthew (Matt. i. 20). If verification of this last point were needed, it is abundantly supplied by the statement of Hegesippus (Euseb. "Hist.," iii. 20), that members of the family appeared afterward before Domitian as de-

scendants of the house of David. But here a question of some interest is raised: Was the Virgin Mary also a descendant of David? It has been maintained by good interpreters that the words "of the house of David" (Luke i. 27) are to be referred, not simply to the immediately preceding substantive "Joseph," but also to the antecedent portion of the clause, so that we are to understand that both parents were of the Davidic family. It is added, that the fact of the Virgin Mary having travelled with Joseph to Bethlehem, at the time of the enrolment, points in the same direction, and that St. Luke's genealogy (Luke iii. 23 *sqq.*) is to be regarded as giving her actual pedigree.

On the other hand, it is contended, and apparently with preponderant probability, that, in the first passage, the connection is much more natural, if it be considered that the words "of the house of David" refer solely to Joseph; that, in reference to the journey to Bethlehem, the evangelist could hardly have failed to have placed the clause giving the reason of the journey not, as it stands, in the singular number, and immediately after the mention of Joseph, but after both clauses, and in the plural number, "because they," etc. The studied perspicuity with which St. Luke always writes is here an argument of considerable force. Into the supposed argument from the genealogy of St. Luke, it will not be possible to enter in this paper. It may be enough to say that there is nothing in the text, whatever be the order of the words that may be adopted as the true reading, that would lead to the supposition that St. Luke was here giving the genealogy of the Virgin Mary. The only fact from which any inference could be drawn as to the tribe of the Virgin, is the fact of her being related to the mother of the Baptist (Luke i. 36), who, we know, was of the daughters of Aaron (Luke i. 5); but even here the mention of the relationship is in too general terms to justify the deduction that, as is maintained by Ewald and others, Mary was of the tribe of Levi. At any rate, if it was so, it could never have occupied any prominence in Christian thought; for compare Hebrews vii. 14.

Some faint difficulty remains as to the original home of the Virgin Mary. It is contended that, from the language of St. Matthew (Matt. ii. 22, 23), we are to conclude that this could not have been Galilee, but was probably Bethlehem. Whether such an inference can fairly be drawn from the words may properly be doubted. At any rate, the language of St. Luke is so dis-

tinct and consistent as to Nazareth being the original home of Joseph and Mary (Luke ii. 39), that we must abide by it, and be satisfied that if we knew all the details we should be able to account for the apparent tenor of the words of St. Matthew. It is, at least, quite conceivable that Joseph and Mary may have intended, after the marvellous circumstances connected with our Lord's birth, to have made Bethlehem their future abode, and that they thus naturally contemplated, in the first instance, a return to the new home (Matt. ii. 22).

Into the further facts connected with the Blessed Virgin which are disclosed in the gospel narrative, we do not propose here to enter, our object being simply to discriminate between the four who bear the name, in regard of merely external circumstances. In conclusion, we may notice that according to tradition the parents of the Virgin were Joachim, a person of influence, and Anna or Anne, the daughter of a priest bearing the name of Matthan; that Mary was the child of their old age; that she was fifteen years old at the birth of our Lord, and that she died at the age of fifty-nine,—or, according to others, at the age of seventy-two,—and was buried at Ephesus. The connection of her name with Ephesus is natural enough, as early writers (Irenæus, Eusebius) specify that city as the final home of St. John, to whom, as we well remember, our dying Lord committed this highly favored and blessed woman.

2. The second Mary, as in order of the mention of her name in the gospel narrative, is Mary Magdalene, or Mary of Magdala,—a place on the western shore of the Lake of Galilee, and now bearing the name of *Mejdet*, perhaps identical with the Magadan mentioned in Matthew xv. 39 (Rev. Ver.). We first meet with this Mary in the notice given by St. Luke (Luke viii. 2 *seq.*) of the women who, after having been "healed of evil spirits and infirmities," accompanied the Lord and his apostles in their missionary journeyings, and "ministered unto them of their substance." It is specially noted by the evangelist (see also Mark xvi. 9) that "seven devils" had, by the Lord's merciful healing, gone forth from her. From the hint afforded by the demoniac or demoniacs of Gadara, we may suppose that a simultaneous possession is alluded to (comp. also Matt. xii. 25; Luke xi. 26); and from the word "healed" we may not unnaturally suppose that it was a bodily, rather than a spiritual case, and that the popular identification of Mary Magdalene with the unknown woman who anointed the Lord's feet in the

house of the Pharisee Simon (Luke vii. 36 *sqq.*), is mistaken, and morally improbable. Still more indefensible is the identification of this anointing mentioned by St. Luke, and that mentioned by St. Matthew (Matt. xxvi. 6), St. Mark (Mark xiv. 3), and St. John (John xii. 3), as having taken place at Bethany, and the consequent confusion between Mary of Magdala and Mary of Bethany.

The last incident connected with this devoted woman is the manifestation of the risen Lord vouchsafed to her early on the resurrection morn, in the garden of the sepulchre (John xxi. 11 *sqq.*). Two things would seem always connected with the memory of Mary Magdalene, if we may draw any inference from the mention of her name by St. Mark (Mark xvi. 9),—that she was rescued from the indwelling of devils, and was the first to whom the Lord appeared after his resurrection from the dead.

Legend has sought to identify her with the daughter of the Canaanitish woman (Matt. xv. 22 ; Mark vii. 25), but, it need hardly be said, on no grounds that rise above scarcely plausible conjecture.

3. The third Mary of the Gospels is Mary of Bethany, first mentioned by St. Luke (Luke x. 39) as being the sister of a certain Martha, who, at some place not specified, received our Lord into her house at some time, as it would seem, in the course of our Lord's last journey. It is certain, from the subsequent narrative of the evangelist (see Luke xiii. 22 ; xvii. 11), that our Lord could not have yet arrived at Bethany. It has been supposed, therefore, by some expositors, that this must have been on some former visit to Jerusalem. This much, at any rate, would appear to be certain,—that the family were so well known to our Lord as to have been loved by him (John xi. 3, 5) some time previous to his visit, at the raising of Lazarus. The conjecture, therefore, may be considered plausible.

The circumstance with which the name of Mary of Bethany appears to have been especially connected was the anointing of the head and feet of our blessed Lord, in the house of Simon the leper. It was solemnly declared by our Lord that it was to be a memorial of her (Matt. xxvi. 13 ; Mark xiv. 9) wheresoever the gospel should be preached ; and when St. John, writing two generations afterward, first mentions the name of the holy woman, he at once distinguishes her from every other Mary, as “that Mary which anointed the Lord with ointment, and wiped his feet with her hair” (John xi. 2). After this holy scene, Mary

of Bethany passes away completely from our view.

4. The fourth Mary whose name appears in the Gospels is one about whose identification there is some difficulty, and with whom questions of the deepest interest have been associated. This Mary is mentioned by St. Matthew as one of the women who had followed our Lord from Galilee, and beheld, afar off, the crucifixion (Matt. xxvii. 55, 56). She is also mentioned by the evangelist as present at the burial of our Lord, and at the sepulchre on the morning of the resurrection, and is described as “the mother of James and Josés.” She is similarly mentioned by St. Mark (Mark xv. 40), and is described as “the mother of James the Little and of Josés.” In Luke (xxiv. 10) she is only mentioned as having gone to the sepulchre, and is described, more briefly, as “the [mother] of James.” So far we have no difficulty. When we turn to John, we find mention of the holy women that stood by the cross, and in the following words, which we studiously leave without punctuation : “His mother and the sister of his mother Mary the [wife] of Clopas and Mary Magdalene.” Now, before we notice the punctuation, we may consider this as clear,—that Mary, here described as “the [wife] of Clopas,” is identical with the mother of James and Josés. But was she, or was she not, the sister of the Virgin ? If she was, then the words, “Mary the [wife] of Clopas,” must be considered as in apposition to, and as explanatory of, the unnamed “sister of his mother ;” and we must conclude that no more than three persons are mentioned. If, however, she was not the sister of the Virgin, then there would be four persons, in two pairs,—two persons described and two definitely named. What is our decision to be ? As we know that much hangs on it, it is, perhaps, difficult to judge with perfect impartiality. This, however, surely may be said,—that, as no one is elsewhere mentioned, in the whole gospel narrative, as “the sister of the Virgin,” it seems difficult to believe that, in a passage in which it would seem clearly to be the desire of the inspired writer to be explicit in his mention of names, this insufficient designation should have been given of the pious woman referred to. It is only by comparison with the parallel passages in St. Matthew and St. Mark that we can obtain any means of identifying this sister of the Virgin. If she be not the wife of Clopas, she must apparently be “the mother of the sons of Zebedee” (Matt. xxvii. 56 ; comp. Mark xv. 40),—an iden-

tification to which Scripture does not elsewhere give any support.

If, on the contrary, we take what would seem to be the more natural connection of the clauses in the verse which we are now considering, we at once drift into the much-contested question of "the Lord's brethren." Into this it is obvious that we cannot enter in this paper; but this, at any rate, may be said: that great, confessedly, as would seem to be the difficulty arising from the apparent fact that each of two sisters had the same name, Mary, it seems a greater difficulty to suppose that the James and Joses who were the sons of the wife of Clopas are different persons from the James and Joses who are mentioned by St. Mark (Mark vi. 2) as two of our Lord's brethren. If we are prepared further to identify the name Alphæus with Clopas,—and the arguments for this are certainly very strong,—we shall have the further fact that the Mary we are now considering was the mother of an Apostle. That she was also the mother of a second Apostle seems more doubtful, for the view of the Revised Version that the Apostle Jude was not the brother, but the son of James (Luke vi. 16), is certainly more probable than the contrary.

But we must proceed no further into the intricacies connected with the identifications involved in the keenly debated subject of the Lord's brethren. We have now done what we have attempted to do. We have cleared up, we hope, any passing difficulties that might be felt in regard of those who, in the gospel narrative, bear the name of Mary. The further difficulties that our results may be considered to involve belong fairly to a different and far more complicated subject.

HOW UNITARIANISM IS FARING IN JAPAN.

BY REV. ARTHUR MAY KNAPP.

From *The Christian Register* (Unitarian), Boston, March 30, 1890.

THE first Unitarian expedition to Japan, the "Mayflower" of by no means a forlorn hope, landed in this New England of the East on December 22, 1887. It found here a genial clime and a most hospitable reception. Its missionaries, if by any possible rehabilitation of a spoiled word they could be called such, were, like all missionaries in this fairy land, anything but martyrs. The atmosphere of universal kindness, peace, and good will here prevailing, makes expatriation the sole drawback to the pleasure of existence; and no resident foreigner,

even of the most moderate means, can with decency claim martyrdom on any other score.

This genial sky was, however, somewhat beclouded when two years afterward the second Unitarian expedition made its landing. Not that any change had been wrought in the disposition of the gentle islanders, but only that seventeen long years of the selfish and domineering policy of the strong Western powers (the attitude of the United States forming, I am glad to say, a conspicuous exception) had produced its legitimate result in something closely akin to an anti-foreign reaction, and there was danger that the Japanese would put away from their hearts the strangers to whom their hospitality had been before so charming in its genuineness and simplicity. Our second coming found the land in a ferment of political excitement. The pride of a profoundly self-respecting people just awakening to a consciousness of their newly acquired liberty and of the dignity of self-government had been deeply stirred by some of the provisions of the new treaties then being negotiated. On the very day previous to our landing, the excitement reached its culmination in the attempted assassination of Count Okuma, the minister for foreign affairs, and from that day until now the times have been exceedingly unpropitious for directing the attention of the Japanese to any subject save the absorbing one of politics. Apart from the purely political phases, the anti-foreign reaction has, however, been a healthful one, and one which all foreigners of discrimination should welcome rather than deplore. In their new-found life there was a too manifest tendency among the Japanese to ignore their own national individuality and to copy indiscriminately everything which belongs to Western life and ways. Now, Japanese individuality, and its preservation from the evil things of Western civilization, is the watchword of the Japanese patriot. Should this tendency triumph, as there are now strong reasons for believing, we may well rejoice even if along with the evils some of the better elements of our Western life be refused entrance here.

Happily for our own special errand, the immediate political excitement is now subsiding, and there is every indication that the time is at hand when the attention of this people may be wisely directed to the message which we have to bring.

Before this reaches the *Register*, there will have been a movement all along the line in the way of presenting that message.

The first number of the *Unitarian Zas-*

shi (magazine) is in press, and will appear on the first day of March, under more favorable auspices than has been the case with any similar publication ever issued in Japan. It will contain articles and cordial letters of greeting from Mr. Fukuzawa, Count Loyeshima, the vice-president of the Privy Council and the tutor of the emperor, Mr. Kato, the former president of the Imperial University, Mr. Nakamura, the most eminent Chinese scholar in the empire, and Mr. Lugiura, the leader of the moral movement among the students of the day. It is, of course, not to be claimed that all these men are Unitarians. Their interest and the great influence their names will exert have been obtained largely through considerations of personal friendship, and they have also been attracted by the liberality and catholicity of the prospectus of the magazine, which has been privately circulated among them. We fully realize that the future of the publication must depend largely upon our own efforts, while it will be our purpose to devote at least half of its pages to contributions from native sources. Many such contributions from men almost as eminent as those above mentioned are already promised us for future numbers. The fact of our having an article from Mr. Fukuzawa's pen in the first number is especially noteworthy. The extent and power of his influence over this people cannot be exaggerated. The pecuniary and other value to a publication of even a single word from him is so great, and he is so constantly besieged for such a word by the graduates of his institution, and by others who engage in literary ventures, that he is forced to make it a rigid rule to refuse every one. In our case, he has made this single and most notable exception, contributing, not merely a word, but an original and striking article bearing directly upon the interests of our movement. An editorial in the *Choya Shimibun*, a rival of the *Jiji Shimpō*, of which latter Mr. Fukuzawa is the editor, recently put this estimate upon the extent of Mr. Fukuzawa's influence: "The position he holds in the minds of this nation is higher than that of ministers of State; and he is to be greatly applauded for his known contempt for empty titles of nobility and other outward marks of distinction. That he possesses extraordinary capacity, the public knows already; but the public has still to learn that he is equally distinguished for magnanimity and chivalry."

Of Mr. Lugiura, whom our emphasis on character and morality has drawn strongly to our movement, and who contributes a

long article to our first number, the *Japan Mail* makes the following estimate: "He is now Assistant Director of the Bureau of Special Education in the Educational Department; but it is not in the line of official work that he shows himself greatest: it is in the unique position he holds toward the rising generation. There it is that he renders such excellent services to the country. A man of singular force of character, of keen intellect, and, above all, of sound common sense, he has attracted around him a circle of intelligent youths over whom he exercises a powerful influence."

The first number of the *Unitarian Zasshi* contains, besides the Introductory, an article by Mr. Hawkes, our English colleague, on "Unitarianism a Religion, not a Philosophy," one by Mr. MacCauley on "Unitarianism as a Moral Power," and one by the present writer on "Unitarianism as a Social Force," these being the three main departments, Religious, Ethical, and Social, which will constitute the make-up of future issues.

To-morrow there will appear in forty of the principal newspapers and periodicals of the empire the first advertisement of the publication, occupying a large and conspicuous space. In this advertisement, as also in another which follows a week later, there is displayed a statement of Unitarian Principles. Furthermore, on the inside of the cover of the magazine itself, directly over the table of contents, there will be kept as a standing notice in every number the following statement, which the exigencies of the case have made it necessary to express with telegraphic brevity:—

UNITARIAN PRINCIPLES.

Fundamentals.

On which all Unitarians are agreed.

I. *Basis*.—Not traditional authority, but rational and scientific truth.

II. *Method*.—Perfect Freedom of Inquiry.

III. *Aim*.—The highest development of Humanity, personal and social.

Beliefs commonly held by Unitarians.

1. In *Religion* as the natural and necessary expression of man's relations to God and Duty.

2. In *Christianity* as that form of Religion which in its purity teaches simply the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.

3. In God as the Infinite and Eternal Power, Wisdom, and Beneficence, guiding the Universe by a process of natural development.

4. In *Man* as the highest result of such development, who by his exalted nature may be called the Child of God.

5. In the *Bible* as a collection of human writings, containing, though mixed with error, the best expression of man's religious nature.

6. In *Jesus* as the greatest of the teachers who have guided mankind in their religious development.

7. In the *Fellowship of Religions*, since, though differing in excellence, they have the same source and substantially the same end.

It is an interesting fact to be stated in connection with the publication of the magazine that our Japanese managers, Mr. Arakawa and Mr. Itaya, were both members of Mr. Sunderland's church at Ann Arbor. It may easily be conceived that it is no small advantage for us that they are fully in sympathy with our errand, and that they enter into our plans with a corresponding enthusiasm.

Another feature of special theological interest is the fact that the new Unitarian magazine is based upon and forced to acknowledge the doctrine of vicarious atonement. The exigencies of the press laws here require that some one shall be responsible to the government and be ready to go to jail in case of such a violation of the laws as may require so extreme a measure to be put into force. A go-to-jail editor is therefore duly provided for.

Of the other lines of work to be opened simultaneously with the publication of our periodical it is not my purpose to write now, but to wait until the next mail, when they will have become accomplished facts. Suffice it to say at present that our corps, greatly strengthened and stimulated as it has lately been by the arrival of Mr. Hawkes from England, is working together with the utmost harmony; that a large hall for lectures and addresses has been placed at our disposal free of charge by one of our Japanese friends; that a building admirably situated, and containing class-rooms and a smaller hall, having been purchased, is now being fitted up for our purposes; and that long before this reaches the readers of the *Register* Unitarianism will have become an organized force among the influences which are now shaping the destinies of this wonderful land, this gentle and kindly people.

A MONSTROUS JUDICIAL DECISION: THE BIBLE UNCONSTITUTIONAL.

From *The Advance* (Congregationalist), Chicago, March 27, 1890.

THE decision of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, declaring the presence of the Bible in a public school in that State "unconstitutional," seems to us a narrow and monstrous construction, a piece of judicial sectarian atheism, unwarranted by the facts and the law, contrary to the highest judicial precedents, and at war with the good of our system of public schools.

No one now questions the necessity of keeping the public school in every proper sense of the term unsectarian. To teach officially in the common school the special doctrines which separated the religious sects from one another is obviously improper under our system of schools. But to say that the Bible itself, without note or comment, the one book that is common to all Christendom is, in the United States, itself sectarian and unconstitutional, is to exalt the sectarianism of atheism into the place of the Constitution.

The State of Wisconsin was originally a part of the "Northwestern Territory," the bottom-most law of which was, and is, that glorious Ordinance of July 13, 1787, article 3rd, of which reads: "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government, and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." Did the term "religion," as used in that fundamental law, mean atheism or heathenism? Or did it contemplate that the Bible itself was the one book of the world to be judicially put under taboo, banished and ruled out of the schools for which, according to that illustrious Ordinance, every sixteenth quarter-section in the entire Territory was to be set apart for educational purposes?

Judge Story, in his "Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States," speaking of the meaning of the amendment to the Constitution relating to this matter, says:

"Probably at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, and of the amendment to it, now under consideration, the general if not the universal sentiment in America was that Christianity ought to receive encouragement from the State, so far as it is not incompatible with the private rights of conscience and the freedom of religious worship.

"An attempt to level all religions, and to make it a matter of State policy to hold all

in utter indifference, would have created universal disapprobation, if not universal indignation.

"The real object of the amendment was, not to countenance, much less to advance, Mahometanism, or Judaism, or infidelity, by prostrating Christianity; but to exclude all rivalry among Christian sects, and to prevent any national ecclesiastical establishment, which should give to any hierarchy the exclusive patronage of the National Government."

The particular case at issue in Wisconsin, is that known as the Edgerton Bible case. It had been customary for teachers in the schools in the township of Edgerton to read from the Bible at the opening of the school each morning, using the common English version. Some of the Roman Catholic parents, prompted no doubt by the priests, protested against this, and appealed to the Circuit Court for a writ of mandamus to compel the School Board to put a stop to the practice.

The Circuit Court under the ruling of Judge Bennett declined to grant the writ. The case on appeal came before the Supreme Court of the State, with the result mentioned above. Judge Lyon, who wrote the formal opinion, deals directly with the question, whether the reading of the Bible is "sectarian instruction." Says Judge Lyon:

"The term 'sectarian instruction' in the Constitution manifestly refers exclusively to instruction in religious doctrines which are believed by some religious sects and rejected by others. Hence to teach the existence of a Supreme Being of infinite wisdom, power, and goodness, and that it is the highest duty of all men to adore, obey, and love him, is not sectarian, because all religious sects so believe and teach.

"The instruction becomes sectarian when it goes further and inculcates doctrine or dogma concerning which the religious sects are in conflict. This we understand to be the meaning of the constitutional prohibition. That the reading of the Bible in the schools, although unaccompanied by any comment on the part of the teacher, is instruction seems to us too clear for argument. Some of the most valuable instruction a person can receive may be derived from reading alone, without any aid by way of comment or exposition. The question therefore seems to narrow down to this: Is the reading of the Bible in the schools—not merely selected passages therefrom but the whole of it—sectarian instruction of the pupils? In view of the fact already men-

tioned, that the Bible contains numerous doctrinal passages upon some of which the peculiar creed of almost every religious sect is based, and that such passages may reasonably be understood to inculcate the doctrines predicated upon them, an affirmative answer to the question seems unavoidable. Any pupil of ordinary intelligence who listens to the reading of the doctrinal portions of the Bible will be more or less instructed thereby in the doctrine of the divinity of Jesus Christ, the eternal punishment of the wicked, the authority of the priesthood, the binding force and efficacy of the sacraments, and many other conflicting sectarian doctrines."

This is to say, the Bible, though the book common to all the sects, is such a book that a pupil, if not an idiot, listening to the reading of it might be liable to be "more or less instructed thereby" and get some *impressions of his own* as to doctrines contained in it; therefore, it must be ruled out of the public schools of the State as "unconstitutional."

But if this monstrous judicial doctrine be accepted, what then will become of the text-books founded upon the fundamental teachings of the Bible? Must these be utterly expurgated and flattened out into sheer paganism or complete agnosticism as regards all the spiritual necessities and interests of our nature? No, not quite that. It is not necessary to "banish from the district schools such text-books as are founded upon the fundamental teachings of the Bible or which contain extracts therefrom; and there is much in the Bible which cannot justly be characterized as sectarian, and there can be no valid objection to the use of such matter in the secular instructions of the pupils. Much of it has great historical and literary value which may be thus utilized without violating the constitutional prohibition. It may also be utilized to inculcate good morals—that is, our duties to each other—which may and ought to be inculcated by the district schools."

So it will be some satisfaction to good people in the freedom-loving State of Wisconsin, to learn from their Supreme Court that their schools need not be quite reduced to utter immorality as well as absolute irreligiousness.

But Justice Cassoday, of the same Court, in his separate opinion makes another point. The Bible must not be read in a public school; for, if read before the pupils, it might, in some cases at least, awaken some

sentiments kindred to worship; such a "holy sense of honor, reverence, adoration, and homage to Almighty God," as constitutes "the very essence of worship." And that, it seems, would be dreadful in a public school. These are the words of Judge Cassoday in his opinion:

"Certainly the reading of the holy Scriptures as the eternal word of God, in obedience to the often repeated injunction therein contained, whether by the individual, or privately, or in the family, or in the public assembly, is an essential part of divine worship. Every sermon is based upon some text of Scripture. Most prayers are preceded by the reading of some passage of Scripture as an intelligent guide to the thoughts of the worshipper or worshippers. The Sermon on the Mount contains the prayer taught by the blessed Lord. Is it possible for any genuine believer in the Christian religion to read that sermon, and especially that prayer, without being filled with a holy sense of honor, reverence, adoration, and homage to Almighty God? which is the very essence of worship. We must hold that the stated reading of the Bible in the public schools as a text-book may be worship within the meaning of the clause of the Constitution under consideration."

In short, it therefore comes to this in the public school system of Wisconsin, as interpreted by its astute Supreme Court, that the two things to be tabooed and banished and forever kept out of the public schools, are, the idea of God and any "holy sense of honor and reverence to Almighty God!"

Well, if this is what our American public school system has come to, or is coming to, the fact should be known, and the necessary bearings and tremendous significance of it appreciated.

The Bible may at any rate rank as a classic in the world's literature. Nobody thinks it a bad book. It is commonly supposed to have some value from a historic and literary point of view. It has unquestionably had more to do in determining the literature and the laws and the social life of the progressive nations than any other book, if not more than all other books put together. The President of the United States takes his oath of office with a more or less "holy sense of honor and reverence," with his hand placed on this book. All our legislative bodies from the National Senate and House of Representatives down, are opened with prayer. Last year, when the first centennial of the National Constitution was celebrated in a national way, with most im-

posing ceremonies, the formal celebration was opened with prayer. The spirit of liberty is commonly supposed to be the glory of our American institutions. The public school is declared to be "the sheet anchor of the ship of State." But in the public school—according to the opinion of Wisconsin's Supreme Court—the two things to be forever prohibited, scared off and barred out of the public school are, the Bible and "the holy sense of honor and reverence" toward God.

The Legislature of Georgia, two or three years ago, came near passing what was called "the chain-gang law," to the effect that if any teacher in any school in that State should allow a white pupil in a school along with colored pupils, he might be punished with a year's consignment to the chain-gang. As to a teacher in a Wisconsin school who might like to read a few verses from the Bible, he need not be sent to the chain-gang, but he must be gagged. And if this law hold in the public school, it must also hold in the State University and in the State Normal Schools. And all this, in the interests of a "sectarian" atheism.

If, hereafter, in the State of Wisconsin, the public schools, including the Normal Schools and the State University, are not actually made to be what Romanists have all along tried to make them out to be, absolutely and positively godless, it will be no fault of this decision of Judges Lyon, Cassoday and Orton. It should be added that a similar decision has never been rendered by any Supreme Court in any other State in the Union. This case is at any rate certain to be notorious. But what has this one particular Book done for America, or, let it be added, for the State of Wisconsin, that its chief judiciary should thus unite in pronouncing it an unfit and "unconstitutional" book to be read in the hearing of the children and youth of that State in the public schools? And is it, as Judge Cassoday suggests, such a dreadful thing to inculcate in the youth of our time a "holy sense of honor and reverence"? Is that the rock on which the youth of Wisconsin are in special danger of personal shipwreck?

Such a narrow and strained and tortured construction of the law is sheer pettifoggery; it lacks the first element of judicial decency.

DRUG CLERK (briskly): Insect powder? Yes, ma'am. Here's some Swedish insect powder that's highly recommended.

CUSTOMER: I don't know whether that will work. Mine are plain, American insects.

VI.

CHRISTIANITY AND AGNOSTICISM.

BY HENRY WACE, D.D.

(Continued from the April number, p. 53.)

incredible that no old traditions of our Lord's teaching should have existed beyond those which are common to the three Gospels. St. Luke, in fact, in that preface which Prof. Huxley has no hesitation in using for his own purposes, says that "many had taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us;" but Prof. Huxley asks us to assume that none of these records were old, and none trustworthy, but that particular one which furnishes a sort of skeleton to the first three Gospels. There is no evidence whatever, beyond Prof. Huxley's private judgment, for such an assumption. Nay, he himself tells us that, according to Holtzmann, it is at present a "burning question" among critics "whether the relatively primitive narration and the root of the other synoptic texts is contained in Matthew or in Mark."* Yet while his own authority tells him that this is a burning question, he treats it as settled in favor of St. Mark, "beyond any rational doubt or dispute," and employs this assumption as sufficiently solid ground on which to rest his doubts of the genuineness of the Sermon on the Mount and the Lord's Prayer!

But let us pass to another point in Prof. Huxley's mode of argument. Let us grant, again, for the sake of argument, his *non sequitur* that the second Gospel is the nearest extant representative of the oldest tradition. "How comes it," he asks, "that it contains neither the Sermon on the Mount nor the Lord's Prayer?" Well, that is a very interesting inquiry, which has, in point of fact, often been considered by Christian divines; and various answers are conceivable, equally reasonable and sufficient. If it was St. Mark's object to record our Lord's acts rather than his teaching, what right has Prof. Huxley, from his purely human point of view, to find fault with him? If, from a Christian point of view, St. Mark was inspired by a divine guidance to present the most vivid, brief, and effective sketch possible of our Lord's action as a Saviour, and for that purpose to leave to another writer the description of our Lord as a teacher, the phenomenon is not less satisfactorily explained. St. Mark, according to that tra-

dition of the Church which Prof. Huxley believes to be quite worthless, but which his authority Holtzmann does not, was in great measure the mouth-piece of St. Peter. Now, St. Peter is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, in his address to Cornelius, as summing up our Lord's life in these words: "How God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power, who went about doing good, and healing all who were oppressed of the devil; for God was with him;" and this is very much the point of view represented in St. Mark's Gospel. When, in fact, Prof. Huxley asks, in answer to Holtzmann, who is again unfavorable to his views, "What conceivable motive could Mark have for omitting it?"* the answers that arise are innumerable. Perhaps, as has been suggested, St. Mark was more concerned with acts than words; perhaps he wanted to be brief; perhaps he was writing for persons who wanted one kind of record and not another; and, above all, perhaps it was not so much a question of "omission" as of selection. It is really astonishing that this latter consideration never seems to cross the mind of Prof. Huxley and writers like him. The Gospels are among the briefest biographies in the world. I have sometimes thought that there is evidence of something superhuman about them in the mere fact that, while human biographers labor through volumes in order to give us some idea of their subject, every one of the Gospels, occupying no more than a chapter or two in length of an ordinary biography, nevertheless gives us an image of our Lord sufficiently vivid to have made him the living companion of all subsequent generations. But if "the gospel of Jesus Christ" was to be told within the compass of the sixteen chapters of St. Mark, some selection had to be made out of the mass of our Lord's words and deeds as recorded by the tradition of those "who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word." The very greatness and effectiveness of these four Gospels consist in this wonderful power of selection, like that by which a great artist depicts a character and a figure in half a dozen touches; and Prof. Huxley may, perhaps, to put the matter on its lowest level, find out a conceivable motive for St. Mark's omissions when he can produce such an effective narrative as St. Mark's. As St. John says at the end of his Gospel, "There are also many other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself

could not contain the books that should be written." So St. John, like St. Mark, had to make his selection, and selection involves omission.

But, after all, I venture to ask whether anything can be more preposterous than this supposition that because a certain tradition is the oldest authority, therefore every other authority is discredited? Boswell writes a life of Johnson; therefore every record of Johnson's acts or words which is not in Boswell is to be suspected. Carlyle writes a life of Sterling first, and Archdeacon Hare writes one afterward; therefore nothing in the archdeacon's life is to be trusted which was not also in Carlyle's. What seems to me so astonishing about Prof. Huxley's articles is not the wildness of their conclusions, but the rottenness of their ratiocination. To take another instance:

Luke either knew the collection of loosely connected and aphoristic utterances which appear under the name of the "Sermon on the Mount" in "Matthew," or he did not. If he did not, he must have been ignorant of the existence of such a document as our canonical "Matthew," a fact which does not make for the genuineness or the authority of that book. If he did, he has shown that he does not care for its authority on a matter of fact of no small importance; and that does not permit us to conceive that he believed the first Gospel to be the work of an authority to whom he ought to defer, let alone that of an apostolic eye-witness.

I pass by the description of the Sermon on the Mount as a "collection of loosely connected utterances," though it is a kind of begging of a very important question. But supposing St. Luke to have been ignorant of the existence of St. Matthew's Gospel, how does this reflect on the genuineness of that book unless we know, as no one does, that St. Matthew's Gospel was written before St. Luke's, and sufficiently long before it to have become known to him? Or, if he did know it, where is the disrespect to its authority in his having given for his own purposes an abridgment of that which St. Matthew gave more fully? Prof. Huxley might almost seem dominated by the mechanical theory of inspiration which he denounces in his antagonists. He writes as if there were something absolutely sacred, neither to be altered nor added to, in the mere words of some old authority of which he conceives himself to be in possession. Dr. Abbott, with admirable labor, has had printed for him, in clear type, the words or bits of words which are common to the first three Gospels, and he seems immediately to adopt the anathema of the book of Revelation, and to proclaim to every man, evangelists and apostles included, "if any man shall

add unto these things, . . . and if any man shall take away from the words" of this "common tradition" of Dr. Abbott, he shall be forthwith scientifically excommunicated. I venture to submit, as a mere matter of common sense, that if three persons used one document, it is the height of rashness to conclude that it contained nothing but what they all three quote; that it is not only possible but probable that, while certain parts were used by all, each may have used some parts as suitable to his own purpose which the others did not find suitable to theirs; and, lastly, that the fact of there having been one such document in existence is so far from being evidence that there were no others, that it even creates some presumption that there were. In short, I must beg leave to represent, not so much that Prof. Huxley's conclusions are wrong, but that there is absolutely no validity in the reasoning by which he endeavors to support them. It is not, in fact, reasoning at all, but mere presumption and guess-work, inconsistent, moreover, with all experience and common sense.

Of course, if Prof. Huxley's quibbles against the Sermon on the Mount go to pieces, so do his cavils at the authenticity of the Lord's Prayer; and, indeed, on these two points I venture to think that the case for which I was contending is carried by the mere fact that it seems necessary to Prof. Huxley's position to dispute them. If he cannot maintain his ground without pushing his agnosticism to such a length as to deny the substantial genuineness of the Sermon on the Mount and the Lord's Prayer, I think he will be found to have allowed enough to satisfy reasonable men that his case must be a bad one. I shall not, therefore, waste more time on these points, as I must say something on his strange treatment of the third point in the evangelical records to which I referred, the story of the Passion. It is really difficult to take seriously what he says on this subject. He says:

I am not quite sure what Dr. Wace means by this—I am not aware that any one (with the exception of certain ancient heretics) has propounded doubts as to the reality of the crucifixion; and certainly I have no inclination to argue about the precise accuracy of every detail of that pathetic story of suffering and wrong. But if Dr. Wace means, as I suppose he does, that that which, according to the orthodox view, happened after the crucifixion, and which is, in a dogmatic sense, the most important part of the story, is founded on solid historical proofs, I must beg leave to express a diametrically opposite conviction.

Prof. Huxley is not quite sure what I mean by the story of the Passion, but sup-

poses I mean the story of the resurrection ! It is barely credible that he can have supposed anything of the kind ; but by this gratuitous supposition he has again evaded the issue I proposed to him, and has shifted the argument to another topic, which, however important in itself, is entirely irrelevant to the particular point in question. If he really supposed that when I said the Passion I meant the resurrection, it is only another proof of his incapacity for strict argument, at least on these subjects. I not only used the expression "the story of the Passion," but I explicitly stated in my reply to him for what purpose I appealed to it. I said that "that story involves the most solemn attestation, again and again, of truths of which an agnostic coolly says he knows nothing ;" and I mentioned particularly our Lord's final utterance, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit," as conveying our Lord's attestation in his death agony to his relation to God as his Father. That exclamation is recorded by St. Luke ; but let me remind the reader of what is recorded by St. Mark, upon whom Prof. Huxley mainly relies. There we have the account of the agony in Gethsemane and of our Lord's prayer to his Father ; we have the solemn challenge of the highpriest, "Art thou the Christ, the son of the Blessed ?" and our Lord's reply, "I am ; and ye shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven," with his immediate condemnation, on the ground that in this statement he had spoken blasphemy. On the cross, moreover, St. Mark records his affecting appeal to his Father, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" All this solemn evidence Prof. Huxley puts aside with the mere passing observation that he has "no inclination to argue about the precise accuracy of every detail of that pathetic story of suffering and wrong." But these prayers and declarations of our Lord are not mere details ; they are of the very essence of the story of the Passion ; and whether Prof. Huxley is inclined to argue about them or not, he will find that all serious people will be influenced by them to the end of time, unless they be shown to be unhistorical.

At all events, by refusing to consider their import, Prof. Huxley has again, in the most flagrant manner, evaded my challenge. I not only mentioned specifically "the story of the Passion," but I explained what I meant by it ; and Prof. Huxley asks us to believe that he does not understand what I referred to ; he refuses to face that story ; and he raises an irrelevant issue about the

resurrection. It is irrelevant, because the point specifically at issue between us is not the truth of the Christian creed, but the meaning of agnosticism, and the responsibilities which agnosticism involves. I say that whether agnosticism be justifiable or not, it involves a denial of the beliefs in which Jesus lived and died. It would equally involve a denial of them had he never risen ; and if Prof. Huxley really thinks, therefore, that a denial of the resurrection affects the evidence afforded by the Passion, he must be incapable of distinguishing between two successive and entirely distinct occurrences.

But the manner in which Prof. Huxley has treated this irrelevant issue deserves perhaps a few words, for it is another characteristic specimen of his mode of argument. I note, by the way, that, after referring to "the facts of the case as stated by the oldest extant narrative of them"—he means the story in St. Mark, though this is not a part of that common tradition of the three Gospels on which he relies ; for, as he observes, the accounts in St. Matthew and St. Luke present marked variations from it—he adds :

I do not see why any one should have a word to say against the inherent probability of that narrative ; and, for my part, I am quite ready to accept it as an historical fact, that so much and no more is positively known of the end of Jesus of Nazareth.

We have, then, the important admission that Prof. Huxley has not a word to say against the historic credibility of the narrative in the fifteenth chapter of St. Mark, and accordingly he proceeds to quote its statements for the purpose of his argument. That argument, in brief, is that our Lord might very well have survived his crucifixion, have been removed still living to the tomb, have been taken out of it on the Friday or Saturday night by Joseph of Arimathea, and have recovered and found his way to Galilee. So much Prof. Huxley is prepared to believe, and he asks "on what grounds can a reasonable man be asked to believe any more ?" But a prior question is on what grounds can a reasonable man be asked to believe as much as this ? In the first place, if St. Mark's narrative is to be the basis of discussion, why does Prof. Huxley leave out of account the scourging, with the indication of weakness in our Lord's ability to bear his cross, and treat him as exposed to crucifixion in the condition simply of "temperate, strong men, such as the ordinary Galilean peasants were" ? In the next place, I am informed by good medical authority that he is quite mistaken in saying that "no serious physical symptoms need at once arise from

the wounds made by the nails in the hands and feet," and that, on the contrary, very grave symptoms would ordinarily arise in the course of no long time from such severe wounds, left to fester, with the nails in them, for six hours. In the third place, Prof. Huxley takes no account of the piercing of our Lord's side, and of the appearance of blood and water from the wound, which is solemnly attested by one witness. It is true that incident is not recorded by St. Mark; but Prof. Huxley must disprove the witness before he can leave it out of account. But, lastly, if Prof. Huxley's account of the matter be true, the first preaching of the church must have been founded on a deliberate fraud, of which some at least of our Lord's most intimate friends were guilty, or to which they were accessory; and I thought that supposition was practically out of account among reasonable men. Prof. Huxley argues as if he had only to deal with the further evidence of St. Paul. That, indeed, is evidence of a far more momentous nature than he recognizes; but it is by no means the most important. It is beyond question that the Christian society, from the earliest moment of its existence, believed in our Lord's resurrection. Baur frankly says that there is no doubt about the church having been founded on this belief, though he cannot explain how the belief arose. If the resurrection be a fact, the belief is explained; but it is certainly not explained by the supposition of a fraud on the part of Joseph of Arimathea. As to Prof. Huxley's assertion that the accounts in the three Gospels are "hopelessly discrepant," it is easily made and as easily denied; but it is out of all reason that Prof. Huxley's bare assertion on such a point should outweigh the opinions of some of the most learned judges of evidence, who have thought no such thing. It would be absurd to attempt to discuss that momentous story as a side issue in a review. It is enough to have pointed out that Prof. Huxley discusses it without even taking into account the statements of the very narrative on which he relies. The manner in which he sets aside St. Paul is equally reckless:

According to his own showing, Paul, in the vigor of his manhood, with every means of becoming acquainted, at first hand, with the evidence of eye-witnesses, not merely refused to credit them, but "persecuted the Church of God and made havoc of it." . . . Yet this strange man, because he has a vision one day, at once, and with equally headlong zeal, flies to the opposite pole of opinion.

"A vision!" The whole question is, what vision? How can Prof. Huxley be sure

that no vision could be of such a nature as to justify a man in acting on it? If, as we are told, our Lord personally appeared to St. Paul, spoke to him, and gave him specific commands, was he to disbelieve his own eyes and ears, as well as his own conscience, and go up to Jerusalem to cross-examine Peter and John and James? If the vision was a real one he was at once under orders, and had to obey our Lord's injunctions. It is, to say the least, rash, if not presumptuous, for Prof. Huxley to declare that such a vision as St. Paul had would not have convinced him; and, at all events, the question is not disposed of by calling the manifestation "a vision." Two things are certain about St. Paul. One is that he was in the confidence of the Pharisees, and was their trusted agent in persecuting the Christians; and the other is that he was afterward in the confidence of the apostles, and knew all their side of the case. He holds, therefore, the unique position of having had equal access to all that would be alleged on both sides; and the result is that, being fully acquainted with all that the Pharisees could urge against the resurrection, he nevertheless gave up his whole life to attesting its truth, and threw in his lot, at the cost of martyrdom, with those whom he had formerly persecuted. Prof. Huxley reminds us that he did all this in the full vigor of manhood, and in spite of strong and even violent prejudices. This is not a witness to be put aside in Prof. Huxley's off-hand manner.

But the strangest part of Prof. Huxley's article remains to be noticed; and, so far as the main point at issue between us is concerned, I need hardly have noticed anything else. He proceeds to a long and intricate discussion, quite needless, as I think, for his main object, respecting the relations between the Nazarenes, Ebionites, Jewish and Gentile Christians, first in the time of Justin Martyr and then of St. Paul. Into this discussion, in the course of which he makes assumptions which, as Holtzmann will tell him, are as much questioned by the German criticism on which he relies as by English theologians, it is unnecessary for me to follow him. The object of it is to establish a conclusion, which is all with which I am concerned. That conclusion is that "if the primitive Nazarenes of whom the Acts speak were orthodox Jews, what sort of probability can there be that Jesus was anything else?"* But what more is necessary for the purpose of my argument? To say, indeed,

that this *a priori* probability places us "in a position to form a safe judgment of the limits within which the teaching of Jesus of Nazareth must have been confined," is to beg a great question, for it assumes that our Lord could not have transcended those limits unless his disciples transcended them simultaneously with him. But if our Lord's beliefs were those of an orthodox Jew, we certainly know enough of them to be quite sure that they involved a denial of Prof. Huxley's agnosticism. An orthodox Jew certainly believed in God, and in his responsibility to God, and in a divine revelation and a divine law. It is, says Prof. Huxley, "extremely probable" that he appealed "to those noble conceptions of religion which constituted the pith and kernel of the teaching of the great prophets of his nation seven hundred years earlier." But, if so, his first principles involved the assertion of religious realities which an agnostic refuses to acknowledge. Prof. Huxley has, in fact, dragged his readers through this thorny question of Jewish and Gentile Christianity in order to establish, at the end of it, and, as it seems, quite unconsciously, an essential part of the very allegation which I originally made. I said that a person who "knows nothing" of God asserts the belief of Jesus of Nazareth to have been unfounded, repudiates his example, and denies his authority. Prof. Huxley, in order to answer this contention, offers to prove, with great elaboration, that Jesus was an orthodox Jew, and consequently that his belief did involve what an agnostic rejects. How much beyond these elementary truths Jesus taught is a further and a distinct question. What I was concerned to maintain is that a man cannot be an agnostic with respect to even the elementary truths of religion without rejecting the example and authority of Jesus Christ; and Prof. Huxley, though he still endeavors to avoid facing the fact, has established it by a roundabout method of his own.

I suppose I must also reply to Prof. Huxley's further challenge respecting my belief in the story of the Gadarene swine, though the difficulty of which he makes so much seems to me too trivial to deserve serious notice. He says "there are two stories, one in 'Mark' and 'Luke,' and the other in 'Matthew.'" In the former there is one possessed man, in the latter there are two," and he asks me which I believe? My answer is that I believe both, and that the supposition of there being any inconsistency between them can only arise on that mechanical view of inspiration from which

Prof. Huxley seems unable to shake himself free. Certainly "the most unabashed of reconcilers cannot well say that one man is the same as two, or two as one;" but no one need be abashed to say that the greater number includes the less, and that if two men met our Lord, one certainly did. If I go into the operating theatre of King's College Hospital, and see an eminent surgeon perform a new or rare operation on one or two patients, and if I tell a friend afterward that I saw the surgeon perform such and such an operation on a patient, will he feel in any perplexity if he meets another spectator half an hour afterward who says he saw the operation performed on two patients? All that I should have been thinking of was the nature of the operation, which is as well described by reference to one patient as to half a dozen; and similarly St. Mark and St. Luke may have thought that the only important point was the nature of the miracle itself, and not the number of possessed men who were the subjects of it. It is quite unnecessary, therefore, for me to consider all the elaborate dilemmas in which Prof. Huxley would entangle me respecting the relative authority of the first three Gospels. As two includes one, and as both witnesses are in my judgment equally to be trusted, I adopt the supposition which includes the statements of both. It is a pure assumption that inspiration requires verbal accuracy in the reporting of every detail, and an assumption quite inconsistent with our usual tests of truth. Just as no miracle has saved the texts of the Scriptures from corruption in secondary points, so no miracle has been wrought to exclude the ordinary variations of truthful reporters in the Gospel narratives. But a miracle, in my belief, has been wrought in inspiring four men to give, within the compass of their brief narratives, such a picture of the life and work and teaching, of the death and resurrection, of the Son of man as to illuminate all human existence for the future, and to enable men "to believe that Jesus is the Christ, and believing to have life through his name."

It is with different feelings from those which Prof. Huxley provokes that I turn for a while to Mrs. Humphry Ward's article on "The New Reformation." Since he adopts that article as a sufficient confutation of mine, I feel obliged to notice it, though I am sorry to appear in any position of antagonism to its author. Apart from other considerations, I am under much obligation to Mrs. Ward for the valuable series of articles which she contributed to

the "Dictionary of Christian Biography" under my editorship, upon the obscure but interesting history of the Goths in Spain. I trust that, in her account of the effect upon Robert Elsmere and Merriman of absorption in that barbarian scene, she is not describing her own experience and the source of her own aberrations. But I feel especially bound to treat her argument with consideration, and to waive any opposition which can be avoided. I am sorry that she, too, questions the possibility in this country of "a scientific, that is to say, an unprejudiced, an unbiased study of theology, under present conditions," and I should have hoped that she would have had too much confidence in her colleagues in the important work to which I refer than to cast this slur upon them. Their labors have, in fact, been received with sufficient appreciation by German scholars of all schools to render their vindication unnecessary; and if Prof. Huxley can extend his study of German theological literature much beyond Zeller's "Vorträge" of "a quarter of a century ago," or Ritschl's writings of "nearly forty years ago," he will not find himself countenanced by church historians in Germany in his contempt for the recent contributions of English scholars to early church history. However, it is the more easy for me to waive all differences of this nature with Mrs. Ward, because it is unnecessary for me to look beyond her article for its own refutation. Her main contention, or that at least for which Prof. Huxley appeals to her, seems to be that it is a mistake to suppose that the rationalistic movement of Germany has been defeated in the sphere of New Testament criticism, and she selects more particularly for her protest a recent statement in the *Quarterly Review* that this criticism, and particularly the movement led by Baur, is "an attack which has failed." The *Quarterly Reviewer* may be left to take care of himself; but I would only ask what is the evidence which Mrs. Ward adduces to the contrary? It may be summed up in two words—a prophecy and a romance. She does not adduce any evidence that the Tübingen school, which is the one we are chiefly concerned with, did not fail to establish its specific contentions; on the contrary, she says that "history protested," and she goes on to prophesy the success of other speculations which arose from that protest, concluding with an imaginary sketch, like that with which "Robert Elsmere" ends, of a "new Reformation preparing, struggling into utterance and being, all around us. . . . It is close upon

us—it is prepared by all the forces of history and mind—its rise sooner or later is inevitable." This is prophecy, but it is not argument; and a little attention to Mrs. Ward's own statements will exhibit a very different picture. The Christian representative in her dialogue exclaims:

What is the whole history of German criticism but a series of brilliant failures, from Strauss downward? One theorist follows another—now Mark is uppermost as the Ur-Evangelist, now Matthew—now the Synoptics are sacrificed to St. John, now St. John to the Synoptics. Baur relegates one after another of the Epistles to the second century because his theory cannot do with them in the first. Harnack tells you that Baur's theory is all wrong, and that Thessalonians and Philipians must go back again. Volkmar sweeps together Gospels and Epistles in a heap toward the middle of the second century as the earliest date for almost all of them; and Dr. Abbott, who, as we are told, has absorbed all the learning of the Germans, puts Mark before 70 A.D., Matthew just about 70 A.D., and Luke about 80 A.D.; Strauss's mythical theory is dead and buried by common consent; Baur's tendency theory is much the same; Renan will have none of the Tübingen school; Volkmar is already antiquated; and Pfeiderer's fancies are now in the order of the day.

A better statement could hardly be wanted of what is meant by an attack having failed, and now let the reader observe how Merriman in the dialogue meets it. Does he deny any of those allegations? Not one. "Very well," he says, "let us leave the matter there for the present. Suppose we go to the Old Testament;" and then he proceeds to dwell on the concessions made to the newest critical school of Germany by a few distinguished English divines at the last Church Congress. I must, indeed, dispute her representation of that rather one-sided debate as amounting to "a collapse of English orthodoxy," or as justifying her statement that "the Church of England practically gives its verdict" in favor, for instance, of the school which regards the Pentateuch or the Hexateuch as "the peculiar product of that Jewish religious movement which, beginning with Josiah, . . . yields its final fruits long after the exile." Not only has the Church of England given no such verdict, but German criticism has as yet given no such verdict. For example, in the introduction to the Old Testament by one of the first Hebrew scholars of Germany, Prof. Hermann Strack, contained in the valuable "Hand-book of the Theological Sciences," edited, with the assistance of several distinguished scholars, by Prof. Zöckler, I find, at page 215 of the third edition, published this year, the following brief summary of what, in Dr. Strack's opinion, is the result of the controversy so far:

The future results of further labors in the field of Pentateuch criticism cannot, of course, be predicted in particulars. But, in spite of the great assent which the view of Graf and Wellhausen at present enjoys, we are nevertheless convinced that it will not permanently lead to any essential alteration in the conception which has hitherto prevailed of the history of Israel, and in particular of the work of Moses. On the other hand, one result will certainly remain, that the Pentateuch was not composed by Moses himself, but was compiled by later editors from various original sources. . . . But the very variety of these sources may be applied in favor of the credibility of the Pentateuch.

In other words, it may be said that Dr. Strack regards it as established that "The Law of Moses" is a title of the same character as "The Psalms of David," the whole collection being denominated from its principal author. But he is convinced that the general conclusions of the prevalent school of Old Testament criticism, which involve an entire subversion of our present conceptions of Old Testament history, will not be maintained. In the face of this opinion, it does not seem presumptuous to express an apprehension that the younger school of Hebrew scholars in England, of whose concessions Mrs. Ward makes so much, have gone too far and too fast; and, at all events, it is clear from what Dr. Strack says—and I might quote also Delitzsch and Dillmann—that it is much too soon to assume that the school of whose conquests Mrs. Ward boasts is supreme. But, even supposing it were, what has this to do with the admitted and undoubted failures on the other side, in the field of New Testament criticism? If it be the fact, as Mrs. Ward does not deny, that not only Strauss's but Baur's theories and conclusions are now rejected; if it has been proved that Baur was entirely wrong in supposing the greater part of the New Testament books were late productions, written with a controversial purpose, what is the use of appealing to the alleged success of the German critics in another field? If Baur is confuted, he is confuted, and there is an end of his theories; though he may have been useful, as rash theorizers have often been, in stimulating investigation. In the same valuable hand-book of Dr. Zöckler's, already quoted, I find, under the "History of the Science of Introduction to the New Testament," the heading (page 15, vol. i., part 2), "Result of the controversy and end of the Tübingen school."

The Tübingen school (the writer concludes, p. 20) could not but fall as soon as its assumptions were recognized and given up. As Hilgenfeld confesses, "it went to an unjustifiable length, and inflicted too deep wounds on the Christian faith. . . .

No enduring results in matters of substance have been produced by it."

Such is the judgment of an authoritative German hand-book on the writer to whom, in Merriman's opinion, "we owe all that we really *know* at the present moment about the New Testament," as though the Christian thought and life of eighteen hundred years had produced no knowledge on that subject!

In fact, Mrs. Ward's comparison seems to me to point in exactly the opposite direction:

I say to myself (says her spokesman, p. 466) it has taken some thirty years for German critical science to conquer English opinion in the matter of the Old Testament. . . . How much longer will it take before we feel the victory of the same science . . . with regard to the history of Christian origins?

Remembering that the main movement of New Testament criticism in Germany dates not thirty, but more than fifty years back, and that thirty years ago Baur's school enjoyed the same applause in Germany as that of Wellhausen does now, does it not seem more in conformity with experience and with probability to anticipate that, as the Germans themselves, with longer experience, find they have been too hasty in following Baur, so with an equally long experience they may find they have been similarly too hasty in accepting Wellhausen? The fever of revolutionary criticism on the New Testament was at its height after thirty years, and the science has subsided into comparative health after twenty more. The fever of the revolutionary criticism of the Old Testament is now at its height, but the parallel suggests a similar return to a more sober and common-sense state of mind. The most famous name, in short, of German New Testament criticism is now associated with exploded theories; and we are asked to shut our eyes to this undoubted fact because Mrs. Ward prophesies a different fate for the name now most famous in Old Testament criticism. I prefer the evidence of established fact to that of romantic prophecy.

But these observations suggest another consideration, which has a very important bearing on that general disparagement of English theology and theologians which Prof. Huxley expresses so offensively, and which Mrs. Ward encourages. She and Prof. Huxley talk as if German theology were all rationalistic and English theology alone conservative. Prof. Huxley invites his readers to study in Mrs. Ward's article

the results of critical investigation as it is carried out among those theologians who are men of science and not mere counsel for creeds ;

and he appeals to

the works of scholars and theologians of the highest repute in the only two countries, Holland and Germany, in which, at the present time, professors of theology are to be found, whose tenure of their posts does not depend upon the results to which their inquiries lead them.

Well, passing over the insult to theologians in all other countries, what is the consequence of this freedom in Germany itself? Is it seen that all learned and distinguished theologians in that country are of the opinions of Prof. Huxley and Mrs. Ward? The quotations I have given will serve to illustrate the fact that the exact contrary is the case. If any one wants vigorous, learned, and satisfactory answers to Prof. Huxley and Mrs. Ward, Germany is the best place to which he can go for them. The professors and theologians of Germany who adhere substantially to the old Christian faith are at least as numerous, as distinguished, as learned, as laborious, as those who adhere to sceptical opinions. What is, by general consent, the most valuable and comprehensive work on Christian theology and church history which the last two generations of German divines have produced? Herzog's "*Real-Encyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*," of which the second edition, in eighteen large volumes, was completed about a year ago. But it is edited and written in harmony with the general belief of Protestant Christians. Who have done the chief exegetical work of the last two generations? On the rationalistic side, though not exclusively so, is the "*Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch*," in which, however, at the present time, Dillmann represents an opposition to the view of Wellhausen respecting the Pentateuch; but on the other side we have Meyer on the New Testament—almost the standard work on the subject—Keil and Delitzsch on the Old Testament—and a great part of the New, Lange's immense "*Bibelwerk*," and the valuable "*Kurzgefasster Kommentar*" on the whole Scripture, including the Apocrypha, now in course of publication under the editorship of Profs. Strack and Zöckler. The Germans have more time for theoretical investigations than English theologians, who generally have a great deal of practical work to do; and German professors, in their numerous universities, in great measure live by them. But it was by German theologians that Baur was refuted; it is by German Hebraists like Strack that Wellhausen and

Kuenen are now being best resisted. When Prof. Huxley and Mrs. Ward would leave an impression that, because German theological chairs are not shackled by articles like our own, therefore the best German thought and criticism is on the rationalistic side, they are conveying an entirely prejudiced representation of the facts. The effect of the German system is to make everything an open question; as though there were no such thing as a settled system of the spiritual universe, and no established facts in Christian history; and thus to enable any man of great ability with a sceptical turn to unsettle a generation and leave the edifice of belief to be built up again. But the edifice *is* built up again, and Germans take as large a part in rebuilding it as in undermining it. Because Prof. Huxley and Mrs. Ward can quote great German names on one side, let it not be forgotten that just as able German names can be quoted on the other side. Take, for instance, Harnack, to whom Mrs. Ward appeals, and whose "*History of Dogmas*" Prof. Huxley quotes. Harnack himself, in reviewing the history of his science, pays an honorable tribute to the late eminent divine, Thomasius, whose "*History of Dogmas*" has just been republished after his death, and who wrote in the devoutest spirit of the Lutheran communion. Of course, Harnack regards his point of view as narrow and unsatisfactory; but he adds that, "equally great are the valuable qualities of this work in particular, in regard of its exemplarily clear exposition, its eminent learning, and the author's living comprehension of religious problems." A man who studies the history of Christian theology in Harnack without reference to Thomasius will do no justice to his subject.

But, says Mrs. Ward, there is no real historical apprehension in the orthodox writers, whether of Germany or England, and the whole problem is one of "historical translation." Every statement, every apparent miracle, everything different from daily experience, must be translated into the language of that experience, or else we have not got real history. But this, it will be observed, under an ingenious disguise, is only the old method of assuming that nothing really miraculous can have happened, and that therefore everything which seems supernatural must be explained away into the natural. In other words, it is once more begging the whole question at issue. Mrs. Ward accuses orthodox writers of this fallacy; but it is really her own. Merriman is represented as saying that he learned from his Oxford teachers that

it was imperatively right to endeavor to disentangle miracle from history, the marvellous from the real, in a document of the fourth, or third, or second century ; . . . but the contents of the New Testament, however marvellous and however apparently akin to what surrounds them on either side, were to be treated from an entirely different point of view. In the one case there must be a desire on the part of the historian to discover the historical under the miraculous, . . . in the other case there must be a desire, a strong "affection," on the part of the theologian, toward proving the miraculous to be historical.

Mrs. Ward has entirely mistaken the point of view of Christian science. Certainly if any occurrence anywhere can be explained by natural causes, there is a strong presumption that it ought to be so explained ; for, though a natural effect may be due in a given case to supernatural action, it is a fixed rule of philosophizing, according to Newton, that we should not assume unknown causes when known ones suffice. But the whole case of the Christian reasoner is that the records of the New Testament defy any attempt to explain them by natural causes. The German critics Hase, Strauss, Baur, Hausrath, Keim, all have made the attempt, and each, in the opinion of the others, and finally of Pfleiderer, has offered an insufficient solution of the problem. The case of the Christian is not that the evidence ought not to be explained naturally and translated into every-day experience, but that it cannot be. But it is Mrs. Ward who assumes beforehand that simply because the "Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah," by that learned scholar and able writer, Dr. Edersheim, whose recent loss is so much to be deplored, does not "translate" all the Gospel narratives into natural occurrences, therefore it is essentially had history. The story has been the same throughout. The whole German critical school, from the venerable Karl Hase—and, much as I differ from his conclusions, I cannot mention without a tribute of respect and gratitude the name of that great scholar, the veteran of all these controversies, whose "*Leben Jesu*," published several years before Strauss was heard of, is still, perhaps, the most valuable book of reference on the subject—all, from that eminent man downward, have, by their own repeated confession, started from the assumption that the miraculous is impossible, and that the Gospels must, by some device or other, be so interpreted as to explain it away. "Affection" there is and ought to be in orthodox writers for venerable, profound, and consoling beliefs ; but they start from no such invincible prejudice, and they are pledged by their principles to

accept whatever interpretation may be really most consonant with the facts.

I have only one word to say, finally, in reply to Prof. Huxley. I am very glad to hear that he has always advocated the reading of the Bible and the diffusion of its study among the people ; but I must say that he goes to work in a very strange way in order to promote this result. If he could succeed in persuading people that the Gospels are untrustworthy collections of legends, made by unknown authors, that St. Paul's epistles were the writings of "a strange man," who had no sound capacity for judging of evidence, or, with Mrs. Ward's friends, that the Pentateuch is a late forgery of Jewish scribes, I do not think the people at large would be likely to follow his well-meant exhortations. But I venture to remind him that the English Church has anticipated his anxiety in this matter. Three hundred years ago, by one of the greatest strokes of real government ever exhibited, the public reading of the whole Bible was imposed upon Englishmen ; and by the public reading of the lessons on Sunday alone, the chief portions of the Bible, from first to last, have become stamped upon the minds of English-speaking people in a degree in which, as the Germans themselves acknowledge,* they are far behind us. He has too much reason for his lament over the melancholy spectacle presented by the intestine quarrels of churchmen over matters of mere ceremonial. But when he argues from this that the clergy of our day "can have but little sympathy with the old evangelical doctrine of the 'open Bible,'" he might have remembered that our own generation of English divines has, by the labor of years, endeavored at all events, whether successfully or not, to place the most correct version possible of the Holy Scriptures in the hands of the English people. I agree with him most cordially in seeing in the wide diffusion and the unprejudiced study of that sacred volume the best security for "true religion and sound learning." It is in the open Bible of England, in the general familiarity of all classes of Englishmen and Englishwomen with it that the chief obstacle has been found to the spread of the fantastic critical theories by which he is fascinated ; and, instead of Englishmen translating the Bible into the language of their natural experiences, it will in the future, as in the past, translate them and their experiences into a higher and a supernatural region.

* See the preface to Riehm's "*Handwörterbuch*."

VII.

AN EXPLANATION TO PROFESSOR HUXLEY.

BY W. C. MAGEE, BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH.

IN the February number of this review Prof. Huxley put into the mouth of Mr. Frederic Harrison the following sentence: "In his [the agnostic's] place, as a sort of navy leveling the ground and cleansing it of such poor stuff as Christianity, he is a useful creature who deserves patting on the back—on condition that he does not venture beyond his last." The construction which I put upon these words—and of which I still think them quite capable—was that the professor meant to represent Mr. Harrison and himself as agreed upon the proper work of the agnostic, and as differing only as to whether he might or might not "venture beyond" that. On this supposition, my inference that he had called Christianity "sorry," or, as I ought to have said, "poor stuff" (the terms are, of course, equivalent), would have been perfectly correct.

On re-reading the sentence in question, however, in connection with its context, I see that it may more correctly be regarded as altogether ironical; and this from the professor's implied denial in his last article of the correctness of my version, I conclude that he intended it to be. I accordingly at once withdraw my statement, and express my regret for having made it. May I plead, however, as some excuse for my mistake, that this picture of himself when engaged in his agnostic labors is so wonderfully accurate and life-like that I might almost be pardoned for taking for a portrait what was only meant for a caricature, or for supposing that he had expressed in so many words the contempt which displays itself in so many of his utterances respecting the Christian faith?

Nevertheless I gladly admit that the particular expression I had ascribed to him is not to be reckoned among the already too numerous illustrations of what I had described as his "readiness to say unpleasant," and—after reading his last article—I must add, offensive "things."

With this explanation and apology I take my leave of the professor and of our small personal dispute—small, indeed, beside the infinitely graver and greater issues raised in his reply to the unanswered arguments of Dr. Wace.

I do not care to distract the attention of

the public from these to a fencing-match with foils between Prof. Huxley and myself. In sight of Gethsemane and Calvary such a fencing-match seems to me out of place.

VIII.

THE VALUE OF WITNESS TO THE MIRACULOUS.

BY PROFESSOR THOMAS H. HUXLEY.

CHARLES, or more properly, Karl, King of the Franks, consecrated Roman emperor in St. Peter's, on Christmas day, A.D. 800, and known to posterity as the Great (chiefly by his agglutinative Gallicized denomination of Charlemagne), was a man great in all ways, physically and mentally. Within a couple of centuries after his death Charlemagne became the center of innumerable legends; and the myth-making process does not seem to have been sensibly interfered with by the existence of sober and truthful histories of the emperor and of the times which immediately preceded and followed his reign, by a contemporary writer who occupied a high and confidential position in his court, and in that of his successor. This was one Eginhard, or Einhard, who appears to have been born about A.D. 770, and spent his youth at the court, being educated along with Charles's sons. There is excellent contemporary testimony not only to Eginhard's existence, but to his abilities, and to the place which he occupied in the circle of the intimate friends of the great ruler whose life he subsequently wrote. In fact, there is as good evidence of Eginhard's existence, of his official position, and of his being the author of the chief works attributed to him, as can reasonably be expected in the case of a man who lived more than a thousand years ago, and was neither a great king nor a great warrior. These works are—1. "The Life of the Emperor Karl." 2. "The Annals of the Franks." 3. "Letters." 4. "The History of the Translation of the Blessed Martyrs of Christ, SS. Marcellinus and Petrus."

It is to the last, as one of the most singular and interesting records of the period during which the Roman world passed into that of the middle ages, that I wish to direct attention.* It was written in the ninth

(To be continued.)

* My citations are made from Teulet's "Einhardi omnia que extant opera," Paris, 1840-1843, which contains a biography of the author, a history of the text, with translations into French, and many valuable annotations.

GOODLY WORDS.

Readings from the Mystics, selected by C. H. A. BJERREGAARD, of the Astor Library.

Inward or spiritual prayer is an approach of the soul to God, in the name of Jesus, and an abiding in his presence.

In order properly to understand this approach, and put it into practice, it is especially necessary, as an irreversible basis of the whole matter, that through grace we possess, cherish, and exercise a deep impression of the immediate proximity of the presence of God.

God is essentially present with us, in a manner which is incomprehensible to us. He fills heaven and earth; in him we live, and move, and have our being. He is also near our most secret thoughts, inclinations, desires, and intentions: all our inmost soul lies open in his presence. But God as a Spirit, is more especially near to our spirit, and to the most secret recesses of the heart. This spirit of ours does not belong to this world, nor to temporal objects; it was created for God alone, and is therefore capable of enjoying true fellowship with him. . . . This lovely and adorable Being, is not only present with us as God, but also as *our* God in Christ Jesus. . . .

Those who are really drawn by Him, can not rest satisfied with a general dedication of themselves. They perceive that something noble, entire, and complete is required of them: their soul and heart tell them, that he desires to have them solely and wholly for himself.

Happy is the soul, that recognizes within her, this divine and holy call, and surrenders herself to it, childlike, and unconditionally!

If we pay due attention to this latent inclination, and continue inwardly collected, removing every obstacle out of the way of the Spirit, by the exercise of self-denial, and follow this impulse, this principle, like an impelling power, leads, by love, the soul to God. The exercise of inward prayer, is the abiding in this fundamental inclination.

Letters and writings of GERHARD TERSTEEGEN.
Transl. by S. Jackson. London, 1832.

Mental prayer is the lifting up of our heart to God, accompanied with an actual or virtual request for something we desire. It is an *actual* request, when we clothe our thought or desire with unspoken words, mentally forming such sentences as these, or others like them: "O Lord, grant me this grace, for Thy Name's Sake;" or, "My God, my Refuge, Thou Strength of my heart, help me speedily, lest I fall." It is a *virtual* request, when we lift up our heart to God to gain some grace, showing Him our need without moulding our thoughts into words or sentences.

We should strive to form the habit of praying in this way, for it is a weapon of more value and assistance than I can say, and one which we may lay hold of at all times and on all occasions.

LAURENCE SCUPOLI, *The Spiritual Combat.* *Transl. by W. H. Hutchings.* Oxford, 1881.

What a man receives does not come out of order or by change; neither comes it from hand to hand, nor from person to person. Moreover, no man receives anything but what he earns; and he has earned all he receives, whether it be good or seemingly bad. The law by which a man receives what he does receive is the same as the law by which the Earth receives light and moisture, or by which the firmament receives its suns and planets. Will you give close attention to a statement of this Law? It is liable to escape your notice, because of its sim-

licity. What you think, that you receive. Thus is the Law stated. By His Thought has God created the whole universe. By His Thought does the Earth bring forth his fruits. By your thought do you receive your rewards. The process of a watchmaker making a watch for himself illustrates the Law. The watchmaker is the skill or knowledge he manifests; the watch is the product of his thought. You receive according to your thought, be it health or ill-health, riches or poverty, freedom or bondage. This is the only method by which all Law—and all Law is one Law—is expressed or becomes manifest. What, then, is your prayer? Whatever you think. What, then, is the answer to it? Whatever you receive. Whatever you ask, you receive. But your petition is not the petition of only a few minutes, or of a special time. Your petition is all your thoughts, day and night, year after year. It is according to these that you receive whatever you do receive. You must pray without ceasing; there is no such possibility as ceasing to think. This, however, you may do; you may so order your thoughts as to receive the happiness you seek; you may, when you will, change the current of all your thoughts, for they are entirely under your own control. No one ever can or ever will make you think other than you yourself will to think. Only things or appearances are affected by thought; you can never be affected, since you are the thinker. Your body, your circumstances, your affairs can be affected by your own thoughts, but not by any one's else. Remember this, and that you are solely responsible for all that happens to your own belongings; another is solely responsible for their accidents. If, then, you think the thoughts that another would have you think, you alone are responsible. Than this there is no other influence; and it is entirely under your control. If you be occupied in selfish pursuits, in material things, your prayers are selfish and material. If you be occupied in the interests of all men, in spiritual things, your prayers are universal and spiritual. You cannot hide the meditations of your heart, my friend; whatever they are they shall be seen in your home, in your business, in your appearance. If any one judge you by your accidents, by your acts of injustice, by your sicknesses, he will judge you wrongly; but he will divine your thoughts rightly. Thought must out; nothing can be hidden.

Pray by perceiving justice, and you will do the will of God. Pray by perceiving charity, and you will love your neighbor as yourself. Pray thus without ceasing.

Day by Day the Essential Bread. By FREDERICK. San Francisco, 1889.

The Holy One Spoke: Those who worship me, placing their hearts on me with constant devotion, and gifted with the highest faith, are considered by me as the most devoted. . . . Dispose thy heart toward me only, to me attach thy thoughts, and without doubt thou wilt dwell within me on high after this life. But if thou art not able to compose thy thoughts immovably on me, strive then to reach me by assiduous devotion. If thou art not capable even of assiduity, be intent on the performance of actions for me. Thou wilt attain beatitude even if thou only performest actions for my sake. If thou art unable to do even this, though filled with devotion to me, then abandon the consideration of the fruit of every action, being self-restrained. . . . Final emancipation results immediately from such abandonment.

THE BHAGAVAD-GÎTA. *Transl. by J. C. Thomson.* Hertford, 1855.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS: THE GREEK TEXT, WITH NOTES AND ESSAYS. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., D.C.L. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1890. 8vo, pp. 504, \$4.

Since the lamented death of Bishop Lightfoot, we suppose that the Regius Professor of Divinity at King's College, Cambridge, who has been chosen to succeed him, would be generally accredited as the foremost British scholar in Biblical Greek. His life has been spent in the study of the text and its meaning, and many of the results are before the world. Every work from his pen—and the number is not small—bears witness to the extent and accuracy of his learning, the acuteness of his perceptions, and the judicial equipoise of his mind in determining difficult questions. Besides, he has the indispensable prerequisite of sympathy with the book or the subject he undertakes to treat. His tone is always reverent, not to say devout, and he is pre-eminently a Christian scholar. Six years ago appeared his work on the Epistles of John, which was welcomed by all students as a most thorough and satisfactory exposition of writings which, though unstudied and artless in style, have a very profound significance. The present volume is constructed after the same pattern. After a luminous introduction we have the Greek text accompanied by comments, with additional notes or essays (Dr. Westcott does not use the imported word *excursus*) at the end of each chapter on points requiring more elaborate treatment.

The Introduction treats skilfully all the points usually taken up in advance, and adds to them an instructive comparison of the Epistle with the Epistle of Barnabas. The vexed question of the authorship is discussed without adding anything new. Dr. Westcott opposes the Pauline authorship, saying justly that the differences in style between this and the acknowledged writings of the great Apostle "characterize two men, and not only two moods or two discussions." He is satisfied with this negative conclusion, and offers no conjecture as to the author. He thinks highly of the Epistle as containing what is found nowhere else in the New Testament, that which may be called "a philosophy of religion, of worship, of priesthood, centred in the Person of Christ." Indeed, the whole section entitled "Characteristics" is profound and searching as to the relations between Judaism and the New Economy. As to division, he makes the

theme to be the Finality of Christianity (i. 1-4), under which comes I. The superiority of the Son to angels (i. 5-ii. 18); II. Moses, Joshua, Jesus, the Founders of the Old Economy and the New (iii., iv.); III. The High-priesthood of Christ, universal and sovereign (v.-vii.); the Fulfilment of Christ's Priestly Work (viii.-x. 18); the Appropriation and Vital Application of the Truth laid down (x. 19-xii.); the last chapter is a personal Epilogue.

The difficult question of the quotations from the Old Testament in the first two chapters is fairly and satisfactorily handled in the notes and in an appended Essay. The Old Testament not only contains prophecies, but is itself one vast prophecy. Prophetic words are not limited by the historical fact with which they are connected, yet the history is not set aside. Nor are the words mere isolated phrases, but represent ruling ideas. When first used they had a perfect meaning, which is at once the germ and the vehicle of the later and fuller meaning (p. 69). The author disclaims as foreign to the context the notion that the eternal generation of the Son is suggested in the words, "To-day I have begotten thee," in this agreeing with Calvin, who calls it "a subtlety." An acute essay on the divine names shows that *Jesus* turns our thoughts to the Saviour's human nature; *Christ*, to his work as Fulfiller of the old dispensation; *Son*, to his divine nature; *Lord*, to his sovereignty over the church. Among the essays following the second chapter is one on the singular reading of verse 9, *apart from God*, instead of *by the grace of God*, and a satisfactory note on the idea of "bringing to perfection" as applied to Christ and to believers. Another (p. 111) furnishes a scholarly treatment of certain hypothetical sentences. Chapter V. gives occasion to some useful thoughts on the idea of priesthood (*præ-Christian*), the priesthood of the Nations and that of the covenant People.

In the sixth chapter occurs the famous *crux* about the impossibility of renewing those that were once enlightened. The author shows that the language is hypothetical, yet thinks that the case is one that must be taken into account as possible. If the gospel has been received and afterward rejected, there can be no second spiritual birth. "The powers entrusted to the Christian society are inadequate to deal with this last result of sin; but the power of God is not limited." But on this view it is not easy to see the force of the writer's reasoning. To say that it is impossible for man to renew spiritual life means that it is possible for him to impart

it in the first instance, which we hardly think that Dr. Westcott holds. The illustration from nature (verses 7, 8) indicates an absolute impossibility. The land fruitful only for ill is rejected. It is nigh unto a curse. Its end is to be burned. It is utterly desolate, as if destroyed by volcanic forces. For it there is no recovery.

The many perplexing questions in the ninth chapter are cleverly dealt with, but we cannot agree with the learned author in rendering *diathēkē* covenant all the way through.* How is it possible that the death of the victim can be called "the death of him that made the covenant"? There are difficulties however one renders the word, but they are far greater on Dr. Westcott's rendering than on that of the common version and the revised. The long note on Sacrifice (pp. 281-292) is very comprehensive and lucid. Another interesting note (p. 384) treats of the social imagery in the Epistle, the political terms applied to the Christian Society. In xii. 1 he admits "the cloud of witnesses" to mean witness-bearers, and that there is no evidence that the word (*martur*) ever means a spectator, and then, strangely enough, says it is impossible to exclude the thought of the spectators in the amphitheatre. We submit that if the writer had intended spectators he would have used the appropriate word. "The place of repentance," which is spoken of in verse 17, is explained to be in Esau himself, and not, as some have supposed, in his father Isaac, a view which the author says is equally against the language and the argument. "No place of repentance" means no possibility of undoing his own past act so that its consequences would cease. The Revised Version expresses this by putting the clause in a parenthesis. The additional notes to the last chapter treat of the history of the Septuagint word for altar (*thusiastērion*) from the beginning to the time of Chrysostom, and furnish a list of all the doxologies in the Epistles and the Apocalypse. An appendix to the volume discusses the use of the Old Testament in the Epistle, in which the author in his usual scholarly way states at length the range of the quotations, the method of citation, and the text as compared with the Septuagint, and then proceeds to the interpretation, which is sound and satisfying and very suggestive. The gist may be given in this sentence: "The quotations are not brought forward to prove anything, but to indicate

the correspondences which exist between the several stages of the fulfilment of the Divine purpose from age to age."

The volume is an important addition to the literature of the Epistle. We have seen a criticism which denies this, saying, "The volume cannot be called a great exegesis." But it certainly goes to the bottom of every question it touches, and furnishes more material for ascertaining "the mind of the Spirit" than any other book on the subject. It would be of small use to a lazy man who wants to have everything cut and dried ready to his hand, but to an intelligent student who desires only to have the requisite aid for forming his own judgment it must be of the greatest service. It combines the careful study and grammatical analysis of the text with a large and enlightened view of the scope of the writer and the place of his work in the progress of revelation. There is little or no reference to modern critics, although Dr. Westcott, like a faithful son of the Church of England, pays respect to patristic authorities and cites some (*e.g.*, Primasius) whose names are not often met with. But his citations always have something besides the reputation of the author to recommend them. He thinks that study will be concentrated on the Old Testament in the coming generation; and that this book is an essential part of our Christian Bible, he says "we know now with an assurance that cannot be shaken." Some of the problems concerning its constituent parts may prove insoluble, but careful and reverent study will open up new views of the scope of divine revelation, and render each attainment a starting-point for something still higher and better.

T. W. CHAMBERS.

NEW YORK.

LUX MUNDI. A Series of Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation. Edited by CHARLES GORE, M.A., Principal of Pusey House. London: John Murray; New York: Scribner & Welford, 1889. 8vo, pp. xxiii., 525, cloth, \$5.60.

This book consists of twelve Essays contributed almost wholly by Christian scholars who represent the theology of Pusey and Keble. They may, in fact, be regarded as an attempt to rationalize that theology; to present it in such a form to thoughtful men that, while it still remains inevitably mysterious, it shall satisfy their reason, their intellect, their conscience, better than any alternative that has yet been seriously offered to them. The writers are, of course, independent; each has his own style; beyond

* It is to be observed that the learned Dr. Hatch is of the same opinion. His short paragraph on the meaning of *testamentum* is well worth consideration. See his *Essays in Biblical Greek*, p. 48.

the limits of this volume their opinions might more or less widely diverge. But for the substantial teaching of these Essays they are mutually responsible. The editor concludes the *Preface* with the words: "We do desire this volume to be the expression of a common mind and a common hope." As to the title, it may be presumed that "the Religion of the Incarnation" means a religion of which the Incarnation, as defined or described in Scripture and by the Catholic theologians, is an accepted datum or postulate.

Regarding this book, then, as Apologetic, the Essays, even if they were, as literary compositions, of equal excellence, could scarcely be of equal argumentative importance. *The Problem of Pain*, for instance, has been treated far more adequately by Dr. Martineau, in his *Study of Religion*, than in the delightful and really valuable essay by Mr. Illingworth. And inasmuch as *The Religion of the Incarnation* follows Theism in the order of Logic and Thought, a satisfactory contribution to the solution of the Problem of Pain which does not depend upon the Incarnation will be so much the more effective. Again, among these Essays themselves some are of primary and some of secondary importance. Thus *The Christian Doctrine of God* (Rev. Aubrey Moore) is primary in relation to *The Atonement* (Hon. and Rev. Arthur Lyttleton); while both of these are logically subordinate to *The Holy Spirit and Inspiration* (Rev. C. Gore.) The doctrine of the Atonement has been constructed by theologians who regarded the Levitical system of rites and sacrifices as formed by Moses himself, under the direct guidance or dictation of Almighty God, and for the purpose of serving as exact types and anticipations of the details and significance of the life and death of Jesus Christ. The elaborate criticism, during the last quarter of a century, of the Old Testament has certainly greatly modified the judgment of thoughtful men; and if—as is conceivable—it should turn out that what was once considered a divinely appointed type revealed by God to Moses was really introduced after the Exile for a perfectly different purpose, any doctrine of the Atonement presented apologetically to thoughtful men must take account of that new discovery.

Speaking generally, these Essays, though quite as liberal as they are conservative, written in an admirable spirit, going very far toward the perfect accomplishment of their purpose in many directions, yet seem, when they are most successful in satisfying the reason, to do this by *sacrificing* the doc-

trines which they are intended to support. Thus Canon Holland's Essay on *Faith* is wholly incompatible with the necessity either of dogmatic orthodoxy or the actual reception of the Sacraments. Canon Paget's most suggestive Essay on *Sacraments* will probably be regarded with suspicion both by Augustinians and by Protestants, whose prejudice about their number finds as little justification in reason as in antiquity. There is, moreover, scarcely a single essay which does not logically involve the actual ultimate salvation of every human being.

Again, speaking of the Essays generally, while exceedingly subtle, for the most part lucid, and thoroughly fair and candid, they fail in many important and even essential particulars to realize (and therefore to consider and answer) what the real and most serious difficulties of thoughtful persons, who examine reverently and with no unwillingness to believe the Catholic Creed, actually are. Mr. Gore, in his Essay on *The Holy Spirit and Inspiration*—perhaps the most valuable essay in the series—comes very near the recognition of the *exact* difficulty which prevents even subtle metaphysicians from accepting the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity. That exact difficulty is, that it includes the *Personality of the Holy Ghost*. If Mr. Gore's essay had been a mere statement of what is orthodox or of what is true, it would have been an almost faultless production; but it is an *apology*, an attempt to convince thoughtful men that no alternative doctrine (including its contradictory) has ever been offered as to the nature of God which more completely satisfies the reason than that doctrine of the Trinity which includes the doctrine of the *Personality of the Holy Ghost*. Many objections would be made by competent scholars to Mr. Gore's exegesis of passages of Scripture. They would affirm, for instance, that he often mistakes rhetoric or poetry for dogma; that he ascribes creation to the Holy Ghost as a Person in a way wholly incompatible with the teaching of St. Paul and St. John as to the creation of the world through the Word—whom both those apostles identify in the clearest way with that divine being who became Incarnate, the *Son of God*. But the special weakness of Mr. Gore's essay is, that while he shows that the human reason cannot help admitting the necessity to thought of precisely such a distinction in the divine nature as corresponds to the theological doctrine of God and the Word, the Father and the Son, he entirely fails to show or to indicate that it is possible to show, that the human reason has ever, in anything like the

same way or degree, recognized the necessity to thought of a third *Personality* corresponding to the Holy Ghost of theology. To multitudes of thinkers the doctrine of the Logos is welcome as a satisfaction to the reason; to nearly everybody the doctrine of the Personality of the Holy Ghost is extraneous to philosophical Theism, and is accepted solely on the compulsion, so to speak, of the Catholic exegesis of a limited number of texts of Scripture.

The place where Mr. Gore seems to realize the exact difficulty of the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity is in a note at the foot of pp. 336-337. "St. Augustine speaks of [the Holy Spirit] as the Love of the Father and the Son: 'Vides Trinitatem si caritatem vides. Ecce tria sunt: amans et quod amatur et amor.' And this Love is itself personal and co-ordinate: 'commune aliquid est Patris et Filii; ut ipsa communio consubstantialis et coeterna.' But in such speculation [the Fathers] allow themselves with much reserve and expression of unwillingness. In fact, it is easy to see that an eternally living God, knowing and loving" (we may add even self-conscious), "must be a God whose Being involves eternal relationships. Knowledge involves a relation of subject and object" (but not necessarily the *personality* of the object known); "to make love possible there must be a lover and a loved" (and this does, in the case supposed, involve the personality of the loved). "It is more difficult to see how a perfect relationship must be threefold; but there are true lines of thought which lead up to this, such, for instance, as make us see first in the family the type of complete life. Love which is only a relation of two is selfish or unsatisfied; it demands an object and a product of mutual love."

It is much to be regretted that Mr. Gore did not deal more fully with this—by far the most difficult—part of his subject. Was the love of "Adam" and "Eve" *selfish* before the birth of Cain? And is it orthodox to call the Holy Ghost "*the product of the mutual love*" of the Father and the Son?

However, the space allowed for this notice of a really valuable book is exhausted. It will be a surprise almost equally to the Catholic and the Evangelical Party in the Anglican Church.

WILLIAM KIRKUS.

BALTIMORE.

IMAGO CHRISTI: THE EXAMPLE OF JESUS CHRIST. By Rev. JAMES STALKER, M.A.
Introduction by WILLIAM M. TAYLOR,

D.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Pp. 332, 12mo, cloth, \$1.50.

The religious world is ever ready to welcome a rising man in Biblical and Theological literature. An original and sound thinker is one of God's greatest gifts to any generation. What each successive period needs is the coming of men who can give fresh inspiration to commonly accepted and familiar truths, that thus these truths may not lose their grasp of the public mind, but continue to control popular thought and feeling. Such a man we have in the Rev. James Stalker, M.A., of Glasgow, a comparatively young minister of the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland. He had already approved himself as a very efficient pastor, an eloquent and instructive preacher, a skilful parliamentarian, and a wise organizer before he became known as an author. His first published volume was a "Life of Jesus Christ," of small proportions, and modestly termed a hand-book. Then followed his "Life of St. Paul," of equally unpretentious size. These treatises so strongly commended themselves by their excellence that all who had read them were prepared warmly to receive his latest offering—*Imago Christi: The Example of Jesus Christ*.

This volume, larger in size and more expanded in treatment, fully sustains the promise of its predecessors, and the dawning reputation of the author. It is really a profound and charmingly simple study in the life of Jesus. Like many of the best things, it grew unexpectedly to what it is. We are told that in applied chemistry it is not uncommon, from the refuse of substances hitherto thrown away in the manufacture of certain staple articles, to make additional articles which for beauty, utility, and even moneyed value quite equal the original articles. The author tells us in his Preface that he was working on a subject which he meant to denominate the Mind and Teaching of Christ; but he says: "As I went on my progress was impeded by the fact that, especially in the department of ethics, Jesus seemed to teach as much by His example as by His words. . . . But as I wrote it grew and grew, till almost unawares, the plan of the new book shaped itself in my mind."

As indicated, *Imago Christi* deals mostly with the practical or human side of Christ's life, and presents the great Exemplar in the relations in which He touches all mankind. It must be allowed that everything in the conduct of a religious teacher, and especial-

ly of such a religious teacher as Jesus of Nazareth, is of incalculable importance to His followers. It is equally true that discipleship attaches itself to a person rather than to a doctrine, not to a person to the exclusion of doctrine, but to doctrine as embodied and illustrated in a person. It is not abstract truth which the soul yearns for so much as for souls who, penetrated and possessed by truth, breathe and live it, and thus bring the truth in feeling and action to the heart. A question of undying moment to the earnest enquirer is, How did Jesus act in this or that given condition? The question is strikingly answered in this volume.

A glance at the table of contents must suffice. Take these as samples: Christ in the Home; Christ in the State; Christ as a Friend; Christ as a Preacher; Christ as a Controversialist; Christ as a Man of Feeling, and one must be impressed with the richness of the discussions. Passages from any one of them might be quoted which are full of the essence of the Gospel, and marked by the purest literary taste. Speaking of Christ's taking with Him certain of His disciples on the Mount of Transfiguration and into the scene of His last agony in the garden, he says: "These scenes incite our wonder that any should have been admitted so far into his secret life. Were not these hours of prayer especially too sacred for any mortal eyes to see? That His friends were admitted to them proves that it is a prerogative of friendship to be admitted into the secrets of religious experience. It is a truncated and most imperfect friendship when the gateway of this region is closed; for it means that one friend is excluded from the most important province of the other's life. Hence it may be affirmed that friendship in the highest sense can exist only between Christians; and even they only taste the bloom on this cup when they have arrived at the stage of free and frequent converse on these themes which were native to the mouth of Christ" (p. 104, 105).

In the chapter on controversy, he closes with this: "To prove to men that they are outside the kingdom is an easy thing in comparison; but it may be far better to let them see that they are only a few steps from its threshold. The triumph of a ruthless polemic may gratify the natural heart; but far more like the Master, where it is possible, is a winning irenicism."

As a work adapted to stir the heart in its private devotions, and to supply suggestive themes for the pulpit and the social prayer-

meeting, it has few, if any, superiors among the books of our times.

HENRY B. RIDGAWAY.

EVANSTON, ILL.

THE PERMANENT ELEMENTS OF RELIGION.
By W. BOYD CARPENTER, D.D., D.C.L.,
Bishop of Ripon. New York: Macmillan
& Co., 1890. Crown 8vo, pp. 487, \$2.

Bishop Carpenter has availed himself of the results of the comparative study of religion to a remarkable degree in his Bampton Lectures, which for this reason introduce into Christian apologetics a new and important feature. He seeks the permanent elements of religion not in an outside revelation, but in the personal condition, common to all men, on which all religious life depends. Given man as he is, with his nature, his sense of dependence, his desire for fellowship and the necessity of his thought to be looking forward, he finds the elements of spiritual conviction in all religions, but in different and varying degrees. The Oriental religions are mainly the beliefs which have contended for supremacy with Christianity in the world, and when these are tested by the conditions here laid down they do not express all that is demanded. Islamism recognizes the dependence of man upon God, but it does not show how the human can have any fellowship with the divine, and the element of progress has no place in it. Again, Buddhism recognizes the fellowship of man with God in some of its earliest features, and the necessity of progress in connection with the advance of life, but it fails to satisfy our sense of dependence upon a superior being. Again, Positivism recognizes our sense of fellowship and yet denies the demand for progress and gives no satisfaction to the feeling of dependence. On the other hand, Christianity fulfils all three of these conditions. It satisfies the sense of dependence; it gives us fellowship with God through Jesus Christ, and it holds out a boundless future to the human race. In still another point of view, the permanence of religion is to be traced in the simple conditions of human existence. The laws of spiritual life are permanent and must be satisfied because they belong to the higher part of our nature. They are four in number: the law of environment, the law of organization, the law of sacrifice, and the law of indirectness. These laws are structural. We are influenced by our surroundings, and we are also so constructed that our organic life asserts itself against our environment. Again, we find that the gains in life are in proportion to the pain which we undergo,

the self-sacrifice which we enter into. Again, the law of indirectness, or that a man cannot perfect himself in anything if he seeks perfection directly, opens out a large field, which can only be understood in connection with a life that is not completed in this world.

These are the fundamental ideas which Bishop Carpenter introduces into his lectures. He constructs upon a solid foundation the basis on which religion and morals unite, and he finds that in the recognition of personality, in the demand that religion must be based upon a person, and in the fact that personality is as real when applied to God as it is when applied to man, the fundamental starting-point by which we reach out on the lines of our common faculties for the permanent things in religion which Christianity abundantly supplies. It will be seen from this brief statement that Bishop Carpenter's lectures are thoroughly constructed. They present the whole of religion in a new light. Men are not asked to satisfy themselves of the authenticity of a divine revelation, but they find that the revelation called Christianity meets them on the threshold of the demands of their human consciousness and experience. They start not so much from assumptions as from the facts of existence, and they advance to that point where they see in Christianity, as compared with other religious faiths, the fulfilment of the wants of the higher nature in man, as they are not met by any other religious systems. This volume is a complete answer to the agnosticism of the day. It is a more thorough refutation of the agnostic positions than has been made by any other writer. Bishop Carpenter meets such men on their own grounds and compels an assent which could never be given if the old-fashioned method of establishing the credentials of Christianity were resorted to. The special distinction of this work is that it gives us a new method of approach to the Christian religion, and that it is written in such a popular style and with so little of the affectation of learning that it will go into the hands of any fairly educated person with the certainty that its position will be understood and that it is likely to produce conviction. We have needed such a treatise, and it has long been evident to the readers of apologetic works that only by employing a better method in handling them could the religious difficulties of persons troubled with modern doubts be removed. Bishop Carpenter has not gone aside from his task, and yet he introduces into these lectures abundant evidence that he has not neglected the

learning which his subject demands, and that he has within his reach all the resources which belong to the trained scholar and the man of culture. We have not met for a long time with a volume of the Bampton Lectures which is better adapted for the widest reading, or that is likely to reach to better advantage the people of to-day who stand hesitatingly on the threshold of religious belief.

JULIUS H. WARD

BROOKLINE, MASS.

THE ONE GOSPEL; OR, THE COMBINATION OF THE NARRATIVES OF THE FOUR EVANGELISTS, IN ONE COMPLETE RECORD. Edited by ARTHUR T. PIERSON. New York: The Baker & Taylor Co., 740 and 742 Broadway [1890]. 12mo, pp. vi., 203, flexible cloth, red edges, 75 cents; limp morocco, full gilt, \$2.

This is another of the now comparatively numerous combinations of the four gospels into a single narrative. I am acquainted with twenty of them. The text is that of the Authorized Version, and there are no notes or other helps by way of explanation or correction. The conversations and quotations in the Gospels are printed within inverted commas, the latter, if poetical, in lines. The text is divided into paragraphs and sections, which are not those of the Authorized or Revised Version. There is a good index of topics, but no table showing whence the several sections are derived. Unusual boldness is exercised in combining the different texts. The result is satisfactory, on the whole. I notice that the words in John's Gospel, "Arise, let us go hence," are left to stand as they are there given, and hence come right in the middle of our Lord's discourse. I should have supposed that, since Dr. Pierson does not hesitate to alter the arrangement in John's prologue, he would have transposed them to the close of the so-called high priestly prayer, where they seem to be more in place, as introducing the account of our Lord's leaving the upper room. In common with most modern commentators, he does not believe that Judas participated in the Lord's Supper, although present up to the time of its institution. In general he follows Robinson, but not slavishly. The order of events in the Gospels is by no means always clear, nor is it generally an important matter, and no two scholars agree on all points.

The production of books like that under notice is to be commended as leading to a closer and wider acquaintance with the narrative of our Lord's life. The best biogra-

phy of our Lord is, after all, that furnished by the original biographers, and when one puts their compositions together one is struck by the ease with which they blend to produce a single impression.

Some may regret that Dr. Pierson did not combine the Gospels in the text of the Revised Version. But if he had done so, he would have lessened his audience. Superior as the Revised Version is in accuracy, it is inferior in readability, and immeasurably so in popularity. It is, however, a pity that Dr. Pierson did not introduce here or there in a note or bracket in the text the reading of the Revised Version, for that would help the reader to a clearer understanding of the text—e.g., pp. 39, 52, 53, 61, r. "lamp . . . stand" for "candle . . . candlestick;" p. 14, r. "slew all the male children," for "slew all the children." By these slight alterations a flood of light is thrown upon the text, and many misunderstandings removed.

It is a great privilege to be the means of leading people to acquaint themselves with the Gospel story. I trust Dr. Pierson's book will have a wide sale, and bring many face to face with the Son of God.

SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON.

NEW YORK.

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NOTES AND MAGAZINES.

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THEOLOGISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT AUS DER SCHWEIZ. VII. 2 (1890).

I. Die textkritischen Grundsätze von Westcott und Hort bei ihrer Ausgabe des griechischen Neuen Testaments. Uebersetzt von Arnold Riegg. II. Zwei Vorlesungen über die hebräische Poesie. Dr. Victor Rysel. III. Die Composition der Bergpredigt, Matt. v.-vii. (Schluss), A. Frikart. IV. Bücherschau.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS. (Jean Réville.) XXI. 1. Jan.-Fév., 1890.

I. Le livre de la Genèse, par Ch. Piepenbring. II. Études védiques—Traduction d'un Hymne à l'Aurore (Rig-Veda, I., 123), par Paul Regnaud. III. Revue des livres. IV. Chronique. V. Dépeillement des Périodiques. VI. Bibliographie.

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I. Schanz, Der sakramentale Charakter der Ehe. II. Uhrig, Der Rechtsbegriff von Pfarrei. III. Vogelmann, Lateinische Hymnen, Antiphonen, etc., aus der ehemaligen Kollegiatkirche, bezw. dem früheren Benediktinerkloster zu Ellwangen. IV. Rezensionen. V. Analecten.

Our magazines study the wants and the tastes of a large class. So SCRIBNER's for May appeals to the lover of art, the man who has put his money into some building and loan association, the theatre-goer, the student of Napoleonic history, the politician, and the reader of fiction. In Mr. T. H. Bartlett's article on Millet a curious anecdote is related of Diaz, which showed that he hated above all things talk on art, and if such was attempted in his presence he endeavored to stop it. Failing that, he left the room in disgust. Mr. W. A. Linn thinks that Building and Loan Associations provide a safe and profitable way of investing money. In these respects they are better than savings-banks. The Japanese Consul-General in Singapore, Mr. T. J. Nakagawa, describes the revolving stage used in Japanese theatres. The idea seems a good one. Mr. Clarence Deming was happy enough to find in the ms. diary of Mr. William Brisbane, of South Carolina, some striking pen-portraits of the first Napoleon as he appeared in 1804. Mr. Francis Lynde Stetson handles an ever timely topic, "The Rights of the Citizen as User of the Public Streets." It is refreshing to know that he has any rights; the next thing is to find some way of maintaining them. The story of Swede Creek settlement in Minnesota is in fresh fields. The illustrations are up to the standard.

IN HARPER's for last month there was an interesting article on Thomas Young, M.D., F.R.S., "the most learned, profound, variously accomplished scholar of science who has appeared in our age, perhaps in any age." Yet he has fallen into almost total obscurity. The author, the famous blind Methodist preacher, William Henry Milburn, does his part in rescuing his name from entire forgetfulness. He relates, in a pleasing way, Dr. Young's signal services. One of these was first to make out the hieroglyphics by a study of the Rosetta stone. By so doing he opened a new world to science. He antedated Champollion by fully five years, yet the French scholar worked independently, and has obtained the credit of the discovery. Dr. Young died at the age of fifty-six, but had done so much work that his death could not properly be said to have been premature.

"THE PRESENT DAY PAPER" in last month's CENTURY is by Professor Richard T. Ely, with the title "A Programme for Labor Reform." It contains some striking things. For instance, it calls attention to the increase in Sunday work, which it justly characterizes as a rapidly growing evil, against which workmen all over the land are crying out, and their complaint is becoming bitter as they find that it is unheeded. The classes mentioned by Professor Ely as most involved at present are barbers, bakers, trainmen, photographers' assistants, and telegraph operators. Professor Ely cites the curious fact that the effort of the Journeymen Bakers' National Union to rouse the clergy of New York and Brooklyn was a failure. Professor Ely also calls attention to the notorious weakness of States and cities, as manifested in the inability of the latter to compel the horse-car companies to lay properly grooved rails.

THE MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

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No. 3.

FOR THE MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

DID THE EARLY CHURCHES OF NEW ENGLAND REQUIRE ASSENT TO A CREED?

BY REV. HENRY MARTYN DEXTER, D.D., EDITOR OF *The Congregationalist*, BOSTON.

IT is well known that, certainly for the last half century, those churches commonly called "Orthodox Congregational," have been in the habit of holding—in addition to the Covenant, assent to which is their bond of union—a specific Confession of Faith, essential doctrinal accord with which has been, save by exception, required as a prerequisite to membership. The question whether this were the custom of our fathers, or an innovation—wisely or unwisely—provoked by, and introduced at the date of, the "Unitarian Controversy," has been lately raised. Waiving the subject of that wisdom or unwisdom, I propose to answer the purely historic question thus propounded.

Evangelical Confessions of Faith are held to date from the last half of the sixteenth century, and differ with the Christianity which they displaced mainly in a re-emphasis of those doctrines of Augustine which Romanism had gradually impaired, through the semi-Pelagianism with which it had become infected. Luther and Calvin drew somewhat different conclusions from the same premises. The *Institutes* of the latter, making the divine predestination the corner-stone of its system, became in due time the formative force, which in a mild degree shaped the Thirty-nine Articles, and, more intensely (and more logically), the Westminster Symbol. And when, in the earliest years of the seventeenth century a controversy was provoked in Holland through the denial by Arminius of the doctrines of Reprobation, and of Original Sin in its extremest sense, and the Synod of Dort—that *sacro-sancta Synodus*, as one of its Basle members always (uncovering his head) reverently called it—in its Five Points declared itself for the old Calvinism; on the part of Puritan believers it was the general conviction of the time that a statement of religious doctrine so perfect in its biblical spirit, and

so triumphant in its rational quality, as to make it complete and unalterable—the unquestionable theology of the future—had been reached. There is the most abundant evidence that John Robinson shared this conviction [*Defence of the Doctrine Propounded by the Synode at Dort*—passim].

The great subject of interest with Nonconformists and Separatists when in conscience driven to differ with, and go out from, the Established Churches in England and on the Continent, was the Covenant. No direct question of doctrine was raised between them. As to religious faith all were at one, and there was no call to reaffirm anything. But they who were trying to reform the Reformed, felt that it was against the Gospel to hold men as born into the Church simply by being born into the commonwealth and baptized therein. And no way occurred to them for binding together again those who from conscience left the establishment, so good as that of affiliating them in local bodies by mutual covenant. Hence, in the beginning, they made much of that. The earliest Congregational Church document—after the Scriptures—which survives, is Barrowe's *True Description, Ovt of the Word of God, of the Visible Church* (1589); but its four-and-thirty Articles all respect not the doctrinal but the ecclesiastical relations and functions of the body. Seven years before, indeed, Robert Browne [*Booke which Sheweth the Life and Manners of all True Christians, etc.*, (1582)] had gone carefully over the main grounds of theology; but he seems to have done so for the instruction of his humble company, and I find no evidence of any sifting purpose therein, whether at Norwich, or Middelberg. But, by 1596, the London Congregational Church—then mostly barracked in the Fleet, the Clink, Newgate, Bridewell, the White Lyon, and the Wood Street and Poultry Compters—felt compelled publicly

to "stop the mouths of impious and vnreasonable men," who had accused them of being "most notorious obstinate hereticks," and "a dangerous people holding manie errors," and "obteyned to publish" *A True Confession* of their faith (1596); the first sixteen of whose five-and-forty Articles make it clear that, as to God's nature and man's nature, the Bible as the rule of faith, and the person, work, and kingdom of Christ, they were orthodox by the common standards of their time—differing from their fellow-believers only in what concerns church administration, and its relation to purity of doctrine. A contemporary *Harleian Manuscript* [No. 7042: 108, 113, 399] shows that when a man joined this church it was only required that he make "y^s Protestation: that he wold walke with the rest of y^m so longe as they did walke in the way of the Lorde; & as farr as might be warranted by the word of God." And when, two years later, the Church, by that time in exile in Amsterdam, translated its Articles into the then language of scholars [*Confessio Fidei Anglorum Quorvndam in Belgia Exulantium* (1598)] and sent them out for the criticism of the learned men of the universities, they declare themselves as moved thereto: "Calumnijs et quidem gravissimis à nostratibus domi laccessiti." [14]

It is clear, then, that our New England fathers in coming out of the Church of England, whether timidly and illogically into Nonconformity, or boldly and squarely into Separatism, were, so to speak, between two fires. On the one side, they were denounced as unauthorized and irregular companies, having no claim to call themselves churches, and no lawful basis for existence, ministry, or ordinances. It was urged that there is no warrant for a covenant in Scripture, and that to hold such a doctrine was to unchurch all not so confederate. To meet this they insisted on the validity and sufficiency of "the bond of an holy Covenant;" argued that a warrant to gather churches was authority for all things warrantably implied; and provided for the church entity of real believers otherwise conditioned, by the hypothesis that they might be considered as practically embodied, through the force of an unwritten and unspoken "implicit covenant." On the other side they, at first, contented themselves with the solemn declaration that they were "like-minded for & with all other reformed Churches in points of greatest moment." The "Ancient English Church in Amsterdam," in or about 1603, communicated to King James the First fourteen particulars—all touching the

ecclesiastical aspects of Christianity—as constituting the "sole difference between vs, and the Church of England as it now standeth." But it was not long before the vagaries of John Smyth, who had started out of the same mind with them, but soon rebaptized himself and his company, and went on to make a further split by adopting Arminian views (so that his own Anabaptist Church cast him out with a minority who followed him, leading to the publication by the two parties of two opposing Confessions of Faith—of date 1611 and 1612—one of which contains one hundred Articles, and the other covers four-and-forty pages) compelled other Separatists to repel the charge of Anabaptism and Familism, and like heresies then odious, by the public setting forth of the views which they themselves actually entertained.

In this connection two principles, held by our fathers to be fundamental, claim consideration.

One was, that except as modified, in part, in the case of the children of the Covenant, only those should be admitted to be church-members, who give reasonable evidence of being real Christians. No one will doubt that John Robinson fairly expressed the Puritan conviction of his day, when he said [*Just and Necessary Apologie*, 60; cf. *Religious Communion*, 17]: "Do, or can the gracious promises of God made to the Church, the heavenly blessings due to the Church, the seales of divine grace given to the Church, appertain to other then such?" [i.e., "spiritual persons;" and, in his *Catechism*, "affirmed that the Church must consist of faithfull and holy persons" [1].

The other was, that, as the rule, the intelligent acceptance of true doctrine is an essential evidence of piety. Thus John Cotton said [*Holinesse of Ch'h Members*, 19]:

Ignorant persons (grossly ignorant) of the first principles, and foundations of Religion, are not to be received members into the Church . . . for such cannot make profession of their faith, which they know not . . . Atheists, Witches, Papists, and all Hereticks, who either deny the faith, or *professe a false faith against the foundation of Christian Religion*, they are not to be received . . . for such professe not the faith of Christ, but either no faith, or a false faith.

While, then, our fathers might not undertake to say that a man could not be saved whose views were erroneous, provided, in however imperfect a degree, he were in the exercise of sincere faith; they were, nevertheless, earnestly convinced that false views are, usually, evidence of a perverse will or guilty affections, more than of unsound

judgment. And at all events they did not feel that a person who denied any of the doctrines which they usually held—waiving the question of the possibility of his salvation—was calculated to be useful as a Church-member. There is plenty of evidence that this view ruled in regard to questions as remote from the centre of theology as Infant Baptism; and they surely never could have regarded the man who denied the divinity of Christ, the eternity of the future punishment of the persistently impenitent, or the doctrine of election, as being so in a state of grace as to warrant his admission to the Church as one of the “faithful.” It will not do to carry back to their times loose notions which now prevail as to the relation of belief to life. Those notions were unknown, and would have been excessively offensive, to them. It had been one clause of the Athanasian Creed into which for ages the Christian Church had been drilled, that except one “do keep whole and undefiled” the Catholic faith, “without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.” Nor had the Puritans in any wise fallen from the grace of this view. Nicholas Byfield, prominent among them, in 1618, published *The Principles*. . . *A Collection of such Truths as are of necessity to be believed unto Salvation*. The work contains 408 pages, besides that *The Sum of the Principles* at the end takes three-and-twenty more—all of which, he explains to the Countess of Northumberland in his dedication, is “*absolutely necessary* to be known [and, of course, to be believed] *of as many as are to be saved*” [4].

There is, then, this unvarying background of the Calvinistic theology—Dr. Schaff justly says that the Puritans were *High Calvinists*—essentially as it framed itself to expression a few years later, in the Westminster Confession in 1647, and in the Savoy Declaration in 1658, to be had in perpetual remembrance as toning the light and shade of every true theological picture of those days. Whether a church established under such auspices had separate Articles of Faith, or did not have them, its members looked to be assured of the vital godliness of candidates for admission to the number; and, at a time when the First Church of Boston excommunicated a sister who stayed away from Sunday service because she did not like the preaching [*Ellis's First Ch'h. Boston*, 20], and the First Church in Dedham declined to receive Thomas Morse, because he “was thought by y^e company to be so darke & unsatisfying in respect of y^e worke of grace, that, though his life was innocent in respect of men, yet thay had not

grounds to imbrace him” [*Dedham Church Records*, 6], and the Church in Wenham scrupled to take in Goody Shiply on account of “Sluttry; & y^e rudenes & incivility of her children” [*Mss. Records*, 59], would have been about as likely to discover satisfying evidence of such fitness in one who avowed a doubt or confessed a hesitancy concerning anything in that marvellous system of doctrine, as the citizens of Savannah would have been to erect a statue in honor of Wendell Phillips in the pre-Rebellion era.

We have need only to remember that the theology which was in the air that was from childhood breathed by the men who settled New England was thoroughly Calvinistic, to comprehend how natural and almost inevitable it was that they should hold those views. What is known as the Genevan Bible was first printed at Geneva in 1560. It was the result of the labors of English exiles harbored there from the persecuting hand of Bloody Mary; and though it never gained formal sanction from Monarch, Parliament, or Convocation, it went almost immediately into use in many English churches, and became the most approved version in the homes of England from 1560 to 1630. It was even more popular in Scotland, exceeding all other translations together. It is believed that as many as two hundred distinct editions were printed within three-quarters of a century; King James's version, in 1611, only slowly displacing it. Now those who are familiar with this “Breeches” Bible know that its translators, in their preface [iii.], said:

Considering how hard a thing it is to vnderstand the holy Scriptures, and what errors, sects and heresies grow dayly for lacke of the true knowledge thereof, & how many are discouraged (as they pretend) because they cannot attaine to the true and simple meaning of the same, we haue also indououred both by the diligent reading of the best cōmentaries, and also by the conference with the godly and learned brethren, to gather briefe annotations vpon all the hard places aswel for the vnderstanding of such words as are obscure, and for the declaration of the text, as for the application of the same, as may most appertain to Gods glory & the edification of his Church.

Nor does it need to be said further, that these brief marginal notes are saturated with condensed Calvinism. To take a very few samples:

Marg. note on Deut. ii. 30: God in his election and reprobation doeth not onely appoint the endes, but the meanes tending to the same.

Marg. note, Ruth i. 15: No perswasions can preuaile to turne them backe from God, whom he hath chosen to be his.

Marg. note, Ezek. xviii. 23: Albeit God in his eternall counsell appointed the death and damnation of the reprobate, yet the ende of his counsell

was not their death onely, but chiefly his own glorie. And also because he doeth not approue sinne, therefore it is here sayd that he would have them to turne away from it that they might liue.

Marg. note, Rom. ii. 11: As the potter before he make his vessel, he doth appoynt some to glorie and others to ignominie.

Marg. note, Rom. ix. 15: As the onely will and purpose of God is the chiefe cause of election, and reprobation, so his free mercie in Christ is an inferior cause of saluation, and the hardening of the heart an inferior cause of damnation.

To this Bible thus marginally interpreted in the direction of Calvinism, were added in 1579 three leaves of unknown authorship, inserted between the Old and New Testaments. The first contains a brief "Summe of the Whole Scripture of the Bookes of the Olde and Newe Testament," whose general tenor corresponds to the theology of the annotations. The second and third contain *Certaine questions and answers touching the doctrine of Predestination, the vse of Gods worde and Sacraments*. The first four of these will indicate what was then understood to be the right spiritual training for the rising generations [p. 437]:

Question: Why doe men so much varie in matters of religion?

Answer: Because all haue not the like measure of knowledge, neither doe all beleue y^e Gospel of Christ.

Q.: What is the reason thereof?

A.: Because they onely beleue the Gospell and doctrine of Christ, which are ordeined vnto eternall life.

Q.: Are not all ordained vnto eternall life?

A.: Some are vessels of wrath ordeined vnto destruction, as others are vessels of mercie prepared to glory.

Q.: Howe standeth it with Gods iustice, that some are appointed vnto damnation?

A.: Very wel: because all men haue in themselves sinne, which deserueth no lesse: and therefore the mercie of God is wonderfull in that he vouchsafeth to saue some of that sinfull race, and to bring them to the knowledge of the truth.

These "questions and answers" appear to form a part of every quarto edition of the Geneva Bible printed by the King's or Queen's printer, from 1579 to 1615 inclusive—disappearing precisely when Archbishop Laud began to show himself as a force in ecclesiastical affairs. They have been called: "the most clear and naked exposition of Calvinistic doctrine that can be seen compressed into a small space," and it has been also said that their nearly universal family use will "go far to account for the almost uniformly Calvinistic tone of all English divinity during the time of Elizabeth and James I." [*Saturday Review*, 25 September, 1880.]

If we come closer home to our fathers we shall find abundant evidence of their entire

sympathy with even the most extreme positions of Calvinism. No man was more popular with them than the celebrated William Perkins, lecturer at Great St. Andrew's, Cambridge. In 1591 he published "The foundation of Christian Religion: gathered into Six principles," etc., which John Robinson seems to have republished with his own *Catechism* as an appendix—indorsing it as containing the very marrow of true divinity. The second principle, viz.: "All men are wholly corrupted with sin through Adams fall, & so are become slaues of Sathan, and guiltie of eternall damnation," sufficiently sets forth its doctrinal quality. No intelligent person can candidly read the books of John Robinson without conceding that he was not only himself a thorough Calvinist, and regarded that high Calvinism which was formulated by the Synod of Dort as the truth of God; but that he fully shared that estimate of its ultimate quality as the theology of the future inexposed to essential modification, which was common to those good men of the time who sympathized with that deliverance. He hesitated not to stigmatize [*Defence of Doctrine of Synode at Dort*, 32] as "fleshly reason," any view of God's relation to evil which would reduce it from "powerfull work" to "bare sufferance." He made no scruple of declaring [*Ibid.*, 139], that "infants bring sin properly into the world with them." And his rule of interpreting the Bible was [*Observations, Divine and Morall*, etc., 77]: "Faith, if it be not grounded upon God's Word, is fancie; if it receave not the same Word in euerie part, but where it lists, it is sawsinnesse." It is an illogical and every way unwarrantable perversion of a single paragraph of his famous "Farewell Address" to the departing Pilgrims, which has led to his being claimed as the apostle and prophet of modern Liberalism. The only extant original account of that address was preserved by Edward Winslow, and was first printed by him—a quarter of a century after the event—in his *Hypocrisie Vnmasked* (1646); a book which soon so went out of circulation that only half a dozen copies, or so, are now known. In the early days of the "Liberal" movement in Massachusetts, some unscrupulous, or not over-careful, writer, cited from it a sentence or two [97] to the effect that: "if God should reveal anything by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it as ever we were to receive any truth by his Ministry: For he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to breake forth out of his holy Word," etc.; and claimed that in that language he

referred to *doctrine*. A close study of the original, however, makes it as clear as the unclouded noonday sun, that what Robinson then had in mind was *church polity*, and not *theological opinion*. It has its place in an argument and not in a narrative, and its only possible argumentative pertinence requires that it be interpreted as I suggest.

John Cotton was as fair a representative of the Puritans of Massachusetts as John Robinson was of the Pilgrims of Plymouth, and we find John Cotton preaching to his people of the First Church in Boston, as late as February 7, 1655 [*Ms. notes of Robert Keayne in my possession*], on Eph. iii. 11, thus :

Nothing falls out by chance, but according to the eternall purpose & counsell of God. 2 Kings ix: 26. Jehu doeth what God hath apoynted, y^e in y^e very plot of ground Joram shall be slayne. The chariots & feete of y^e horses & all are guided to accomplish y^e will of God. Sickness & death & all such act according to y^e will & purpose of God. There is no chance here. A sparowe cannot fall to y^e ground but as God purposeth. The thoughts of God shall take place.

Now the question which confronts us here is simply whether, in a community brought up on the Genevan Bible, and its Catechism, and indoctrinated by such preachers, the churches were likely expressly to repudiate evidence of sound doctrinal belief in those who asked admission to their membership; and to been tirely satisfied if they avowed faith in Christ as a personal Saviour, without even so much as asking them whether they held to Infant Baptism, or the doctrine of Election, or of the Perseverance of the Saints, or of the Divinity of Christ, or of the eternal punishment of the finally impenitent?

I concede, at once, that, under the pressure of the times, and of their own past relation to the set formulæ of the Church of England, they would draw back—as the *Answer of the Elders* frankly says [63]—being “doubtfull whether such platformes be expedient as are imposed as a binding” rule of faith and practice, “so that all men must believe and walke according to that platforme, without adding, altering, or omitting.” At the same time they saw “no reason to condemne or disallow” a “confession of Faith of the holy doctrine which is according to godlinesse;” and these same elders, in another part of the same *Answer* [30] declare that they require “personall profession of their faith” as well as entrance upon Church Covenant, of all applicants, whether coming from another church or from the world; and justify the practice by reference to the custom of the Reformed

churches, as stated by Robert Parker [*De Politeia Eccles.*, etc., iii. 171], who declares that no man was admitted to them who did not *aperte profiteatur se doctrinam nostræ ecclesiæ suscipere*. And, among a people where a religious person who differed essentially from the regnant faith, illustrated Juvenal's :

Rara avis in terris, nigroque simillima cygno,

no doubt churches might be safely constituted and long continued, without set Articles of Faith, because that doctrinal conformity which in all cases was assumed, became sufficiently manifested through that written, or spoken, relation of religious experience which was an invariable prerequisite proof of the godly worthiness of every candidate. Many such relations survive to our time in the careful files of some of our ancient churches, and upon the pages of those Church records where they were spread; and their strong flavor of Calvinistic doctrine is usually as unmistakable as rose fragrance is apt to be in June gardens. The early Christianity of New England, however, soon experienced the same assault to which Nonconformity and Separatism had always been exposed; being attacked with allegations of heresy. It was said that the world did not know what they believed, and the old principle voiced by Tacitus was in their case perverted into *omne ignotum pro malefico*. To defend themselves against this, in September, 1648—less than twenty years after the Massachusetts Colony came over, and less than thirty after the Plymouth Colony was founded—a Synod was convoked at Cambridge, which, by “a most unanimous vote,” adopted the Westminster Confession, then damp from its first complete issue in London, as “very Holy, Orthodox and Judicious, in all Matters of Faith,” and commended it as worthy of consideration and acceptance. And this same Synod frankly said [*Magnalia*, v. 3] :

they hoped, that this Proof of them being *Fellow Heirs of the same Common Salvation*, with the Churches beyond Sea, would not only free them from the Suspicion of *Heresie*, but clear them from the Character of *Schism* also; in as much as their Dissent from those Churches, was now evidently but in some lesser Matters of *Ecclesiastical Polity*; and a Dissent not managed either with such *Arrogancy* or *Censoriousness*, as are the Essential Properties of *Schismatics*.

Cotton Mather, whose personal memory ran back through thirty of the fifty, and who, through his great father Increase, and his possibly greater grandfather Richard, had been a most important part of the history of that period—writing within fifty

years of this action—declares [*Magnalia*, v. 3] that the early New English churches “desired most particularly to maintain the Faith professed by the Churches of Old England, the country whereto was owing their Original.” He goes on to say :

Few Pastors of Mankind ever took such pains at *Catechising*, as have been taken by our *New-English* Divines : Now let any Man living read the most judicious and elaborate Catechisms published : a lesser and a larger by Mr. Norton, a lesser and a larger by Mr. Mather, several by Mr. Cotton, one by Mr. Davenport, one by Mr. Stone, one by Mr. Norris, one by Mr. Noyes, one by Mr. Fisk, several by Mr. Eliot, one by Mr. Sea-born Cotton, a large one by Mr. Fitch ; and say, whether true Divinity were ever better handled ; or, whether they were not the truest *Sons* of the Church of England, who thus maintained its *Fundamental Articles*, which are so many of them first *subscribed*, and then *deneyed* and *confuted* by some that would monopolize that Name unto themselves.

Further, we must remember that the early days of New England were saddened and embittered by a terrible doctrinal controversy, when the invasion of Antinomianism in the person of Mrs. Hutchinson and Mr. Wheelwright, almost wrecked the First Church of Boston, and came near to shattering the influence of John Cotton himself ; the raging fires of its excitement being only quenched by the Synod of 1637, which formally condemned *eighty-two* errors as contrary to Scripture, dangerous to the Church, and perilous to salvation. These experiences not unnaturally awakened a solicitude which tended to exaggerate in the public mind the importance of every, even the slightest, deviation from the established creed. Deputy-Governor Thomas Dudley voiced the public feeling as to this, when, in 1638 [4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vii. 112], he wrote to Governor Winthrop :

Nowe seeing that this is the way Sathan invades us by (viz. new opynions & heresyess) it behooves vs to be the more vigilant, & to stirr vpp our zeale, & stopp breaches at the beginninge, least forbearance hurt vs as it did before.

Now, to take evidence upon the exact question before us, I will first adduce proof of complaints made at the time, of the excessive severity used in the matter of the admission of members to the churches in the earliest years of New England. In 1637 Rev. R. Stansby, of Little Waldingfield, Suffolk, wrote to Rev. John Wilson, pastor of the First Church in Boston, specifying as one serious difficulty in the minds of the friends of the cause in England [4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vii. 11] :

That you are so strict in admission of members to your church, that more then one halfe are out of your church in all your congregations, & that

Mr. Hoker before he went away preached against yt (as one report who hard him) (& he saith) now although I knowe all must not be admytted, yet this may do much hurt, yf one come amongst you of another minde, & they should joyne with hym. . . . Ther is now so much talke of yt, & such certeyne truth of yt, & I know many of worth, for outward estate & ability, for wisdome & grace, are much danted from coming.

Richard Bernard, of Batcombe, in the same year [cited in *Dr. Felt's Reply to Hon. D. A. White*, 7] said of the New England churches :

They propound questions to be answered by such as come to be admitted into their Church fellowship : as about the Godhead, the Trinity, their works, man's first estate in innocence, the Fall, the Redemption, Christ, His Nature, His Offices, Faith, the Sacraments, the Church, the Resurrection, and the Last Judgment.

Thomas Lechford, a lawyer of Clement's Inn, who spent the years 1638–40 in New England, and who lacked neither inquisitiveness to gather nor intelligence to comprehend facts, himself desired admission to the Church in Boston, but was denied, as Mr. Cotton [*Way of Cong. Ch'h's Cleared*, i. 71] says :

For his professed errors : as (1) That the Antichrist described in the Revelation was not yet come, nor any part of that Prophesie yet fulfilled from the 4. Chapter to the end ; (2) That the Apostolick function was not yet ceased : but that there still ought to be such, who should by their transcendent authority govern al Churches. To reclaim him from these Errors, he was seriously dealt withall both in conference, and (according to his desire) in writing.

Lechford pleaded that his opinion on these two points “might be held, or not held, *salva fide*,” and ought not to debar him from Church fellowship. But the Church could not see it in that light, and kept him out. In 1641 he went back to England, and the next year published his *Plain Dealing : or, Newses from New England*, in which [73] he said of the New England churches :

They hold their Covenant constitutes their Church, and that implies, we that come to joyne with them were not members of any true Church whence we came, and that I dare not professe. Againe, here is required *such confessions and professions*, both in private and publique, both by men and women, before they be admitted, that three parts of the people of the Country remaine out of the Church, so that in short time most of the people will remaine unbaptized, if this course hold.

And so [*Transactions of Am. Antiqⁿ Soc.*, vii. 274] in his *Note-Book* he says :

The people here, in short time, if the course here hold long, (which God forbid !) are like to be most unchristian, and the rest erroneous and ignorant enough : I have not received the Sacrament these two yeares, nor am yet like to doe.

In 1645 Robert Baylie, of Glasgow, published his *Dissuasive From the Errours of the Time*, in which [22] he described the New England churches as requiring a candidate to be "most Orthodox," yet not accounting him for that :

qualified to be a Church-member, except he declare publicly in the face of the Congregation, such clear and certaine signes of his real Sanctification and true Regeneration, as gives full satisfaction, not onely to the Minister and Elders, and many of the people, but to all and every one, or at least the major part of the Church.

What, if anything, among his voluminous publications, does John Cotton say upon the question under consideration ?

His earliest printed utterance was perhaps in his *Questions and Answers upon Church Government* (1634), thus [23] :

Q. *What manner of men are they whom God hath appointed to be received as Brethren and Members of the Church?*

A. Such as are Called of God out of the World, unto the Fellowship of Jesus Christ ; and do willingly offer and joyn themselves, first to the Lord, and then to the Church, by Confession of their sins, by Profession of their Faith, and by laying hold of his Covenant.

A second was, in 1641, in *Questions Propounded to such as are Admitted to the Church Fellowship*, etc. [5] where he says :

They [candidates] make a brief confession, or else an answer to a few questions about the maine fundamentall points of Religion, that it may appeare indeed whether they be competently endued with the knowledge of the truth, and sound in the faith, and about the Godhead, the Trinity, the worke, our first estate of innocency, the Fall, our Redemption, Christ his Nature, his Offices, Faith, the Sacraments, the Church, the Resurrection, the last Judgment, such as every Christian man is bound to learne, and give account of.

Next I note his *Doctrine of the Church* (1643) in which [4] he repeats the testimony already first cited. Next comes his famous *Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven* (1644), etc., in which [7] he says :

The key of faith is common to all beleevors. A faithfull soule knowing the Scriptures, and Christ in them, receiveth Christ, and entreth through him into the kingdome of heaven, both here, and hereafter. Here he entreth into a state of grace through faith, and, by the profession of his faith, he entreth also into the fellowship of the Church, etc.

In his *Holinesse of Church Members* (1650), he says [14] that to join the Church it is only necessary "that they professe the sound faith," and crave fellowship. And again [20] he says :

Atheists, Witches, Papists, and all Hereticks, who either deny the faith, or professe a false faith against the foundation of Christian Religion, they are not to be received members into the fellowship of the Church, without repentance and reforma-

tion. For such professe not the faith of Christ, but either no faith, or a false faith.

Most conclusive of all, however, is his little tract entitled *Mr. John Cotton, of Boston in New England, his Twelve Fundamental Articles of Christian Religion: the Denial whereof . . . makes a man an Heretick*. These twelve are : (1) the Trinity ; (2) that God made, governs, and rewards ; (3) that God alone is to be worshipped ; (4) according to his written Word ; (5) the fall and consequent guilt of man ; (6) man's inability ; (7) the Redemption of Christ ; (8) freely given to every believer ; (9) whom the Lord calls he justifies ; (10) he who is justified is regenerated ; (11) yet is imperfect ; (12) the Resurrection, the judgment and eternal rewards and punishments. He then goes on [8] :

Put all these things together, and you have all the necessary Points of Christian Religion ; which whoso obstinately opposeth, or is ignorant of, he cannot be found in a state of Grace that accompanys salvation. This is the Summe of the Articles ; and he that overthrowes any one of these, and obstinately persisteth therein, brings himself to Eternal Damnation.

In 1644 W. Rathband printed *A Briefe Narration of Some Church Courses Held in Opinion and Practise in the Churches lately erected in New England*, in which [8] he said :

They [the N. E. Churches] examine them [candidates for admission] touching their knowledge in the Principles of Religion.

Later in the same year Thomas Weld, of Roxbury, replied by *An Answer to W. R. his Narration . . . Vindicating those Godly and Orthodoxall Churches from more then an Hundred Imputations*, etc., yet so far from denying the truth of what Rathband had said upon the point before us, he justified the course alleged to be taken, saying [22] :

Many, for want of examination of themselves and tryall by others, that went in common view for sound ones, possibly (and that not without good cause) upon due trial may be found too light when weighed in Gods ballance, and its better for such to be discovered here, then hereafter, to their eternal ruine.

I have already referred to the *Answer of the Elders* (1643), but it should be cited again. A part of the eighth question sent over was [2] :

Whether doe you require of all persons of age, whom you admit Members of any Church, a publike profession of their faith concerning the Articles of Religion?

To this the elders of the Bay replied, in part, as follows [23] :

We count it our duty to use all lawfull and convenient means, whereby God may helpe us to discern, whether those that offer themselves for Church Members, be persons so qualified or no: and therefore first we heare them speake concerning the Gift and Grace of Justifying Faith in their soules, and the manner of Gods dealing with them in working it in their hearts. . . . Secondly, *we heare them speake what they do believe concerning the Doctrine of Faith*, so taking a tryall what measure they have of the good knowledge of the Lord, as knowing that without knowledge men cannot well Examine themselves and discern the Lords body, as Church Members ought to doe when they come to the Lords Table. And hereby also *we would present* (as the Lord shall helpe us) *the creeping in of any into the Church that may be infected with corrupt opinions of Arminianisme, Familisme, etc, or any other dangerous error against that faith which was once delivered to the Saints, as knowing how easily such men if they were admitted, might infect others, and perhaps destroy the Faith of some.*

Surely it might be difficult to excel this last clause in suggesting the precautionary and protective functions of a creed, as understood and employed in the practice of our own day.

Thomas Hooker [*Survey of the Summe of Church-Discipline*, 1648] insists, on the one hand [24], that a suitable candidate for Church-membership must "have such a measure of knowledge as may in reason let in Christ into the soul, and carry the soul to him," and, on the other [26], that "there is an Ignorance, that will keep a man from being a member of a true Church; and there is no point more fundamentall, then Christ to be the foundation stene, laid by God, whereon our faith, and we, must be built."

In 1644 Gulielmus Apollonius, pastor of the Church of Middelberg, in Zeeland, sent over sixteen questions for answer, and John Norton—then of Ipswich and afterward John Cotton's successor with the First Church in Boston—was selected to reply to them, which he did in the first Latin volume produced on this side of the sea—*Responsio ad Totam Questionum Syllogen à Clar. Viro Dom. G. A. Eccles. Mid. Past. propositam*, etc., 1648. The first question respected the qualifications of Church-members, and [3] to this Norton replies:

A mundo sit segregatus, scientiâ Dei & verâ religione, professione nominis Christi, & in externâ conversatione puritatis donis absque scandalo sit ornatus.

Soon after John Davenport had become, in 1639, the pastor of the Church in *Quinipiac*, he wrote a short treatise on the New England Church way, which, on its voyage to the press in London, "perished in the rude Waves of the vast Ocean, with some

other excellent Manuscripts and precious Christians." Seven or eight years after "God set him about it again," and he re-wrote his Tractate. But it did not get itself printed until another score of years had passed, and its gifted author had removed to Boston and had been buried in John Cotton's tomb. In that "short and nervous Treatise" [*The Power of Congregational Churches Asserted and Vindicated*, etc., 1672] he [10] phrased it thus:

It is the will and appointment of Christ, that all and only such grown persons be admitted Members of particular Churches, who make such a publick profession of their Faith, as the Church may, in charitable discretion conceive hath blessedness annexed to it, and is such as flesh and blood hath not revealed to a man, but our Heavenly Father.

It ought not to be forgotten in this connection that when [June 28, 1662] Charles II. issued his famous letter "to the Massachusetts," designed materially to enlarge the privileges of a portion of the people, by requiring that "all freeholders of competent estates, not vicious in conversations" be allowed to vote; even he was careful to add [*Hutchinson Papers*, 379] that they must be "*Orthodox in religion*—though of different perswasions concerning church-government."

We have two accounts of what took place at Dorchester in April and August, 1636; both of which are explicit as to the point of confession of faith, and both of which illustrate the exceeding care then taken in the formation of churches. One is in *Winthrop's Journal* [i. 218], the other in *The Life and Death of Mr. Richd Mather* [75]:

Winthrop.
Mr. Mather, and others of Dorchester, intending to begin a new church there, (a great part of the old one being gone to Connecticut) desired the approbation of the other Churches, and of the magistrates; and, accordingly, they assembled this day, and, after some of them had given proof of their gifts, *they made confession of their faith*, which was approved of; but proceeding to manifest the work of God's grace in themselves, the Churches by their elders, and the magistrates, etc. thought them not meet, at present, to be the foundation of a Church; and thereupon they were content to forbear to join till further consideration.

Mather.
There was an *Essay* towards Gathering a Church April 1. 1636; but by reason that the Messengers of Neighbour-Churches were not satisfied, concerning some that were intended Members of that Foundation, the work was deferred untill August 23. when a Church was Constituted in Dorchester according to the Order of the Gospels by *Confession and Profession of Faith*; and Mr. Mather was chosen *Teacher* of that Church.

When, in due process of time, John Eliot began to think his Christian Indians fit to be organized into a Church estate, it is remarkable what pains he took to give assurance of their soundness in the faith, and how patiently he waited to know what was thought in England of their individual Confessions; and, in regard of the difficulty of the work, how it was finally arranged [*Life*

of John Eliot, 193] that "some one of them should make a *Doctrinall Confession* before the Lord and His people, as the rule of faith which they build upon, the rest attesting their consent unto the same."

Cotton Mather, perhaps, is the last witness whom I have need to cite. In that ponderous *Magnalia*, which, with all its whimsicalities, sustains so large and vital a relation to the annals of New England, that if all copies of it were suddenly to be blanchied into white paper, it would be almost impossible to recover our ecclesiastical history, he recurs repeatedly to the point before us. He says [v. 4] :

It is true, that particular Churches in the Country have had their *Confessions* by themselves drawn up in their own Form; nor indeed were the Symbols in the most primitive Times always delivered in *ipsissimis verbis*. It is also true that few *Learned Men* have been admitted as Members of our Churches, but what have at their *Admissions*, entertained them with notable *Confessions* of their own composing, inasmuch that if the *Protestants* have been by the Papists called *Confessionists*, the *Protestants* of *New-England*, have, of all, given the most laudable occasion to be called so. Nevertheless, all this *Variety* has been the exactest *Unity*; all those *Confessions* have been but so many *Derivations* from, and *Explications* and *Confirmations* of, that *Confession*, which the *Synods* had voted for them all; for, *ut plures Rivuli, ab uno Fonte, ita plures Fidei Confessiones ab una eademque Fidei Veritate, Manare possunt*.

In 1690, Presbyterians and Congregationalists in England adopted certain *Heads of Agreement*, which the *Magnalia* [v. 59] declares to give so true a description of the New-English Church constitution, that it would be impossible to give a truer one. But those "Heads" declare [p. 2] :

That none shall be admitted as Members . . . but such persons as are *knowing, and sound in the Fundamental Doctrines* of the Christian Religion.

And, again [p. 19] :

As to what appertains to soundness of Judgment in matters of Faith, we esteem it sufficient, That a Church acknowledge the Scriptures to be the Word of God, the perfect and only Rule of Faith and Practice, and own either the Doctrinal part of those commonly called the *Articles of the Church of England*, or the *Confession or Catechisms, Shorter or Larger, compiled by the Assembly at Westminster*, or the *Confession agreed on at the Savoy*, to be agreeable to the said Rule.

Still again [v. 43] the *Magnalia* says :

The first churches of *New-England* began only with a *Profession of Assent and Consent* unto the *Confession of Faith*, and the Covenant of Communion.

And in his *Ratio Disciplina* (1726) the same writer sets it down as a usual part of their Church covenanting [7] to :

declare our serious Belief of the Christian Religion, as contained in the Sacred Scriptures, and with such a *View thereof* as the *Confession of Faith* in our Churches has exhibited.

It will have been noticed that, in the first of the above citations, Cotton Mather states that "particular Churches in the Country have had their *Confessions* by themselves." Of this there can be no doubt.

Secretary Morton of the Plymouth Colony [*New-Englands Memoriall*, 75] states distinctly that the first church in Salem, when gathered in 1629, had "a *Confession of Faith*, and a Covenant," drawn up "in Scripture language;" and his statement is corroborated by the fact that John Higginson, pastor of the Salem Church, indorsed his narrative by a laudatory preface, and that, in 1856, the distinguished antiquary, Rev. Dr. J. B. Felt, published a copy of that original *Confession of Faith* which he had discovered.

I have made no special research to ascertain of how many of the early churches of New England this was true. But I find, on turning to the Rev. John Fiske's ms. Records of the Church in Wenham—a copy of which is in my possession—the following entries [pp. 8, 31, 36, 104] :

8 Nov. 1644: *Voted*, that a consent & assent should be required to y^e *profession of faith* of y^e church; and that y^e *Confession* should be read distinctly to them [candidates for admission] & time given them to returne y^e answer.

10 Aug. 1645: The Covenant administred to her [Mary Hersey] she *manifesting her assent* to y^e Church *Confession of Faith*.

28 Sept. 1645: Geo. Norton gave his assent to *Confess'n of faith*, & y^e cov^t administred to him.

15 Mar. 1653-4. Touching his [Bro: Rogers] *Confession of Faith*, considering he had not viewed the book allowed by ye^e churches [the *Westminster Confession* adopted by the Synod of 1648], & time would not permit y^e he should dilate himself in y^e matters, there was committed to him the booke of y^e *Confession of y^e Church*, to peruse, & so to give his *Assent thereunto*.

I find also in a copy which I have of the early records of the Church in Chelmsford, the following entries [pp. 59, 86, 104, 117, 152] :

16 Nov. 1660: *Voted*, That tis Necessary, Regular & Orderly for y^e Ch^h & officers thereof (especially in these perilous times) to passe a Tryall (by requiring a *profession of their Faith* & also by a personal relation of y^e worke of grace) of Members dismissed to them from other churches.

16 Nov. 1662: After silence [in the admission of Jon. Burge and Jona. Blanchard] the Officer [the pastor] proceeded & demanded of him [each] his consent to y^e Church *Confession & Covenant*, etc.

19 July, 1663: He [John Stevens] upon Relation of y^e Worke of Grace on his soule, profession of his faith briefly before our hands, *assent* to y^e Church^s *confession*, and Covenant & testimony by

Bro: Hinks, Mr. Web & Dan. Blogged touching him, was admitted, etc.

5 Nov. 1665: Moses fiske, after a profession of his faith made in y^e public congregation respecting both y^e doctrine of faith, & y^e worke of faith upon his owne soule, & y^e manifestation of his *approbation of & consent to y^e Confession of this Church*, was received into y^e Covenant of this Church, & so into full cōmunion.

2 Feb. 1672: He [Eleazer Browne] having stood propounded 3. weekes, was this day taken into y^e Church into full fellowship: after y^e relation of y^e worke of Grace made by him, *his Assent manifested to our Church Confession & Covenant, & y^e Testimony of Mr. Bulkley, Leift. Hinksman & myself [the pastor].*

I see no reason to doubt that these entries fairly sample what would usually, or at least often, be found in the MS. Church Records of the first century and a half of New England, were they, in their completeness, accessible to our study.

By the evidence in this article set forth I respectfully submit that the following conclusions have been established, viz.:

1. As a whole, the early settlers of New England were Calvinists in their religious faith, after the pattern which shows itself in the Genevan Bible.

2. They regarded such doctrinal belief as an essential evidence of the possession of a truly regenerate character, with real fitness for Church-membership.

3. They therefore founded their churches explicitly, or implicitly, upon that foundation of doctrine.

4. In the earliest days of the Colonies, when almost all were of one mind in those matters, attention was directed chiefly to the Covenant, as being the *articulum stantis vel cadentis* of a particular local church organization.

5. So soon, however, as, through an attempt to fix upon them, in comparison with the Church of England, and the Reformed Churches of the Continent, the stigma of a want of orthodoxy, pressure was brought to bear from without, they formally adopted the Westminster and Savoy Symbols, as the solemn affirmation of their general religious belief, and the common doctrinal basis upon which their churches stood.

6. It was their habit to endeavor to reach an affirmative conclusion as to the spiritual soundness of applicants for admission to their communion, by receiving from them more or less elaborate relations of their religious convictions, revealing their doctrinal position, as well as their personal experiences of divine grace.

7. In addition to this many churches early took up the custom of requiring from such

candidates formal assent to the Westminster or Savoy Symbol, prior to their admission to the Covenant, and to the Communion which followed.

8. There is also the clearest proof that from the earliest days of New England, some churches—the number of which cannot be fixed—adopted for themselves Articles of Faith of their own, whose acceptance became a condition precedent to membership.

In view of all which, with the involved fact that during more than a century and three-quarters before, in 1815, that pamphlet dropped from a Boston press which is generally regarded as the first overt act and outcropping of the "Unitarian Controversy," the churches of New England had been accustomed to make what they regarded as doctrinal soundness a vital test of fitness for their membership; to urge that they "expressly repudiated" such a test, and to declare that, in the face of that controversy, under the stimulus and in the confusion of a panic, Congregationalism made the "worst blunder ever made" in adopting a creed test for its Church-membership, is to convey an impression than which one more erroneous would hardly be possible to human speech.

SOME REMARKS ON ANCIENT SYNODS.

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I UNDERSTAND that the invitation with which I have been honoured sets before me, as the subject on which I am to speak to you, "The Ancient Councils and Synods of the Church," as regarded from a standpoint purely historical. At any rate, that limitation is natural and convenient for the purpose of this evening's address. One cannot, in the time now available, attempt anything like a full account of these assemblies, and it would be equally inopportune to go into the questions which might be raised as to what is best and most effective with regard to modern synodical organisation, in view of the precedents to be found in ancient Church history; and into that other set of considerations which touch the corporate life of the Church in the apostolic age. The Council, so-called, which met in Jerusalem to settle the controversy about the

obligation of the Ceremonial Law, is an event of signal importance; but it lies, I think, outside the field within which we may station ourselves at present, although it might not be hard to show that in several cases Councils did, consciously or not, reflect some of its characteristic features.

The first set, then, of the Councils which belong to the post-apostolic Church is clustered together in the second half of the second century. We know but little about them. The Montanist movement compelled "the faithful" of the western part of Asia Minor to "*come together at many times and in many places*," in order to examine the claims made by the new "prophets." Although the document as quoted thus by Eusebius does not tell us how they met, or under whom, or by what form of proceedings, there is reason to conclude, in the words of Dr. Salmon, of Dublin, that the decision against the fanatics of Phrygia was pronounced by "*the neighbouring bishops*," who, in fact, are referred to in other fragmentary passages which Eusebius inserts into his history. Not long afterwards a very different question began to divide Churches which were entirely agreed on the articles of faith and the principles of Church order. Should Easter always begin on the 14th evening of the Jewish Paschal month, without regard to the day of the week, or should the "first day of the week" be a fixed point in the observance? A few Churches, comparatively, held the former view; the general mind of the Church—the mind of the Western Church as a whole—went the other way, and, as is well known, the Church of Rome was strong for the principle that Easter-day must always be Easter Sunday. We are told that "Synods and assemblies of bishops" were held in order to settle this point. The Bishop of Ephesus convened the bishops who were subordinate to him; and they gave sentence very determinedly, on the ground of tradition from St. John, for the "fourteenth day" standard. But Eusebius speaks of letters issued by the bishops assembled in Pontus and Palestine in the opposite sense, and implies that other synods, held at the same time, were Episcopal. It is quite accurate to say with Dr. Pusey, "Every step in settling the question, or in resisting its being settled, is spoken of as decided by bishops." But then it is manifest that the prelates, who then assembled and thus resolved, realised their position as leaders and not despots; they knew quite intimately the mind of those who ministered under them, and of those who continued in Church

fellowship under their pastorship. They carried their clergy and people with them: there was no conflict of different orders, no need for a jealous care to limit fields of action and devise checks against misuse of authority.

In the third century we hear first of a Council held at Carthage, in which the bishops of North-western Africa, under Agrippinus, Bishop of Carthage, declared the baptism administered by heretics to be void. Councils, involving a "*representation*," or actual presence of "*Christian body*," in the several districts, appear to have been held regularly in Greece; but we do not know more of their constitution. Two Councils were held in Arabia on different questions of doctrine. It appears that they were episcopal, but Origen, a very eminent theologian, although not a bishop, was invited to attend, and give assistance. He himself was removed from his office as catechist at Alexandria, by a Council in which presbyters took part with bishops, and soon afterwards a Council at which bishops alone were present deposed him from priesthood, which he had received without his bishop's sanction. In other countries Councils apparently episcopal approved of the severe measures taken against him, evidently with a view to the questionable character of some of his speculations.

The episcopate of St. Cyprian supplies us with information of two kinds, which, however, it is not difficult to harmonise. The biographer, who knew and honoured him, attributes to him a "tempered" combination of qualities; and this balanced and equable state of mind appears in that adjustment of practical principles of administration, whereby he maintained, on the one hand, the high authority of his office, yet, on the other hand, exercised it, so to speak, in the midst of his clergy and people. "From the outset," he says, "I determined not to do anything on my own individual judgment without the counsel of the presbyters and the concurrence of the people;" and we find him, again and again, using such phrases as, "*with the council of the many*," "*with your judgment*," "*in accordance with your opinion*." He was what men would call a "hierarchy," but not in the sense of insisting on prerogative, and keeping subordinates haughtily at a distance. He ever thought of the bishop as "*in the Church*," as well as of the Church as "*in the Bishop*." The Church in each diocese, for him, was "*a flock adhering to a pastor*," but the pastor was presumed to live in and for the flock. Episcopal govern-

ment, which, apart from the true idea of Church unity, might easily become imperious, was in his hands paternal, or even fraternal. He recognised what he once calls the "majestic character" of the baptised people; he always aimed at identifying himself with the whole diocesan body of which he was the visible head. Thus, when persecution set in, and many who, in terror, or under actual pressure of physical suffering, had in various degrees compromised their Christian fidelity, and in the one significant phrase, had "lapsed," were desirous of regaining their forfeited position—in other words, when they repented of their weakness, and craved to be restored to "the peace" and fellowship of the Church—it became necessary to look carefully at their several cases. In some of these there would be more, in others less, of extenuating circumstances; each case must, therefore, be examined on its own merits, and Cyprian repeatedly and emphatically declared that, in these investigations, the opinions and testimonies of the laity should have full weight. The same method of treatment, we learn, was resolved upon by the clergy who were ruling the Roman Church in the vacancy of its see. But in regard to the conciliar action of the Church, Cyprian speaks always of episcopal assemblies, of decisions arrived at by bishops. The Council which he held in the early summer of 251 was such an assembly, though clergy, and apparently laity, were present to hear and advise; even, as in regard to the Novatian schism, a Council of sixty bishops met at Rome, attended by a yet larger number of clerics. A Council of the bishops of Africa decided in 252 that such "lapsed persons" as had continuously shown their repentance should at once be restored to Communion. When the question about recognising, or not recognising, the baptisms formerly bestowed by heretics was revived, Cyprian presided in Council after Council, thirty-two bishops in one case, seventy-one in another, eighty-seven in a third. It is certain that these assemblies were composed of bishops. The third of them is fully described in its extant acts or minutes, which begin, "*When very many bishops from the several provinces were assembled with the presbyters and deacons, a great part of the laity being also present, Cyprian said.*" Then follows his opening speech to his colleagues, that is, the bishops. We see they do not by any means sit within closed doors; all is done publicly, "in the face of the Church," but still it is they who form the Synod. Each of them in turn delivers his personal

mind. Cyprian again, at the close, expresses his opinion, and with this the record concludes. Another Council was chiefly occupied with the question whether the baptism of an infant should be deferred for a week after its birth, in imitation of the whole rule about circumcision; and the unanimous judgment was "No." Another Council, not so numerous, replied to the application of some Spanish Churchmen who were scandalised and disturbed by the misconduct of two Spanish bishops, one of whom—the conciliar letter asserts—had imposed on the credulity of the Roman bishop, Stephen. Firmilian, a great Asiatic bishop, in a letter to Cyprian, refers to a previous Council at Iconium, by which the same stringent view which Cyprian held as to heretics' baptism had been formally affirmed. It need hardly be added that the milder view, maintained by the Roman bishop as against the African Church, has prevailed in Western Christendom.

A very important and interesting Council, or, rather, series of Councils, was held in regard to the heresy of Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch, who maintained, although with a great fertility in shifty and illusory explanations, that the Word was an impersonal power or Divine attribute, and that Jesus Christ was a mere man, on whom that power had rested with exceptional fullness, and who, for his remarkable "advance" in wisdom and goodness had received the title of "Son of God." Eusebius repeats the names of several eminent bishops, who came, "*with priests and deacons,*" to Antioch, where a Council was to be assembled. Twice the Council had met, or, if we prefer to say so, two Councils had been held, before it was ascertained that Paul's professions, which at first sight seemed satisfactory, were not really to be relied upon—that the mischief had not been stayed. The third assembly took place in 269. Malchion, who took the main part in the final discussions, was not a bishop, but a presbyter. He had formerly been head of a Greek school of logic, and, as a skilful arguer, was put forward, in the quaint phrase of an excellent writer on Early Church biography, to grasp "this slippery eel." We have a fragment of what he said, after pursuing Paul through various evasions—"Did not I long ago say that you do not admit that the Only Begotten Son, who existed before all creation, was essentially present in the Saviour?" Paul was finally condemned and deposed; and the Council put forth a formal letter, which ran in the names of sixteen persons, Malchion among

them, “and all the others who are with us, inhabiting the neighbouring cities and nations,—bishops, and presbyters, and deacons, and the Churches of God,—to our fellow-ministers, bishops, presbyters, and deacons. and to the whole Catholic Church under heaven.” Yet the bishops alone were deemed the constituent members of the Council. So Athanasius speaks in the next century, so Eusebius expressly tells us, “*The Shepherds*,” by which, as his context shows, he means the chief pastors, “who were assembled, by common consent, addressed a letter to the Bishops of Rome and Alexandria, and circulated it among the provinces.” Malchion’s name appears distinctively among other names, because of the services which he had rendered; and “priests and deacons” are mentioned as classes, among those who send the letter; and so are the “churches,” a phrase which, of course, refers inclusively to the laity. But as the laity did not, according to evidence, take any part in the Council, so the clergy present with their bishops are not proved, by this reference, to have been really members of the assembly in the proper sense of the term; and Malchion himself might well be present, and be employed as a theological controversialist, and named with honour in consequence, without its being intended to represent him as possessing what is technically called a “decisive vote.” We must always remember, in regard to these cases, what has been observed already as to St. Cyprian, how closely the bishops, as a rule, were “in touch” with their clergy and their people. There was a deeply felt unity of interest and endeavour; the bishops, elected by clergy and people, could well represent them in Synod, and, both in and out of Synod, were accustomed, as a matter of course, to take them into confidence, and to profit by their counsel.

We now come to the great age of Councils. At the opening of the fourth century a Spanish Synod met at Eliberis, or Elvira, to draw up rules of discipline. It was composed of nineteen bishops; but twenty-six presbyters also “were seated,” and deacons and the laity of the place were present “standing,” but the canons are introduced by the words “*the bishops said*.” So, at the great Council of Arles in 314, which St. Augustine calls a “plenary” Council, and which is of special interest to us, because three bishops from our own island (those of York, London, and probably of Lincoln) came thither to represent the British Church, it appears from the documents that the bishops, properly speaking, formed the

Council. This is evidently the view which Augustine took of it. The bishops were accompanied by clergy; thus we find the names of a priest and a deacon in attendance on the British bishops; and the Emperor Constantine had expressly desired the bishops to bring with them respectively *two of the second order*. In the East, two Councils were held in this same year at Ancyra and Neocæsarea, for disciplinary legislation. They were composed of eighteen and nineteen bishops. In Egypt, Meletius is said to have been deposed by the Archbishop of Alexandria in a Council of bishops. When Licinius entered on his policy of harassing the Christians under his rule, he forbade their bishops to hold Synods; and this, says Eusebius in memorable words, was to forbid them to observe “*the sacred rules of the Church, for it was not possible to settle questions of great importance otherwise than by Synods*.” When Arianism began to trouble the Church, Archbishop Alexander, of Alexandria, in the first instance took counsel with his clergy. He caused them to sign a letter of remonstrance addressed by him to the adherents of Arius. (I need not remind any one present that the essence of Arianism consisted in these three propositions: That the Son of God was *not* eternal, that He was *not* uncreated, and that, therefore, He was external to the Divine essence, which, as such, is eternal and uncreated. He was then, in the Arian view, reduced to the position of the eldest and greatest of all creatures.) Finding the Arian party resolute, Alexander summoned a Council of all the bishops who were subordinate to his great see, and there a sentence of excommunication was passed against Arius and his followers, and he drew up, apparently with the help of Athanasius, then his deacon and secretary, an encyclical, which he sent to his “*fellow ministers*,” i.e., fellow bishops “*of the Catholic Church in every place*,” and, again assembling his own clergy, he obtained their assent and concurrence, attested by their signatures. But, as is well known, these local measures proved insufficient; the movement of heresy spread, and the first General Council was assembled at Nicæa, primarily for the purpose of dealing with Arianism, although the question of the right time for Easter, and the purely Egyptian question of the Meletian schism, were also brought before it. The summoning power, so to speak, was the Emperor Constantine’s. The Bishop of Rome was represented by deputies, or delegates, but they did not preside. The presiding bishop was

the Emperor's chief religious adviser, the venerable Bishop Hosius, of Cordova; and the statement that he presided under commission from Pope Sylvester is unsupported by contemporary evidence, and has grown out of a falsification of Eusebius' words, which was adopted by a writer of the fifth century. In the preliminary discussions (as we gather from the documents) not only Christian laymen, but non-Christian philosophers, so-called, took part. In the actual conciliar proceedings Athanasius, then only a deacon, is known to have spoken with great effect. He was present as a theological adviser to his own bishop, on the same footing on which Malchion had been present and had been argumentatively prominent in the Council of Antioch. But the constituent members of this great Council, as of all the great ancient general and provincial Councils, were *bishops and bishops only*. It was long known as the "assembly of the 318"—the bishops being popularly reckoned as of that number. The formal epistle ran in the name of "*the bishops assembled at Nicæa*." A word must be said as to the part taken by the Emperor. It would be a great mistake to suppose that he was either a constituent part of the Council, or that he attended as representing the laity of the Church. He addressed the Council as the sovereign of the empire, who, as in a certain sense a disciple of Christ, was interested in the unity and good order of the Christian body, but he was not, as yet, even a member of the Church, for he was not baptised until overtaken by his last illness, in 337. At an Arian Synod, held at Antioch about 330, laymen were apparently present, but their presence proves nothing as to their relation to the Synod properly so called. The like may be said of a Council at Tyre, which was dominated by the enemies of St. Athanasius. The Council regarded itself, and was regarded by Constantine, as an assembly of Bishops. The Great Western Council of Sardica, which is now referred, not, as formerly, to 347, but to 343, accepted the testimony of laymen as to Arian deeds of violence and injustice. At Milan, in 355, a Council met, which was terrorised by the Arian Emperor Constantius. It seems to have been held in the inner part of the great church; the laity, who were in the nave, became cognisant of what was going on behind the screen or curtain of the chancel. At Ariminum, in 359, laymen, "in words" made their sentiments known to the Council. One may, for convenience, pass over a number of Arianising Councils held at Antioch, Sirmium, Ancyra, Seleucia, and else-

where; together with others on the Catholic side, for instance at Paris. At a Council of Alexandria, in 362—a Council eminent for its considerate equitableness, and its peace-making zeal—clerics were present as representing their absent Bishops; and certain monks, whom we may presume to have been laymen, were sent by their bishop, Apollinaris—then supposed to be developing a heterodox theory of the Incarnation—to explain his views.

The second Œcumenical Council met at Constantinople in 381, under the summons of the Emperor Theodosius I., in order to establish religious unity in the East, to reaffirm Catholic doctrine, and to repress a variety of unsound theories. It was composed of 150 Bishops, not one of whom represented any Western Church, so that the see of Rome stood quite apart from its proceedings, and its claim to be Œcumenical resulted from the acceptance ultimately given to that recension of the Nicene Creed, which was called after its name. About the same time an Italian Council met at Aquileia, for the purpose of dealing with two clever and pertinacious Arian Bishops. One of these complained that what he said had not been fairly taken down, and desired that "honourable men," that is, men of high position, who were within reach, should be called in as "hearers." St. Ambrose, who swayed the Synod, declared that Palladius was herein *awaiting the sentence* of laymen, whereas *Bishops ought rather to be judges of laymen*. At another western Council, held at Toledo in 400, presbyters were seated, deacons stood, and others, that is, of course, laymen, were present. The Council of the Oak, at which under the malign influence of Theophilus of Alexandria, St. Chrysostom was condemned, was an assembly of partisan Bishops, which received accusations brought by enemies of the great Bishop of Constantinople. In the course of the Pelagian controversy we find the Bishop of Jerusalem holding a Synod of the priests of his own diocese, in which, contrary to precedent, but in consideration of his position, Pelagius, who was not in Holy Orders, was permitted to *sit* while questioned as to the charges brought against him by a young presbyter from Spain. Shortly afterwards a small Synod of Bishops of Palestine was held, at which Pelagius, as Augustine represents it, obtained an acquittal on the charge of heresy by disingenuously disclaiming opinions which, in fact, he held, so that, if Pelagius was "absolved," Pelagianism was virtually "condemned." The African Councils which

treated of this question were also episcopal assemblies.

We come next to the third Œcumenical Council, which met at Ephesus in 431, for the purpose of dealing with the Nestorian controversy. It will be remembered that Nestorianism reduced the Incarnation of the Son of God to a specially intimate alliance or association between Himself and a human individual, the Son of Mary, so that its practical result was to make two Christs instead of one. It is certain that this Council was composed of bishops only. The Imperial Commissioner disclaimed any other relation to it than that of maintaining order. He had, in fact, been expressly forbidden by the Emperor, who had summoned the Council, to take part in discussions about doctrine; his function was limited to the enforcement of regularity in the proceedings. The Archbishop of Alexandria, Cyril, presided, claiming also to hold, as we should say, a proxy for Celestine of Rome, before the arrival of Celestine's legates, which took place after the deposition of Nestorius. It ought here to be explained that a letter of Celestine's, containing the words, "Join the authority of our see to your own, act in our stead," was written to Cyril nearly a year before the Council, and while as yet there was no thought of such a Council. The commission thus given was discharged by Cyril in the latter part of the year 430, and it was not renewed, so far as we know, with a view to the Council of Ephesus. The Pope's delegates, on arriving at Ephesus, held (as usual) high language about the dignity of the see; but although the Council itself had referred to Celestine's letter to Nestorius as a ground for their sentence against Nestorius, their anathemas were uttered before that letter had been read to them; in announcing the sentence to the condemned archbishop they did not allude to Celestine; in writing to Theodosius they commended Celestine for his zeal. It may be well to add that in the list of signatures to the acts of the first session of Ephesus we find two priests signing in behalf of their invalid Bishops, one signing for his bishop under the Bishop's personal order, though present, and a deacon signing for his Bishop because, as it is curiously worded, "he was unable, or could not write." It was common enough for clerics thus to sign, simply as representing their Bishops, who for some reason were incapacitated from doing so, just as it has been common in later days for Bishops to be enthroned by proxy.

The Nestorian heresy, by re-action, pro-

duced the Eutychian. Eutyches, a devout, but ignorant and narrow-minded abbot, thought that the only way to bar out a theory which divided the Personality of the Redeemer, was to make His "oneness" depend on an absorption of His manhood into His Godhead. For this he was accused before a local Synod of Constantinople, in 448, which, after much inquiry, condemned him. The sentence was signed by thirty-two Bishops, personally or by proxy, and by a number of abbots, of whom nearly all were clerics. All these signed as abbots, but not in the form ordinarily used by Bishops signing a conciliar decree, *i.e.*, not with such words as "defining" or "judging." The Synod was, in fact, an episcopal Synod. It is so described. The abbots occupied a position lower than that of constituent members and the Imperial Commissioner afterwards disclaimed having made any pronouncement about doctrine. The controversy, as is well known, was kept up through the strong encouragement given to Eutyches by the Emperor Theodosius II., and by the Patriarch of Alexandria. The latter presided over a Council at Ephesus, infamous in Church history for its violence, and known as the "Gang of Robbers;" the Emperor, by what was thought an extraordinary favour, directing that a certain Abbot Barsumas, who was a priest, should be summoned with the Bishops to the Council. The enormities perpetrated at this assembly increased the agitation and confusion; and after the death of Theodosius the Emperor Marcian summoned the fourth General Council to meet at Chalcedon in the autumn of 451. It was a great gathering of Bishops; they alone were constituent members. The Imperial Commissioners, a number of high State functionaries, represented, as we might say, the interest of the State, and continually and seasonably interposed to secure order, but they were exterior to the Synod itself. The presiding members of the Council were the representatives of Pope Leo the Great; this fact is unquestionable, but so is the fact that the Council insisted on satisfying itself as to the orthodoxy of a Bishop whom Leo had already received into his communion—that the famous acclamation, "*Peter spoke thus by Leo*," indicated not—as on Papal principles it should have done—a dutiful acceptance of whatever the Bishop of Rome might declare *ex cathedra* upon a question of doctrine, but the conviction of the Bishops that, in his great doctrinal letter or "Tome," then read, and already signed by many Bishops in their individual capacity,

before the Council had met, Leo had been true to the teaching of St. Peter. We must also remember that the famous 28th canon of Chalcedon, about the respective positions of the Churches of Rome and Constantinople, was passed in the legates' absence after they had been invited to be present, and was adhered to, in spite of their remonstrance, and although afterwards the sanction of Leo was requested in a respectful letter from the Archbishop of Constantinople, as necessary to validate the canon, his persistent refusal did not prevent the Greek Church from acting upon it as settled Church law. As an African Church writer expresses it, "Although the apostolic see still contradicts, that which was established by the Council still remains in full force, under the patronage of the Emperor."

It may be desirable to extend our survey a little further. Toward the close of the fifth century Pope Gelasius held a Council at Rome, at which priests acted co-ordinately, or concurrently, with bishops in applauding the Pope's determination to restore to his communion a bishop who had been deposed for unfaithfulness to his trust as the Pope's legate. But what this shows is, not so much an equality of synodical right between bishops and priests, as the assertion and recognition of the supreme right of the Roman See: we must remember that the Pope was here on his own ground, and that the bishops had been accustomed to look on him as master. At Spanish Synods, in the early part of the sixth century, laymen were expressly permitted to be present, and the reason is expressly given—*That the people also might know what is to be decreed by the bishops only.* The most remarkable and instructive case is that of the Second Council of Orange, in 529; it is the last which I will bring before you. The Council is one to which Western Christendom is greatly indebted; for it drew a line between the truth which Pelagianism had assailed—the doctrine, as it is called, of Grace—and the exaggerations by which that doctrine had been compromised. It consisted of a small number of Gallic bishops, who had assembled for the dedication of a church, built by a zealous layman, himself a high civil functionary. The bishops, in their document, declare that they had discussed matters pertaining to the "rule of the Church," and had resolved to promulgate some statements of earlier writers commended to them by "the Apostolic See" on the question of grace and free will. This body of statements they call "*their definition and the definition of the Fathers.*" They then say that they had

thought fit that the lay dignitaries who had, with them, attended the recent service, should also sign what was intended to be of "healing" efficacy, not only for the clergy, but for the laity as well. Whereupon eight laymen did sign; and the remarkable point is, that they adopted the same formula used in such cases by bishops—"I sign consenting," or "I consent and sign." But this cannot imply that they were regarded as constituent members of the Synod, for that would contradict the explicit language of the document, which runs in the name of the bishops, and treats the "definition," or body of doctrinal statements as completed, as in full existence, before the laymen were invited to intimate their personal acquiescence by their signatures.

With this instance I conclude: the "Synods of the Ancient Church" may be sufficiently represented for our present purpose by those which belong to the first 530 years of the Church's life—a period which, it will be observed, extends to within seventy years of the beginning of our English Christianity.

TESTIMONY OF NAPOLEON I. WITH REGARD TO CHRIST.

BY ALEXANDER MAIR.

From *The Expositor*, London, May, 1890.

MANY of our readers have, without doubt, in the course of their reading, come across statements that professed to be the testimony of Napoleon I. with regard to Christ. They may have met with those statements sometimes in the form of a mere sentence, sometimes as an extract of less or greater length, and sometimes in the form of a separate tract. But if their experience has been the same as ours, they must often have asked, but asked in vain, What is the authority on which such statements rest? For whatever their form, we have all but invariably found them given without any exact and explicit reference to the original authority, a defect which to many minds must deprive them of most of their weight.

We recently had occasion to look somewhat carefully into the question of the genuineness of this alleged testimony, and after a little trouble succeeded in getting pretty well to the root of the matter, and reaching such ground as the case seems to admit of. We venture to think that it may be interesting to not a few of our readers to learn the result of our investigation; and accordingly we proceed to lay before them, first of all a

statement with regard to the authority on which the alleged testimony rests, and then a tolerably full translation of the testimony itself.

The reader may find the narrative of a careful investigation of the question by Dr. Schaff, of New York, the well-known Church historian, in his interesting volume on the *Person of Christ*.* Dr. Schaff there tells us that he found the testimony in Abbot's *Life of Napoleon*, and also in Abbot's *Confidential Correspondence of the Emperor Napoleon with the Empress Josephine*, "without however being traced to a reliable source." He made what investigation he could in America, but without any more definite result than the discovery of the name of the book which he suspected might be,† and which actually is, the original source, although he failed to ascertain the fact, through not being able to find a copy of it in the libraries of New York. He refers to a printed letter of Professor de Felice of Montauban, in which the professor "asserts, that the testimony as published in the French tract [referred to below] is undoubtedly genuine, but gives no proofs." He latterly entered into correspondence with several gentlemen in France, and amongst them Pastor Bersier, who however, while they affirmed the genuineness of the testimony, were unable to trace it up to the unquestionably original authority. At the close of the narrative of his investigation, Dr. Schaff prints the testimony in the form in which it is given in tract No. 200 of the Religious Tract Society of Paris, and then as given in tract No. 477 of the American Tract Society. He adds, "It will be seen that the French and English differ considerably, but they breathe the same spirit." We shall immediately see the complete explanation.

In endeavouring to hunt up the original source we fared no better in Edinburgh than Dr. Schaff did in New York. But in trying Paris we met with more success. The book which is the original source is now lying before us, and in its latest edition bears the title, *Sentiment de Napoléon I^{er} sur le Christianisme, d'après des témoignages recueillis par feu le chevalier de Beauterne*.‡ Nouvelle édition. Par M. Bouniol (Paris: Bray, 1868). It is from the fifth chapter

of this work, according to the numbering in this edition, that all the different forms of the testimony have been originally derived. The exact title of the third edition of Beauterne's book (1843) was, *Sentiment de Napoléon sur le Christianisme: conversations religieuses recueillies à Sainte-Hélène par M. le général comte de Montholon*; from which it appears that the earlier editions actually bore on the title-page the name of Montholon as the authority for the conversations therein reported. The new edition now before us professes to have been in some respects abridged and in others enlarged by Bouniol, its late editor; but its fifth chapter seems to have undergone no change, except it may be the omission of sentences or portions here and there. Further, we may add that this same chapter, which is indeed the kernel of the book, was also reproduced in pamphlet form with the title, *Sentiment de Napoléon sur la Divinité de Jésus-Christ: pensées recueillies à Sainte-Hélène par M. le comte de Montholon, et publiées par M. le chevalier de Beauterne* (2^e édition, 1841, Debécourt).* Unfortunately however we have not been able to find copies either of this pamphlet or of the third edition referred to above.

Our next object must be to consider whether we can make good the authenticity of the alleged testimony; and here we must first let Beauterne speak for himself. He says:

"Of the sources from which I have drawn, the first line is formed by the Emperor's companions in exile [in St. Helena]. But the person to whom my most respectful thanks are due is Count Montholon. I might almost say that the entire collection is much more his work than mine. The literary form is mine. But I affirm, and I repeat it, that the thoughts, the arguments, are the spirit, the language, the work of Napoleon himself."†

Again he says:

"The style and even entire phrases belong to the Emperor, sometimes literally, as for example that sentence which stands at the head of his conversation concerning Jesus Christ: 'I know men, and I tell you that Jesus is not a man.' "‡

And once more he says:

"I repeat then that my documents are authentic, having emanated from living and contemporary personages, who have given them to me as the authors or the witnesses of the facts which I recount. All my book is true with regard to principal and essence."§

In so far as chapter v. is concerned, the portion with which we have immediately to do, the capital authority is General Montholon.

* Pp. 219-250.

† In the first edition (1880), he says the testimony is "probably derived" from the book referred to; and in the second edition he says, "It seems to have been published first in 1842 and 1843 in periodicals and tracts, and also in the [said] book" (p. 224 in both editions).

‡ Beauterne was an ardent Roman Catholic and a great admirer of Napoleon. He was the author of two other works: *Mort de l'Enfant Impie*, and *L'Enfance de Napoléon*.

* In Lorenz's *Catalogue général de la Librairie française* this brochure is actually entered under the name of Montholon.

† *Sentiment de Napoléon sur le Christianisme*, pp. 14, 15.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

lon. Accordingly we naturally ask, What is the value of Montholon's authority? There can be no doubt that it is of the highest order. He had the best possible opportunity for being able to report the Emperor's conversations and sayings. He was his close and faithful companion during all the time of his exile in St. Helena, and in his will the Emperor appointed him one of his executors, leaving him a bequest of 2,000,000 francs, "as a proof of my satisfaction and the filial care which he bestowed on me for six years."* M. Marchand, the chief *valet de chambre* of the Emperor in his banishment, wrote to Beauterne: "No one can contradict anything that has been communicated to you by Count Montholon, for he enjoyed the most intimate confidence of the Emperor, and was therefore in a better position than any one else to be acquainted with everything that took place at Longwood" (Napoleon's home on St. Helena).†

We can now take a decided step forward, and one which is of the utmost importance. After Beauterne had published the first edition of his work, he sent an early copy of it to Montholon, who was at that time a political prisoner in the State prison of Ham. Along with that copy he wrote to him as follows: "I hope that the religious views of the Emperor, collected from your lips, and which I have already read to you in part, I believe, will please you still more in the citadel of Ham than in your apartment in the Luxembourg." To that letter Count Montholon replied on May 30th, 1841: "I have read with a lively interest your work, *Sentiment de Napoléon sur le Christianisme*, and I do not think it is possible to express better the religious beliefs of the Emperor."‡ It should also be remembered that Montholon survived until 1853, so that before his death Beauterne's book and extracts from it must have been circulating in France for years with his knowledge, and even with his consent; for, as we have seen, the earlier editions bore his name upon the title-page. Dr. Schaff says that "General Bertrand [to whom the utterances are alleged to have been at least partly addressed] and General Montholon would be the proper vouchers, since they heard and must have repeated the utterances at St. Helena."§ We have thus succeeded in getting this condition so far fulfilled, by tracing up the report of the conversation or conversations to

Montholon, and in having his authentication of that report.

But now we have to consider whether General Bertrand has anything to say in regard to the matter. He has, and apparently in direct contradiction to the above. When he was in St. Helena with the Emperor, he wrote out to his dictation the memorials of the campaigns in Egypt and Syria. These memorials the general had prepared for publication, but he died on January 31st, 1844, before his purpose had been carried out. The work however was published by his sons in 1847, with a long preface from the hand of Bertrand himself, in which he touches on a variety of matters in a somewhat fragmentary way. In this preface he refers to Beauterne's work under its original title,* *Conversations religieuses de Napoléon*, and speaks of it with bitterness as a "libel," because of statements which it makes offensive to himself and his wife. He then goes on to say: "In that book one has dared to present to the public, as collected in St. Helena, two pretended conversations between the Emperor and his grand-marshal [Bertrand], the one on the divinity of Jesus Christ, consisting of little less than fifty pages, the other on the existence of God. These two conversations, inclosed in inverted commas, are a pure invention; they do not contain a single word of truth, NOT ONE." Again he says, "Neither in France, nor in the army, nor in the Island of Elba, nor in St. Helena, have I heard Napoleon discussing the existence of God or the divinity of Jesus Christ."† This is very explicit, and is emphatic even to capitals.

What then are we to make of this apparent contradiction? On the one hand, we have the strong and repeated asseverations of Beauterne already given. We have the facts that the contents of the book were read over to Montholon, at least in part, before it was printed, and that an early copy of the printed work was sent to him and read by him with lively interest. Above all, we have Montholon's attestation of the contents of the book, and very specially of chapter v., as the best possible expression of

* *Conversations religieuses de Napoléon*, récit authentique de sa mort chrétienne, avec des documents inédits de la plus haute importance, où il révèle lui-même sa pensée intime sur le christianisme, 1840.

† *Guerre d'Orient: Campagnes d'Égypte et de Syrie*, vol. I., pp. I., II. (Paris, 1847). The French is: "Dans cet écrit on a osé présenter au public, comme recueillies à Sainte-Hélène, deux prétendues conversations entre l'Empereur et son grand-marshal, l'une sur la divinité de Jésus-Christ, et n'ayant guère moins de cinquante pages, l'autre sur l'existence de Dieu. Ces deux conversations guillemetées sont une pure invention; elles ne renferment pas un seul mot de vrai, UN SEUL. Ni en France, ni à l'armée, ni à l'île d'Elbe, ni à Sainte-Hélène, je n'ai entendu Napoléon disserter sur l'existence de Dieu, ou sur la divinité de Jésus-Christ."

* *Sentiment de Napoléon*, p. 16.

† *Ibid.*, p. 16.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 156 f. Cf. also p. viii. The French is, "J'ai lu avec un vif intérêt votre ouvrage, *Sentiment de Napoléon sur le Christianisme*; et je ne pense pas qu'il soit possible de mieux exprimer les croyances religieuses de l'Empereur."

§ *Person of Christ*, p. 233.

the Emperor's religious views. No doubt it must be confessed that the form of this attestation is somewhat general; he does not say in so many words that the conversations are correctly reported; nevertheless, in view very particularly of the strong and repeated protestations and asseverations contained in the book, it practically amounts to this. Furthermore we find Montholon speaking of Beauterne as a "conscientious author," and on one occasion writing to him to "correct certain mistakes to which his standing as a conscientious author might give weight,"* so that we may with all the greater confidence accept the material which the general not only allows to pass current for years with his name attached, but which he explicitly endorses. We even find Montholon in another letter confidently referring Beauterne to Bertrand himself as certain to substantiate his report of the Emperor's "religious conversations."† On the other hand, Bertrand's statement is not less, is even more emphatic. It is indeed a flat contradiction. How then is the difficulty to be explained?

If we are to have regard solely to the opinion of the English chroniclers of Napoleon's exile in St. Helena, we should place but little reliance on the veracity of either Montholon or Bertrand, when the supposed glory of the Emperor is concerned. O'Meara speaks of Montholon as one, who, "were he not a poltroon and a liar, would be a most excellent man, and who, but for these two little defects, is a perfect gentleman."‡ Forsyth denies "Bertrand's claim to be regarded as a person of veracity," and declares that he "never failed to bear false witness against Sir Hudson Lowe [the governor of St. Helena], whenever he thought the interests of Napoleon required it."§ Of course French writers give the two generals a character directly the opposite; but perhaps it is of more consequence for us to remember that both of them were the close and highly esteemed companions of the Emperor, who was a thoroughly good judge of men, and was not in the least likely to select as his friends men who were mere fools, poltroons, and liars. Moreover both Montholon and Bertrand, especially the former, have left behind them memorials of the Emperor's life, by which their general veracity may be tested; and from these it appears that, while they show the usual bias of men en-

thralled by a more powerful personality, there is no sufficient reason for doubting the genuineness of their evidence in reference to such a matter as that before us. Accordingly we regard it as utterly incredible that Montholon should have fabricated, or sanctioned the fabrication of, such a tissue of lies and forgeries, and not only permitted them to be published with his name attached, while his brother general was still living, but even appealed to him for confirmation. On the other hand, we hold it equally incredible that the strong, categorical denial of Bertrand is merely a bit of deliberate hard lying, though it may militate somewhat against its force that it should have been withheld during his life, and only published by his sons three years after his death.

We suggest the following as an explanation of the difficulty. Montholon had apartments and lived in the same house with the Emperor all the time of his exile; Bertrand always lived with his family in a separate house, and for some time at the distance of a mile and a half. Montholon not only lived under the same roof with the Emperor, but in constant and close companionship, dining with him every day. There was thus the most natural and ample opportunity for Montholon having numerous conversations on Christianity with Napoleon in the absence of Bertrand. Our solution therefore is, that two or three of the pregnant sentences at the beginning and the close of Beauterne's report may have been incidentally addressed to Bertrand, and the fact forgotten by him, or they may have been related by Montholon through mistake of memory as having been addressed to Bertrand; but that in either case the body of the chapter consists of fragmentary reports of different conversations of the Emperor which took place casually with Montholon or in his hearing, and were worked up and expanded by Beauterne. This view of the chapter is strongly confirmed by the title which it bore when published in the separate pamphlet form referred to above, in which it is described as *Thoughts Collected at St. Helena by Count Montholon*. Moreover this solution, as we shall presently see, is supported by internal evidence, and is in full accordance with the view of the chapter which we had adopted before we were aware of Bertrand's explicit denial. Indeed, Bertrand's volumes prove quite conclusively that, so far as Napoleon's religious views are concerned, he might very well have uttered all that is to be found in Beauterne's chapter, while at the same time he informs

* *Sentiment de Napoléon*, Letter, pp. 148 f.

† *Ibid.*, p. 40.

‡ Forsyth's *History of the Captivity of Napoleon at St. Helena*, letter quoted vol. i., p. 186.

§ *History of the Captivity of Napoleon at St. Helena*, vol. iii., pp. 303 f.

us that the Emperor frequently spoke "more like a philosopher than a general."*

We do not mean to enter at any length into the internal criticism of the special chapter of Beauterne's book now before us, but a few sentences on the subject are necessary. The French editor of our copy says in a foot-note: "Napoleon never uttered at one breath this magnificent apology. The author must have collected and joined together here what was said in different conversations."† This is almost certainly correct; and we infer it, not merely from the length of the chapter, but from the fact that we find reduplications in it, which suggest that it consists of reports of different conversations on the same or a cognate subject. Furthermore, the want of a clear, straight line running through it, the obvious roughness of the joinings here and there, and the distinct feeling of fragmentariness occasionally produced in the mind of the reader point to the same conclusion. In any case we cannot accept such a lengthened report taken down after the lapse of years as at all *verbatim*, notwithstanding Beauterne's assertion that the companions of the Emperor faithfully preserved the memory of his conversations "with that scrupulousness and respect which everything inspires that proceeds from a great man." But while there can be no reasonable doubt that the declaration of Bertrand greatly detracts from the weight of the evidence in favour of the genuineness, nevertheless, in view of all the circumstances of the case, we think we may still accept the report as a fairly correct, if somewhat worked up and expanded, reproduction of the substance, with many of the expressions and even occasional brief sentences, of casual conversations of the Emperor. Indeed, the expressions at times authenticate themselves by their characteristic nerve and point, for, as Beauterne remarks, "one cannot counterfeit genius."

The general conclusion to which our investigation has conducted us is supported, so far as we have seen, by the consensus of competent men who have expressed an opinion on the matter. Auguste Nicolas, in a work of decided importance in its day, entitled, *Études philosophiques sur le Christianisme*, quotes a large portion of Beauterne's fifth chapter *verbatim*. He then adds in a foot-note: "This judgment of Napoleon with regard to Jesus Christ was published in a book written in 1841, after

communication received from General Montholon. Quoted repeatedly and in circumstances of responsibility, that judgment passes as historical. Besides, its value does not consist merely in its authenticity, but consists especially in the force of truth which distinguishes it, and the touch of originality of which it bears the stamp. And that again contributes to the support of its authenticity; *one sees there the claw of the lion.*"* Lacordaire, who, like Nicolas, was a contemporary and likely to have been well acquainted with the facts, also quotes from the conversations, and evidently accepts them as unquestionably authentic.† Professor de Felice, of Montauban, another contemporary and thoroughly competent authority, as we have already seen, regards the conversations as undoubtedly genuine.‡ The late Pastor Bersier held the same view: "I believe in the perfect authenticity [of the reported conversations]. No one, especially at that time, could have invented them;" and then he finishes with almost the same expression as Nicolas, "There is the claw of the lion there."§ The author of the article on Napoleon in the *Nouvelle Biographie générale*, after some hesitation, decides in favour of inserting Beauterne's book among the genuine, and not among the apocryphal, Napoleonic literature. The conversations are also accepted as genuine by Luthardt in his *Grundwahrheiten des Christenthums*,|| and among English authors by Canon Liddon in his *Divinity of our Lord*,¶ and Cardinal Newman in his *Grammar of Assent*.** Dr. Schaff also, at the close of his careful investigation, arrives at the same general conclusion: "The conversations are authentic in substance; because they have the egotistic manner of Napoleon, and are marked by that massive grandeur and granite-like simplicity of thought and style which characterize the best of his utterances."††

The original source of Napoleon's testimony in regard to Christ is thus to be found in the fifth chapter of the edition of Beau-

* Vol. iv., pp. 89 f., 9th edition (Paris, 1855).

† *Conferences on Jesus Christ*, pp. 36 ff. (London, 1870).

‡ Schaff, *Person of Christ*, pp. 224 f.

§ *Ibid.*, letter to Dr. Schaff, p. 284 (1880).

¶ Pp. 234, 293, fourth edition.

¶ Pp. 159 f., eleventh edition.

** Pp. 493 ff., eighth edition. Cf. also Geikie, *Life of Christ*, chap. i.; Farrar, *Witness of History to Christ*, p. 61; and Naville, *The Christ*, p. 174 (Edinburgh, 1880).

†† *Person of Christ*, p. 225. The same series of extracts as in Schaff's English tract is given as genuine in a little volume entitled *The Table Talk and Opinions of Napoleon*, pp. 112-122 (London: Sampson Low, Son & Marston, 1888); cf. also a brief series of extracts in O'Meara's *Napoleon at St. Helena*, vol. ii., pp. 353 ff. (1888). In none of all the above is Beauterne's book given as the original source, although it is mentioned by Liddon; and, singularly enough, not one of the French authors mentions Bertrand's contradiction. Liddon, however, does so in a note on p. 151.

* Cf. *Campagnes d'Égypte et de Syrie*, vol. i., pp. xvi., liv., and very specially a long passage on the Christian religion, vol. i., pp. 205 ff.

† *Sentiment de Napoléon*, p. 87.

terne's book now before us. When we turn to it we see the difficulty at once cleared up which presented itself to Dr. Schaff; namely, the difference between the French and English tracts as printed by him. Beaunterne's fifth chapter is a somewhat long one, extending over thirty-three pages,* and both tracts, being much smaller than the original, consist only of selections therefrom. The selections of which the French tract is composed are naturally to a considerable extent different from those of which the English one is composed. But the French tract is made up of passages taken *verbatim* from the chapter in question. It is indeed sentence for sentence, and word for word, the same as the extracts we find in the work of Nicolas referred to above. The English tract again, as given by Dr. Schaff, is a somewhat larger collection of extracts than the French one; but in going over it carefully we find that every sentence, with the exception of an unimportant one of five lines, which comes in quite abruptly, has its corresponding sentence in the original of Beaunterne. It has also a brief introduction to make the tract more intelligible, which is not to be found in our fifth chapter, and which may possibly be derived from the reproduction of this chapter separately published in the form already referred to.

We now proceed to give a translation of the portions of this chapter which especially bear upon the Person of Christ. Of course our selection differs somewhat from both the French and the English tracts reprinted by Dr. Schaff, but the explanation will now be plain; and we need scarcely add that every sentence has its corresponding sentence in the original.

"One evening at St. Helena the conversation was animated. The subject treated of was an exalted one; it was the divinity of Jesus Christ. Napoleon defended the truth of this doctrine with the arguments and eloquence of a man of genius, with something also of the native faith of the Corsican and the Italian. To the objections of one of the interlocutors, who seemed to see in the Saviour but a sage, an illustrious philosopher, a great man, the Emperor replied:†

"I know men, and I tell you that Jesus Christ is not a man.

"Superficial minds may see some resemblance between Christ and the founders of empires, the conquerors, and the gods of other religions. That resemblance does not exist. Any one who has a

true knowledge of things and experience of men will cut short the question as I do. Which of us contemplating in the spirit of criticism the different religions of the nations cannot look their authors in the face and say, "No; you are neither gods nor the agents of the Deity. You have no mission from heaven; you are rather the missionaries of lies. Assuredly you have been kneaded out of the same clay as other mortals"?

"I see in Lycurgus, Numa, Confucius, and Mahomet merely legislators; but nothing which reveals the Deity. On the contrary, I see numerous relations between them and myself. I make out resemblances, weaknesses, and common errors which assimilate them to myself and humanity. Their faculties are those which I possess. But it is different with Christ. Everything about Him astonishes me; His spirit surprises me, and His will confounds me. Between Him and anything of this world there is no possible term of comparison. He is really a Being apart. His ideas and His emotions, the truth which He announces, His method of producing conviction, can be explained neither by the organization of man nor by the nature of things.

"His birth and the history of His life, the profoundness of His teaching—which truly reaches the very summit of the difficulties, and which is their most admirable solution,—His gospel, the uniqueness of this mysterious Being, His appearance, His empire, His march across ages and kingdoms, all is to me a marvel, a mystery unfathomable: a mystery which I cannot deny, and yet which I am just as unable to explain. Here I see nothing of man. The nearer I approach Him and the more closely I examine Him, the more everything seems above me; everything continues great with a greatness that crushes me.

"His religion is a secret belonging to Himself alone, and proceeds from an intelligence which assuredly is not the intelligence of man. There is in Him a profound originality which creates a series of sayings and maxims hitherto unknown. Jesus borrows nothing from any of the sciences. You find in Himself alone the ideal or example of His life. He is not a philosopher; for He proceeds by the method of miracles, and from the beginning His disciples are His worshippers. He persuades them by an appeal to their moral sense, rather than by the ostentatious display of method and logic. His business is with the soul; He occupies Himself with it, and to it He addresses His gospel. The soul alone satisfies Him as He satisfies the soul. Until the time of His coming the soul was nothing; matter and force were the masters of the world. At His voice everything falls into order. Science and philosophy are henceforth but secondary matters; the soul has regained its sovereignty. All scholastic scaffolding collapses in ruin before that single word, FAITH. What a Master! what a word that must be with which effects such a revolution!

"Christ expects everything from His death. Is that the invention of a man? On the contrary, it is a strange course of procedure, a superhuman confidence, an inexplicable reality. In every other existence than that of Christ, what imperfections, what changes! Where is the character which does not bend aside when overthrown by obstacles? Who is the individual that is not moulded by event and place, that does not yield to the influence of the age, that has not compounded with its manners and its passions? I defy you to cite any existence, other than that of Christ, exempt from the least vacillation, free from all such blemishes and changes. From the first day to the last He is the

*Pp. 85-118.

† There is a long report of a similar conversation given by Las Cases, *Journal of the Private Life and Conversations of the Emperor Napoleon at St. Helena*, vol. II., Part Fourth, pp. 129 ff. It begins thus: "In the evening, after dinner, the conversation turned upon religion. The Emperor dwelt on the subject at length. After having spoken for some time with warmth and animation he said, 'Everything proclaims the existence of God; that cannot be questioned.'" (Cf. also *Campagnes d'Egypte et de Syrie*, vol. I., chap. v.).

same, always the same, majestic and simple, infinitely severe and infinitely gentle. In the intercourse of a public life He never gives a handle to the smallest criticism; His conduct so prudent compels admiration by its mixture of force and gentleness. Whether He speaks or acts, Jesus is luminous, unchangeable, unmoved by passion. The sublime, some one says, is a mark of the Deity; what name shall we give to Him who unites in Himself all the features of the sublime?

"Christ proves that He is the Son of the Eternal by His contempt of time; all His doctrines mean one and the same thing, Eternity. How the horizon of His empire extends, and prolongs itself into infinitude! Christ reigns beyond life and beyond death. The past and the future are alike to Him: the kingdom of the truth has, and in effect can have, no other limit than the false. Jesus has taken possession of the human race; He has made of it a single nationality, the nationality of upright men, whom He calls to a perfect life.

"Christ commands us with authority to believe Him, without giving any other reason than that tremendous word, *I am God*. He declares it. What a chasm He scoops out by that declaration between Himself and all the fabricators of religions! What audacity, what sacrilege, what blasphemy, if it is not true! There is no middle position; either Christ is an impostor or He is God. But the divinity of Christ once admitted, the system of Christian doctrine presents itself with the precision and clearness of algebra. We must admire in it the connectedness and unity of a science. The existence of Christ from beginning to end is a tissue entirely mysterious, I admit; but that mystery meets difficulties which are in all existences. Reject it, the world is an enigma; accept it, and we have an admirable solution of the history of man.

"Christ never varies, never hesitates in His teaching; and His smallest affirmations are marked with the seal of a simplicity and a depth which captivate the ignorant and the educated alike. Nowhere else do you find that series of beautiful ideas, of beautiful moral maxims, which defile before us like the battalions of the celestial host, and which produce in our mind the same feeling as we experience in contemplating the infinite expanse of the heavens in a clear summer night, resplendent with all the brilliancy of the stars.

"Christ speaks, and henceforth generations belong to Him by bonds more close, more intimate than those of blood, by a union more sacred, more imperious than any other union beside. He kindles the flame of a love which kills out the love of self, and prevails over every other love. Without contradiction, the greatest miracle of Christ is the reign of love. All who believe sincerely in Him feel this love, wonderful, supernatural, supreme. It is a phenomenon inexplicable, impossible to reason and the power of man; a sacred fire given to the earth by this new Prometheus, of which time, the great destroyer, can neither exhaust the force nor terminate the duration. This is what I wonder at most of all, for I often think about it; and it is that which absolutely proves to me the divinity of Christ."

"Here the voice of the Emperor assumed a peculiar accent of ironical melancholy and of profound sadness: 'Yes, our existence has shone with all the splendour of the crown and sovereignty; and yours, Monthonol, Bertrand, reflected that splendour, as the dome of the Invalides, gilded by us, reflects the rays of the sun. But reverses have come, the gold is effaced little by little. The rain of misfortunes and outrages with which we are deluged

every day carries away the last particles. We are only lead, gentlemen, and soon we shall be but dust. Such is the destiny of great men; such is the near destiny of the great Napoleon.

"What an abyss between my profound misery and the eternal reign of Christ, proclaimed, worshipped, beloved, adored, living throughout the whole universe! Is that to die? Is it not rather to live? Behold the death of Christ, and behold that of God!"

"The Emperor was silent; and as General Bertrand equally kept silence, the Emperor resumed, 'If you do not understand that Jesus Christ is God, ah well! then I did wrong in making you a general!'"

THAT DELFHAVEN MONUMENT.

From *The Congregationalist*, Boston, May 8, 1890.

It is of the essence of history to be exact. Monumental history comes under special bonds to accuracy, that it may not reproduce what Pope stigmatized:

How London's column pointing at the skies,
Like a tall bully lifts its head, and lies.

It was bad enough for the hero of Pinafore to weep over the tombs of somebody else's ancestors, who had been made his by purchase of the graveyard; it would be worse to mislead posterity into moistening with commemorative tears a spot of virgin soil where nobody at all has been interred, or solicits remembrance.

Our attention has been attracted to a circular issued under the auspices of the Congregational Club of this city, the object of which is by a "national" and "catholic," in distinction from a "local" and "sectarian," movement, to form a "National Association" to raise a sum of money to secure the erection "at Delftshaven" in Holland of "some durable token," which shall commemorate "the hospitality of the free Republic of Holland so generously bestowed upon the Pilgrims," who "sailed from Delftshaven on a voyage which was completed at Plymouth Rock."

Two or three suggestions in the interest of the real facts seem to be in order in connection with this appeal.

It would appear that the "voyage which was completed at Plymouth Rock" really began at Leyden, and not at Delfshaven. Certainly four distinct debarkations took place. Our fathers went in *trekschuits* (draw-boats) from Leyden fourteen or fifteen miles through canal and river to Delfshaven; there they went on board the *Speedwell* and in her to England; there they went on board the *Mayflower* and in her to Cape Cod Harbor, and the Cowyard in Plymouth Bay; there they went on board the

shallop for the last mile and a half to Plymouth Rock, where the voyage ended. There is no obvious reason why the first of these well-marked stages should be ignored.

Moreover, to do this seems specially ill judged, when the effect of it must be to take away the emphasis of commemoration from the place of their residence for more than eleven years, where it especially belongs, unwarrantably to bestow it upon a hamlet where they tarried but for a night; from the town toward which, notwithstanding all they had suffered there, in departing they looked back with moistened eyes as to "a goodly & pleasante citie," and where many of them were leaving all that they loved best to a few scattering houses lining a long and narrow quay, which there is no evidence that any one of them had ever seen before; whose little population looked on them with a vacant wonder which indeed deepened into something of sympathetic interest as the noise of "sighs and sobbs and praises did sound amongst them," and some of whom, it was said, remembered the unusual scene for a considerable period, but whose sole personal relation to it was like that of the wharf loungers who idly watch the departure of the steamers from the Cunard moorings at East Boston, as compared with that of those who go on board to sail, or to bid departing friends good-by. We have not forgotten that thirty years ago the estimable M. Cohen Stuart, then minister of the gospel at Utrecht, undertook to make it out that the parting meeting of Robinson with his flock took place in the little Reformed church which still stands upon the other side of the dock from the spot where the *Speedwell* lay, and that, on the strength of his pleasing romance, a stone on which it was thought possible that the good man's foot might have rested as he spake, was brought over to be builded as a memorial into a Chicago meeting-house. Nor have we forgotten how subsequent exhaustive research upon the ground has shown that not one jot or tittle, either of proof or probability, stands behind that fiction to give it even semblance of foundation upon fact.

Again, in no proper present sense of the term was Holland, at the date referred to, a "free Republic." The Union of Utrecht, in 1579, did not intend a republic, nor, indeed, an independent commonwealth of any kind. On the other hand, it acknowledged and indorsed obedience to the Spanish king. So neither did the Declaration of Independence of 1581, although deposing Philip, proclaim a new government. It did not

contemplate a democracy, nor even an aristocracy. The Dutch preferred the rule of a king, only they could not any longer endure the outrageous misrule of the king they had. They tried long, in vain, to persuade Elizabeth of England to be their queen. The best epithet which Mr. Motley could find with which, in 1617, to characterize the Dutch Government then actual was "a provincial and meagre federalism." He said the Netherlands were "a confederacy, not a nation," and their "general government was but a committee."

Still further, proof is wholly wanting that, such as it was, the existing government of Holland ever took any action in reference to our fathers, or officially—or even otherwise—knew of their presence in the land.

And with regard to the action in their case of the municipal authorities of Leyden, it would be unduly straining language for a purpose to try to make it out as being "hospitality so generously bestowed." Precisely what took place was this: Robinson and his company asked permission to live in Leyden and work at their trades "without being a burden in the least to any one," and the burgomasters replied that they refused no honest persons liberty to come there to live, "provided such persons behave themselves, and submit to the laws and ordinances." This was straightforward and honorable on both sides, but will hardly bear exaltation as a shining illustration of lavish hospitality.

And, finally, if the general question be raised whether our Pilgrim Fathers did not receive in Holland a "hospitality generously bestowed"—if not technically from the government, then practically from the people—the sober answer must be made that no trace of such treatment appears. An ounce of matter-of-fact record at the time is worth a ton of the rhetoric of to-day. There are but two witnesses whose contemporaneous testimony survives, but both are competent, and both agree. Governor Winslow (*Hypocrisis Unmasked*, etc., 88) incidentally names, as among chief causes of their desire to come to America:

Considering amongst many other inconveniences, how hard the Country was where we lived, how many spent their estate in it, and were forced to return for England, etc.

And Governor Bradford, much more elaborately (*Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 13, 22, etc.), says:

Though they saw faire & beautifull cities, flowing with abundance of all sorts of welth & riches, yet it was not longe before they saw the grimme & grisly face of povertie coming upon them like an

armed man, with whom they must bukle & incounter, and from whom they could not flye. . . .

They saw & found by experience the hardnes of ye place & cuntrie to be such, as few in comparison would come to them, and fewer that would bide it out, and continew with them. For many yt came to them, and many more yt desired to be with them, could not endure yt great labor and hard fare, with other inconveniences which they underwent & were contented with . . . for many though they desired to injoye ye ordinances of God in their puritie, and ye libertie of the gospell with them, yet, alas, they admitted of bondage, with danger of conscience, rather then to indure these hardships; yea, some preferred & chose ye prisons in England, rather than this libertie in Holland, with these afflictions. . . .

Old age began to steale on many of them (and their great & continuall labours, with other crosses and sorrows, hastened it before ye time) so as it was not only probably thought, but apparently seen, that within a few years more they would be in danger to scatter, by necessities pressing them, or sinke under their burdens, or both. . . .

Many of their children, that were of best dispositions and gracious inclinations, having lerne to bear ye yoake in their youth, and willing to bear parte of their parents burden, were, often times, so oppressed with their hevie labours, that though their minds were free and willing, yet their bodies bowed under ye weight of ye same, and became decreped in their early youth; the vigor of nature being consumed in ye very budd as it were.

So that, while thankful to be permitted to be outside, rather than inside, of a jail; thankful for some occasional friendly appreciation of the honesty of their lives, and the good quality of their work done; thankful for permission to worship God according to their conscience so long as they did it in a private house, and made no public fuss about it; thankful for permission to earn their daily bread by the dripping sweat of their brows; and, in general, to enjoy the common privileges of common life, except so far as occasional abridgment was demanded by the English Government, and submitted to by the Leyden authorities; the sober truth is that our fathers had a very hard time in Holland. They had heard that the American savages were in the habit of

flaying men alive with ye shells of fishes, cutting of ye members & joynts of others by pecsmeale, and broiling on ye coles, eate ye collops of their flesh in their sight whilst they live; with other cruelties horrible to be related;

yet, on the whole, they thought it wiser to risk all such wild Western "hospitalities," in exchange for those under which they groaned being burdened where they were; reversing Hamlet's philosophy, and flying to others that they knew not of, rather than longer to bear those ills they had.

The sons of the Pilgrims have great reason to be thankful to God that, in His all-

wise providence, He put their fathers to school in Holland on their way from Scrooby hither. Yet they have no special call to erect anywhere in that country—least of all in Delfshaven—any monument to commemorate a Dutch "hospitality" to the Plymouth men, unsuspected at the time, which it has taken near two centuries and three-quarters to discover. More than forty years ago the accurate George Sumner summed up his extended studies on the ground into this conclusion (*3 Mass. Hist. Coll.* 9 : 43) :

Although they [the Pilgrims] were far from exciting, on the part of the Dutch people and magistrates, those feelings of contempt and ill-will toward themselves, the existence of which has been so often charged by their enemies, yet *they were equally far from experiencing any excess of kind attention and magisterial favor. . . . The condition of the Pilgrims while in Holland was one of poverty and obscurity.*

The movement of the National Council to affix a suitably inscribed bronze tablet to the wall of St. Peter's in Leyden, in memory of the interment thereunder of John Robinson, and in recognition of his relation to the Christian settlement of New England, is open to none of these objections, and appeals tenderly to the religious and patriotic sympathies of the descendants of the old colonists all over the land.

THE CREATION STORY.

BY THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.

From *The Sunday-School Times*, Philadelphia, April 26, 1890.

IN recent controversies on the trustworthiness of the Scripture record, much has been thought to turn on the Creation Story; and the special and separate importance thus attached to it has given it a separate and prominent position in the public view. This constitutes in itself a reason for addressing ourselves at once to the consideration of it, apart from any more general investigation touching either the older Scriptures at large, or any of the books which collectively compose them.

But there are broader and deeper reasons for this separate consideration. It is suggested by the form which has been given to the relation itself. The narrative given with wonderful succinctness in the first chapter of the Book of Genesis, and in the first three verses of the second chapter, stands distinct in essential points from all that follows. It is a solitary and striking example of the detailed exposition of physi-

cal facts. For such an example we must suppose a purpose, and we have to inquire what that purpose was. Next, it seems, as it were, to trespass on the ground of science, and to assert a rival authority. And further, forming no part, unless toward its close, of the history of man, and nowhere touching on human action, it severs itself from the rest of the Sacred Volume, and appears more as a preface to the history than as a part of it.

And yet there are signs in subsequent portions of the volume that this tale of the Creation was regarded by the Hebrews as both authoritative and important; for it gave form and shape to portions of their literature in the central department of its devotions. Nay, traces of it may, perhaps, be found in the Book of Job (Job xxxviii.), where the Almighty challenges the patriarch on the primordial works of creation. More clearly in Psalm civ., where we have light, the firmament, the waters and their severance and confinement within bounds,—a succession the same as in Genesis. Then follow mixedly the animal and vegetable creations, and man as the climax crowns the series in verse 23. So in Psalm cxlviii. we have, first (vs. 1-6), the heavens, the heavenly bodies, and the atmosphere; then, again mixedly, the earth and the agents affecting it, with the animate population (vs. 7-10), and lastly man. There is some variation in the order of the details, but the idea of consecutive development, or evolution, is clearly impressed upon the whole. At a later date, and only known in the Greek tongue, we find a more nearly exact resemblance in the Song of the Three Children. The heavenly bodies and phenomena occupy the first division of the Song; then the earth is invoked to bless the Lord, with its mountains, vegetation, and waters; then the animate population of water, air, and land, in the order pursued in the first chapter of Genesis, with the same remarkable omission of the great kingdom of the Reptiles at their proper place. Then follow the children of men, and these fill the closing portion of the Song. The most noteworthy differences seem to be that there is no mention of the first beginnings of vegetation, and no supplemental notice, as in Genesis i. 24-30, of the reptiles.

But also the sun, moon, and stars, which are categorically placed later in Genesis than vegetation, precede in the Song any notice of the earth. Let not this difference be hastily called a discrepancy. Each mode is to be explained by considering the character and purpose of the composition. In Gen-

esis, it is a narrative; in the Song, it is a panorama. Genesis, as a rule, refers each of the great factors of the visible world to its due order of origin in time; the Song enumerates the particulars as they are presented to the eye in a picture, where the transcendent eminence of the heavenly bodies as they are, and especially of the sun, gives to this group a proper priority.

But this Creation Story may have an importance for us even greater than it had for the Hebrews, or than it could have in any of those ages when men believed, perhaps even too freely, in special modes of communication from the Deity to man, and had not a stock of courage or audacity enough to question the possibility of a Divine revelation. For we have now to bear in mind that the Book of Genesis generally contains a portion of human history, and that all human history is a record of human experience. It is not so with the introductory recital; for the contents of it lie outside of and anterior to the very earliest human experience. How came they then into the possession of a portion of mankind?

It is conceivable that a theory of Creation and of the ordering of the world might be bodied forth in poetry, or might under given circumstances be, as now, based on the researches of natural science.

But, in the first place, this recital cannot be due to the mere imagination of a poet. It is in a high degree, as we shall see, methodical and elaborate. And there is nothing either equalling or within many degrees approaching it, which can be set down to the account of poetry in other spheres of primitive antiquity, whatever their poetical faculty may have been. But the Hebrews do not appear to have cultivated or developed any poetical faculty at all, except that which was exhibited in strictly religious work, such as the devotions of the Psalms, and (principally) the discourses and addresses of the prophets.

As they were not, in a general sense, poetical, so neither were they in any sense scientific. By tradition and by positive records we know pretty well what kinds of knowledge were pursued in very early ages. They were most strictly practical. Take astronomy among the Chaldees, or medicine among the Egyptians. We may say with much confidence that there existed no science like geology, aiming to give a history of the earth. So there was no cosmogony, professing to convey a history of the *kosmos* as then understood, which may have included, with the earth, the sun, moon, stars, and atmosphere. When at a later date specula-

tion on physical origins began, it was rather on the primary idea than on any systematic arrangement or succession; nor had even the Greeks or Romans formulated any scheme in any degree approaching that of Genesis for order and method, so late as the time when they became acquainted with the Hebrew Scriptures through their translation into Greek. There is not, then, the smallest ground for treating the Mosaic cosmogony as the offspring of scientific inquiry. To speak of it as guesswork would be irrational. There were no materials for guessing. There was no purpose to be served by guessing. For a record of the formation of the world we find no purpose in connection with the ordinary necessities or conveniences of life. Not to mention that down to this day there exists no cosmogony which can be called scientific, though there are theories both ingenious and beautiful which apparently are coming to be more and more accepted; these, however, being of decidedly late origin even in the history of modern physics.

But, further, as the Tale of Creation is not poetry, nor is it science, so neither, according to its own aspect or profession, is it theory at all. The method here pursued is that of historical recital. The person who composes or transmits it seems to believe, and to intend others to believe, that he is dealing with matters of fact. But these matters of fact were, from the nature of the case, altogether inaccessible to inquiry, and impossible to attain by our ordinary mental faculties of perception or reflection, inasmuch as they date before the creation of our race. If it is, as it surely professes to be, a serious conveyance of truth, it can only be a communication from the Most High; a communication to man and for the use of man, therefore in a form adapted to his mind and to his use. If, thus considered, it is true, then it carries stamped upon it the proof of a Divine revelation; an assertion which cannot commonly be asserted, from the nature of the contents, as to this or that minute portion of Scripture at large. If, when thus considered, it is not true, we have to consider what account of it we are in a condition to give. I cannot say that to me this appears an easy undertaking. "If," says Professor Dana, "it be true that the narration in Genesis has no support in natural science, it would have been better for its religious character that all the verses between the first and those on the creation of man had been omitted."*

But the truth, or trueness, of which I speak, is truth or trueness as conveyed to, and comprehended by, the mind of man, and further by the mind of man in a comparatively untrained and infant state. I cannot, indeed, wholly shut out from view the possibility that gradual imperfections may have crept into the record. Setting aside, however, that possibility, let us consider the conditions of the case as they are exhibited to us by reasonable likelihood; for, if the communication were divine, we may be certain that it would on that account be all the more strictly governed by the laws of the reasonable.

In an address* of singular ability on "The Discord and Harmony between Science and the Bible," Dr. Smith, of the University of Virginia, has drawn some very important distinctions. In the department of natural science, and in the department of scriptural record, the question lies "between the present interpretation of certain parts of the Hebrew Scriptures, and the present interpretation of certain parts of nature" (*Ibid.*, p. 3). "We must not too hastily assume that either of these interpretations is absolute and final." "The science of one epoch is to a large extent a help which the science of the next uses and abandons." Dr. Smith points out as an example, that down to the early part of the present century Newton's projectile theory of light seemed to be firmly established, but that it has given place to the theory of undulation, "which has now for fifty years reigned in its stead." Hence, he observes, we should not be too much elated by the discovery of harmonies, nor should we receive with impatience the assertion of contradictions. Throughout it is probable, and not demonstrative, evidence, with which we are dealing. There should always be a certain element of reserve in our judgments on particulars; yet probable evidence may come indefinitely near to demonstration, and, even as, while falling short of it, it may morally bind us to action, so may it, on precisely the same principles, bind us to belief. What we have to do is to deal with the evidence before us according to a rational appreciation of its force. It may show, on this or that particular question the concord, or it may show the discord, between alleged facts of nature and alleged interpretations of Scripture; or it may leave the question open for want of sufficient evidence, either way, on which to ground a conclusion.

* "Creation." [By Professor Dana. Oberlin, O., 1885. Page 202.

* New York: Hatcham. The address is dated July 27, 1882.

It is by these principles, and under these limitations, that I desire to see the question tried in the terms in which I think it ought to be stated; namely, not whether the recitals in Genesis at each and every point have an accurately scientific form, but whether the statements of the Creation Story appear to stand in such a relation to the facts of natural science, so far as they have been ascertained, as to warrant or require our concluding that the statements have proceeded, in a manner above the ordinary manner, from the Author of the Creation itself.*

Those who maintain the affirmative of this proposition have by opponents been termed Reconcilers; and it is convenient, in a controverted matter, to have the power of reference, by a single word, to the proposers of any given opinion. The same rule of convenience may, perhaps, justify me in designating those who would assert the negative by the name of Contradictionists. The recorder of the Creation Story in Genesis I may designate by the name of the Mosaicist, or the Mosaic writer. This would not be reasonable if there were anything extravagant in the supposition that there is a groundwork of fact for the tradition which treats Moses as the author of the Pentateuch. But such a supposition, in whole or in part, is sustained by many and strong presumptions; and I bear in mind that Wellhausen, in his edition of Bleek, gives it as his opinion that there is a strong Mosaic element in the Pentateuch.

It does not seem too much to say that the conveyance of scientific instruction, as such, would not, under the circumstances of the case, be a reasonable object for the Mosaic writer to pursue; but that, on the other hand, it would be a reasonable object to convey to the mind of man, such as he actually was, a moral lesson drawn from and founded on that picture, that assemblage of created objects, which was before his eyes, and with which he lived in perpetual contact. We have, indeed, to consider both what lesson it would be most rational to convey, and by what method it would be most rational to stamp it as a living lesson on the mind by which it was to be received. And the question finally to be decided is not, whether, according to the present state of knowledge, the recital in the Book of Genesis is at each several point either pre-

cise or complete. It may here be general, there particular; it may here describe a continuous process, and it may there make large omissions, if the things omitted were either absolutely or comparatively immaterial to its purpose; it may be careful of the actual succession in time, or may deviate from it, according as the one or the other best subserved the general and principal aim; so that the true question, I must repeat, is this: Do the doctrines of the Creation Story in Genesis appear to stand in such a relation to the facts of natural science, so far as they are ascertained, as to warrant or require our concluding that the first proceeded, in a manner above the ordinary manner, from the Author of the visible creation?

What, then, may we conceive to have been the moral and spiritual lessons which the Mosaicist had to communicate, and not only to communicate, but to infuse or to impress? I venture on supposing that second to none among them would be these two: first, to teach man his proper place in creation in relation to its several orders, and thereby to prepare at least for the formation of the idea of relative duty as between man and other created beings; secondly, to exhibit to him, and by means of detail to make him know and feel, what was the beautiful and noble home that he inhabited, and with what a fatherly and tender care Providence had prepared it for him to dwell in. There was a picture before his eyes. That picture was filled with objects of nature, animate and inanimate. I say, one great aim may have been to make him know and feel by means of detail; for wholesale teaching, teaching in the lump, mostly ineffective even now, would have been preposterous then. It was needful to use the simplest phrases, that the primitive man might receive a conception, thoroughly faithful in broad outline, of what his Maker had been about on his behalf. So the Maker condescends to partition and set out his work in making the picture, and even—for this is the climax—to represent himself as resting after it; a declaration which is in no conflict with any scientific record, but which surely implies a license in the use of language never exceeded in any interpretation, reconciling or other, which has been applied to any part of the text of Genesis, and which draws its warrant wholly from the strong educative lesson that is to be learned from it.

It seems also probable that the Creation Story was intended to have a special bearing on the great institution of the day of

* See the attractive paper of Professor Pritchard, in his "Occasional Thoughts," Murray, 1889. He says, on page 261, "I cannot accept the Proem as being, or even as intended to be, an exact and scientific account of 'Creation,'" but adds that it "contains within it elements of that same sort of *superhuman aid or superintendence which is generally understood by the undefined term of inspiration.*"

rest, or Sabbath, by exhibiting it in the manner of an object lesson. Paley, indeed, has said that God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it (Gen. ii. 3), not at that time, but for that reason. He is a writer much to be respected, but this opinion cannot, I think, now be followed; especially since we have learned from Assyrian researches how many and how sharply traced are the vestiges of some early institution or command which in that region evidently gave a special sanctity to the number seven, and, in particular, to the seventh day.

Man then, childlike and sinless, had to receive a lesson such as this: It has not been by a slight or single effort that the nature in which you are moulded has been lifted to its present level; you have reached it by steps and degrees, and by a plan which, stated in rough outline, may stir your faculties, and help them onwards to the truth through the genial action of wonder, delight, and gratitude. This was a lesson, as it seems to me, perhaps quite large enough for the primitive man on the facts of creation, and one after hearing and digesting which he too might reasonably rest for generations. And it seems to me to have been vital to the efficiency of this lesson that it should have been sharply broken up into parts, although there might be in nature nothing, at the precise points of breakage or transition, to correspond with those divisions. They would become intelligible, significant, and useful on a comparison between the several processes in their developed state, and of the vast and measureless differences which in that state they severally present to contemplation. As, when a series of scenes are now made to move along before the eye of a spectator, his attention is not fixed upon the joints which divide them, but on the scenes themselves, yet the joints constitute a framework, as it were, for each, and the idea of each is made more distinct and lively than it would have been if without any note of division they had run into one another.

In order, then, to approach any attempt at comparison between the record of Scripture and the record of natural science, we must consider first, as far as reasonable presumption carries us, what is the object of the scientist, and what was the object of the Mosaic or Mosaic writer in the first chapter of Genesis.

The object of the scientist is simply to state the facts of nature in the cosmogony as he finds them. The object of the Mosaic writer is broadly distinct; it is, surely, to convey moral and spiritual training. This

training was to be conveyed to human beings of child-like temperament and of unproved understanding. It was his business to use those words which would best convey the lessons he had to teach, which would carry *most truth* into the minds of those taught. In speaking of the Mosaic writer, I would, without presumption, seek to include any divine impulse which may have prompted him, or may have dictated any communication from God to man, in whatever form it may have been conveyed. With this aim in view, words of figure, though literally untrue, might carry more truth home than words of fact; and words less exact will even now often carry more truth than words more exact. The truth to be conveyed was, indeed, in its basis physical, but it was to serve moral and spiritual ends, and accordingly by these ends the method of its conveyance behooved to be shaped and pictured.

I submit, then, that the days of creation are neither the solar days of twenty-four hours, nor are they the geological periods which the geologist himself is compelled popularly, and in a manner utterly remote from precision, to describe as millions upon millions of years. To use such language as this is simply to tell us that we have no means of forming a determinate idea upon the subject of the geologic periods. I set aside both these interpretations, as I do not think the Mosaicist intended to convey an idea like the first, which was false, or like the second, which would have been barren and unmeaning. Unmeaning, and even confusing in the highest degree; for large statements in figures are well known to be utterly beyond comprehension for man at an early intellectual stage; and I have myself, I think, shown* that, even among the Achaian or Homeric Greeks, the limits of numerical comprehension were extremely narrow, and all large numbers were used, so to speak, at a venture. It seems to me that the days of the Mosaicist are more properly to be described as CHAPTERS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CREATION. That is to say, the purpose of the writer in speaking of the days was the same as the purpose of the historian is when he divides his work into chapters. His object is to give clear and sound instruction. So that he can do this, and in order that he may do it, the periods of time assigned to each chapter are longer or shorter according as the one or the other may minister to better comprehension of his subject by his readers. Further, in point of chronology, his chapters often over-

* "Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age," Vol. III., Section on Number.

lap. He finds it needful, always keeping his end in view, to pursue some narrative to its close, and then, stepping backwards, to take up some other series of facts, although their exordium dated at a period of time which he has already traversed. The resources of the literary art, aided for the last four centuries by printing, enable the modern writer to confront more easily these difficulties of arrangement, and so to present the material to his reader's eye, in text or margin, as to place the texture of his chronology in harmony with the texture of the action he has to relate. The Mosaicist, in his endeavor to expound the orderly development of the visible world, had no such resources. His expedient was to lay hold on that which to the mind of his time was the best example of complete and orderly division. This was the day, an idea at once simple, definite, and familiar. As one day is divided from another not by any change visible to the eye at a given moment, yet effectually by the broad chasm of the intervening night, so were the stages of the creative work several and distinct, even if, like the lapse of time, they were without breach of continuity. Each had its work, each had the beginning and the completion of that work, even as the day is begun by its morning, and completed and concluded by its evening.

And now to sum up. In order that the narrative might be intelligible, it was useful to subdivide the work. This could most effectively be done by subdividing it into periods of time. And further, it was well to choose that circumscription or period of time which is the most definite. Of these the day is clearly the best, as compared with the month or the year,—first, because of its small and familiar compass; and, secondly, because of the strong and marked division which separates one day from another.

Hence, we may reasonably argue, it is that not here only, but throughout the Scripture, and even down to the present time in familiar human speech, the day is figuratively used to describe periods of time, perfectly undefined as such, but defined, for practical purposes, by the lives or events to which reference is made. And if it be said there was a danger of its being misunderstood in this particular case, the answer is that such danger of misapprehension attaches in various degrees to all use of figurative language; but figurative language is still used. And with reason, because the mischiefs arising from such danger are rare and trivial, in comparison with the force and clearness which it lends to truth on its

passage through a clouded atmosphere of folly, indifference, and prejudice, into the mind of man. In this particular case the danger and inconvenience are at their minimum, the benefit at its zenith; for no moral mischief ensues because some have supposed the days of the creation to be pure solar days of twenty-four hours, while the benefit has been that the grand conception of orderly development, and ascent from chaos to man, became among the Hebrew people a universal and familiar truth, of which other races appear to have lost sight.

I may now part from the important and long-vexed discussion on the Mosaic days. But I shall further examine the general question, what is the true method, what the reasonable spirit, of interpretation to be applied to the words of the Creation Story? I will state frankly my opinion that in this important matter too much has sometimes been conceded in modern days to the scientist and to the Hebraist, just as in former days too much was allowed to the unproved assumptions of the theologian. Now it is evident that the proper ground of the scientist and of the Hebraist respectively is unassailable as against those who are neither scientists nor Hebraists. On the meaning of the words used in the Creation Story, I, as an ignoramus, have only to accept the statements of Hebrew scholars, with gratitude for the aid received, and in like manner those of men skilled in natural science on the nature and succession of the orders of being, and the transitions from one to the other. Not that their statements are inerrable; but they constitute the best working material in our possession. Still they are the statements of men whose title to speak with authority is confined to their special province; and if we allow them without protest to go beyond it, and still to claim that authority beyond their own borders, we are much to blame, and may suffer for our carelessness.

I will now endeavor to illustrate and apply what has been said. The Hebraist says, I will conduct you safely (as far as the case allows) to the meaning of the Hebrew words. And the scientist makes the same promise in regard to the facts of the created orders, so far as they are exhibited by geological investigations into the crust of the earth. At first sight it may seem as if these two authoritative witnesses must cover the whole ground, each setting out from his own point of departure, the two then meeting in the midst, and leaving no unoccupied space between them. But my contention is that there is a ground which neither of them is

entitled to occupy in his character as a specialist, and on which he has no warrant for entering, except in so far as he is a just observer and reasoner in a much wider field. And what is the subject-matter still to be disposed of? Not the meaning of the Hebrew words. The Hebraist has already given us their true equivalents in English. We know, for example, that the "whales" of Genesis i. 21 are not whales at all, but that they are aquatic monsters or great creatures; while we learn from the biologist that the whale is a late mammal. So geology has acquainted us what are the relative dates of the water and of the land populations, and has supplied much information as to reptiles, birds, and beasts. But there remains a great uncovered ground and a great unsolved question. It is this. Given the facts as the geologist is led to state them, given the Hebrew tongue as the instrument through which the relator has to work, what are the terms, and what is the order and adjustment of terms, through which he can convey most of truth and force, with least of encumbrance and of impediment, to the mind of man in the condition in which he had to deal with it? Let me be permitted to say that the only specialism that can be of the smallest value here is that of the close observer of human nature; of the student of human action, and of the methods which divine Providence employs in the circuit of its dealings with men. Certainly I can lay no claim to be heard here more than any other person. Yet will I say, that any man whose labor and duty for several scores of years has included as their central point the study of the means of making himself intelligible to the mass of men, is in a far better position to judge what would be the forms and methods of speech proper for the Mosaic writer to adopt, than the most perfect Hebraist as such, or the most consummate votary of natural sciences as such.

I will now endeavor to try some portions of the case which turn upon verbal difficulty. At the outset of the narrative the relator says that "the earth was without form and void" (Gen. i. 2), and that "the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." But how is this? says the Hebraist. The Hebrew word for earth means earth, and the word used for water never means anything except water. But, according to the beautiful theory which has of late won so largely the adhesion of the scientific world, and which seems to be mainly called the nebular theory, at the commencement of the process which Genesis describes, and

in its early stages, there was no earth, and there were no waters. Is the relator here really at fault? It seems to me that it might be as easy to cavil at the phrase nebular theory, though it be one in use among scientific men, as it is to find fault with these words of Genesis; for we seem to have for our point of departure a time when all the elements and all the forces of the visible universe were in chaotic mixture, whereas there could hardly be a *nebula*, or vaporous cloud, until they had begun to be disengaged from one another. How, then, are we to judge of the use of the word "earth" by the Mosaic writer? Is it not thus? He is dealing with an Adam, or with a primitive race of men, who have the earth under their eyes. He wants to give them an idea of its coming into existence. And he says what we may fairly paraphrase in this way: that which has now become earth, and was then becoming earth, the solid, well-defined form you see, was as yet without form and void; epithets which, I am told, might be improved upon, but this is a matter by the way.

So again with respect to water. The men for whom the relator wrote knew, perhaps, of no fluid except water, at any rate of none vast and practically measureless in volume. What was the idea he had to convey? It was not the special and distinctive character of the liquid called water; it was the broad separation between solid as such, familiar, firm, immovable under his feet, and fluid as such, movable and fluctuating at large in space. No doubt the idea conveyed by the word "waters" is an imperfect idea, although waters are still waters at times when they may be holding vast quantities of solid in solution. But it was an idea easy, clear, and familiar up to the point of expressing forcibly the contrast between the ancient state of things, with its weltering waste, and the recent and defined conditions of the habitable earth. Could we ask of the relator more than that he should employ, among the words at his disposal, that which would best convey a true idea? And had he any word so good as "water" for his purpose, though it was but an approximation to the actual fact? Dr. Driver describes the scene as that of a "surging chaos." An admirable phrase, I make no doubt, for our modern and cultivated minds, but a phrase which, in my judgment, would have left the pupils of the Mosaic writer exactly in the condition out of which it was his purpose to bring them; namely, a state of utter ignorance and total darkness, with possibly a little ruffle of bewilderment to boot.

Another description claiming high authority is, an "uncompounded, homogeneous, gaseous condition" of matter,—to which the same observation will apply. Even now, it is only by rude and bald approximations that the practised intellects of our scientists can convey a conception of the actual process by which *chaos* passed into *kosmos*, or, in other words, confusion became order, medley became sequence, seeming anarchy became majestic law, and horror softened into beauty. Before censuring the Mosaist, who had to deal with grown children, let the adverse critic try his hand upon a little child. I believe he will find that the method and language of this relator are not only good, but superlatively good, for the aim he had in view if once for all we get rid of standards of interpretation other than the genuine and just one, which tests the means employed by their relation to the end contemplated.

I now approach a larger head of objection, which is usually handled by the Contradictionists in a tone of confidence rising into the pæan of triumph. But let me, before presuming to touch on objections to particulars of the Creation Story, guard myself against being supposed to put forward any portion of what follows as unconditional assertion, or final comment on the text. The general situation is this: Objectors do not hesitate to declare dogmatically that the Great Chapter is in contradiction with the laws and facts of nature, and that attempts to reconcile them are futile and irrational. It is thus sought to close the question. My aim is to show that the question is not closed, and that the condemnation pronounced upon the Mosaist is premature. For this purpose I offer conjecturally, and in absolute submission to all that biology and geology, or other forms of science, have established, replies which are strictly provisional, but replies which I consider that the Contradictionist ought, together with other and weightier replies, to confute or legitimately to consider before he can be warranted in asserting the contradiction. But I proceed.

How hopeless is the cry to reconcile Genesis with fact, when, as a fact, the sun is the source of light, and yet, in Genesis, light is the work of the first day, and vegetation of the third, while sun, moon, and stars appear only on the fourth! Nay, worse still. Whereas the morning and the evening depend wholly on the motion of the earth round the sun, the Mosaist is so ignorant that he gives us not days only, but the morning and the evening of days before

the sun is created. And so his narration explodes, not by blows aimed at it from without, but by its own internal self-contradictions. It is hissed, like a blundering witness, out of court.

The first triad of days, says Professor Dana ("Creation," p. 207), sets forth the events connected with the inorganic history of the earth. The second triad, from the fourth day to the sixth, is occupied with the events of the organic history, from the creation of the first animal to man. He finds in the general structure of the narrative a considerable degree of elaboration, an arrangement full of art. The passage from verse 14 to verse 19 is in one sense a qualification of the order he thinks to have been laid down, inasmuch as the heavenly bodies belong to the inorganic division of the history. From another point of view, however, this arrangement contributes in a marked manner to the symmetry of the narrative. The first triad of days begins with the first and gradual detachment of light from the "surging chaos;" the second, at the stage in which light had reached its final distribution. The central mass had assumed with regularity its spherical and luminous figure, after shedding off from itself the minor masses, each to find for itself its own orbit of rotation. Or, if we are to assume that the photosphere or light envelope of the earth itself had obstructed the vision of the sun, we have, further, to assume* that this obstacle had now disappeared, and the visibility of the sun was established. So that light, or the light-power, while diffused, ushers in the first division of the mighty process; the same light-power, concentrated by the operation of the rotatory principle, and for practical purposes become such as we now know it, is placed at the head of the second division, the division that deals with organic life.

It is remarkable that the subject of light is the only one which is dealt with in two separate sections of the narrative. The gradual severance, or disengagement, of the earth from its vesture, the atmosphere, and of the solid land from the ocean, are continuously handled in verses 6-10. Each of the processes is summed up into its grand result, as if it had been a violent, convulsive, instantaneous act. The avoidance of all attempt to explain the process seems to me only a proof of the wisdom which guided the formation of the tale. To the primitive man it would have become a barren puzzle; the wood must have been lost in

* Guyot, "Creation," X., p. 92.

the trees. As it now stands, mental confusion is avoided, and definite ideas are conveyed.

There seems, however, to be a special reason for the introduction of the heavenly bodies at this particular place. It was evidently needful at some place or other to give a specific account of the day, or compartment of time, which is employed to mark the severance of the different stages of creation from each other. At what point of the narrative could this account be most properly and most accurately introduced? In order to answer this question, let us consider the situation rather more at large.

The supposition is, that we set out with a seething mass that contains all the elements which are to become the solids and liquids, the moist and dry, the heat and the non-heat or cold, the light and the non-light or darkness, that so largely determine the external conditions of our present existence. By degrees, as, according to the rarity or density of parts, the centripetal or the centrifugal force prevails, the huge bulk of the sun consolidates itself in the centre, and aggregations of matter (rings, according to Guyot,* which afterward become spheres), are detached from it to form the planets, under the agency of the same mechanical forces; all or some of them, in their turn, dismissing from their as yet ill-compacted surfaces other subaltern masses to revolve around them as satellites, or otherwise to take their course in space. Meantime, the great cooling process, which is still in progress at this day, has begun, and proceeds at a rate determined for it by its particular conditions, among which mass and motion are of essential consequence; for, other things being equal, a small body will cool faster and a large body will cool slower; and a body moving more rapidly through space of a lower temperature than its own will cool more rapidly; while one which is stationary, or which diffuses heat less rapidly from its surface into the colder space, will retain a high temperature longer. Owing to these or other causes, the temperature of the earth-surface has been adapted to the conditions of human life, and of the more recent animal life, for a very long time; to those of the earlier animals, and of vegetation in its different orders, for we know not how much longer; while the sun, though gradually losing some part of his stock of caloric, still remains at a temperature inordinately high.

Considering, then, what are the relations

between the conditions of heat and those of moisture, and how the coatings of vapor—"the swaddling-band of cloud"—might affect the visibility of bodies, may it not be rash to affirm that the sun is, as a definite and compact body, older than the earth? or that the Mosaicist might not properly treat the visibility of the sun, in its present form, as best marking for man the practical inception of his existence? or that, with heat, light, soil, and moisture ready to its service, primordial vegetation might not exist on the surface of a planet like the earth, before the sun had fully reached his matured condition of compact, material, well-defined figure, and of visibility to the eye? May not, in short, the establishment of the relation of visibility between earth and sun be the most suitable point for the relator in Genesis to bring the two into connection? And here again I would remind the reader that the Mosaic days may be chapters in a history; and that not in despite of the law of series, but with a view to its best practicable application, the chapters of a history may overlap.

The priority of earth to sun, as given in the narrative, carries us as far as this, that vegetative work (of what kind I shall presently inquire) was proceeding on the surface of the earth before any relation of earth with sun is declared. It is then declared in the terms, "And God *made* two great lights" (v. 16). Now the *making* of earth is nowhere declared, but only implied. And who shall say that there is some one exact point of time in the continuous process which (according to the nebular theory) reaches from the first beginning of rotation down to the present condition of the solar system, to which point, and to which alone, the term "making" must belong? But, unless there be such a point, it seems very difficult to convict the Mosaic writer of error in the choice he has made of an opportunity for introducing the heavenly bodies into his narrative.

I suppose that no apology is needed for his mentioning the moon and the stars as accessories in the train of the sun, and combining them all without note of time, although their several "makings" may have proceeded at different speeds. But here again we find exhibited that principle of relativity to man and his uses, by which the writer in Genesis appears so wisely to steer his course. We are told of "two great lights" (v. 16); and one of them is the moon. The formation of the stars is inter-

* "Creation," pp. 67, 73.

* Dana, "Creation," p. 210.

jected soon after, as if comparatively insignificant. But the stars individually are in themselves far greater and more significant than the moon, which is denominated a great light. In what sense is the moon a great light? Only in virtue of its relation to us. So, then, the general upshot is, that the mention of the sun is introduced at that point in the cosmogonic process when, from the condition of our form and atmosphere, or of his, or of both, he had become so definite and visible as to be finally efficient for his office of dividing day from day, and year from year; that the planets, being of an altogether secondary importance, simply appear as his attendant company; and that to the moon, a body in itself comparatively insignificant, is awarded a rather conspicuous place which, if objectively considered, is out of proportion, but which at once falls into line when we acknowledge relatively as the basis of the narrative, by reason of the great importance of the functions which this satellite discharges on behalf of the inhabitants of the earth.

Next, it is alleged that we have days with an evening and a morning before we have a sun to supply a measure of time for them. Doubtless there could be no approach to anything like an evening and a morning, so long as light was uniformly diffused. But under the nebular theory, the work of the first day implies an initial concentration of light; and, from the time when light began to be thus powerfully concentrated, would there not be an evening and a morning, though imperfect, for any revolving solid of the system, according as it might be turned toward, or from, the centre of the highest luminosity?

But we have not yet emerged from the net of the Contradictionist, who lays hold on the vegetation verses (vs. 11, 12) to impeach the credit of the Creation Story. The objection here becomes twofold. First, we have vegetation anterior to the sun; and, secondly, this is not merely an aquatic vegetation for the support of aquatic life, nor merely a rude and primordial vegetation such as that of and before the coal-measures, but a vegetation complete and absolute, including fern-grass, then the herb-yielding seed, and, lastly, the fruit-tree, yielding fruit after its kind, whose seed is in itself. Here is the food of mammals and of man provided, when neither of them was created, or was about to exist, until after many a long antecedent stage of lower life had found its way into creation and undertaken its office there.

First, as regards vegetation before the

sun's performance of his present function in the heavens is announced. There were light and heat, atmosphere with its conditions of moist and dry, soil prepared to do its work in nutrition. Can there be ground for saying that, with such provision made, vegetation could not take place? Let us, for argument's sake, suppose that the sun could now recede into an earlier condition, could go back by some few stages of that process through which he became our sun; his material less compact, his form less well defined, his rays more intercepted by the "swaddling band" of cloud and vapor. Vegetation might be modified in character, but must it therefore cease? May we not say that a more violent paradox would have been exhibited, and a sounder objection would have lain, had the Mosaic writer failed to present to us at least an initial vegetation before the era at which the sun had fully obtained the definite spherical form, and the conditions for the transmission of his rays had reached substantially their present state?

But then, it is fairly observed that the vegetation as described is not preparatory and initial, but full-formed, and that any tracing of vegetation anterior to life in the strata is ambiguous and obscure. In the age of Protozoa, the earliest living creatures, the indications of plants are not determinable, according to the high authority of Sir J. W. Dawson. It is observed by Canon Driver "that the proof from science of the existence of plants before animals is inferential and *à priori*."* Guyot holds a directly contrary opinion, and says the present remains indicate a large presence of infusorial protophytes in the early seas.† But let the point be conceded. Undoubtedly all *à priori* assumptions ought, in inquiries of this kind, to be watched with the utmost vigilance and jealousy. Still there are limits beyond which vigilance and jealousy cannot push their claims. Is there anything strange in the supposition that the comparatively delicate composition of the first vegetable structures should have given way and become indiscernible to us, amid the shock and pressure of firmer and more durable material? The flesh of the mammoth has, indeed, been preserved to us, and eaten by dogs in our own time, coming down from ages which we have no means of measuring; but then it was not exposed to the same pressure, and subsisted under conditions of temperature which were adequately antiseptic.

* "The Cosmogony of Genesis," in *The Expositor*, January, 1886, p. 29.

† "Creation," X., p. 90.

tic. But has all palæozoic life been ascertained by its flesh, or do we not owe our knowledge of many among the earlier forms of animated life to their osseous structures? And, in cases where only bone remains, is it an extravagant use of argument *à priori* to hold that there must have been flesh also? And, if flesh, why not vegetable matter? Canon Driver, indeed, observes* that from a very early date animals preyed upon animals. Still the first animal could not prey upon himself; there must have been vegetable *pabulum* out of which an animal body was first constructed. "Before the beasts," says Sir George Stokes, "came the plants, plants which are necessary for their sustenance."†

Next, with respect to the objection that the vegetation of the eleventh and twelfth verses is a perfected vegetation, and that there existed no such vegetation before animal life began. But why are we to suppose that the Mosaic writer intended to say such a vegetation did exist before animal life began? For no other reason than this: having mentioned the first introduction of vegetable life, he carries it on without breaking his narrative to its completion. In so proceeding, he does exactly what the historian does when, for the sake of clearer comprehension, he brings one series of events from its inception to its close, although in order of time the beginning only, and not the completion, belongs to the epoch at which he introduces it. What I have called the rule of relativity, the intention, namely, to be intelligible to man, seems to show the reason of his arrangement. If his meaning was, "the beautiful order of trees, plants, and grasses which you see around you had its beginnings in the era when living creatures were about to commence their movements in the waters and on the earth, and all this was a part of the fatherly work of God on your behalf"—such meaning was surely well expressed, expressed after a sound and workmanlike fashion, in the text of the Creation Story as it stands.

I will next notice the objection that the Mosaic writer takes (according to the received version) no notice of the great age of reptiles, but passes at once from the creation of marine animals (v. 20) to the fowl that may "fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven." He thus passes over without notice the amphibians, the reptiles proper, the insects, and the marsupial or early mammals, on his way to the birds. It is added that he brackets the birds with the

fishes, and thus makes them of the same date.

It is requisite here to observe, with respect to birds, that Professor Dana* writes of the narrative in Genesis as follows: "The accordance is exact with the succession made out for the earliest species of these grand divisions, if we except the division of birds, about which there is doubt."

Owen, however, in his "Palæontology,"† places animal life in six orders; namely:

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|-------------------|-------------|
| 1. Invertebrates. | 4. Birds. |
| 2. Fishes. | 5. Mammals. |
| 3. Reptiles. | 6. Man. |

In the more recent "Manual" of Professor Prestwich (1886), the order of seniority stands as follows:

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|-------------------------|-------------|
| 1. Cryptogamous Plants. | 4. Mammals. |
| 2. Fishes. | 5. Man. |
| 3. Birds. | |

In the "Manual"‡ of Etheridge we are supplied with the following series, after fishes: 1. Fossil reptiles. 2. Ornithosauria: "*Flying animals, which combined the character of reptiles with those of birds.*" 3. The first birds of the secondary rocks, with "feathers in all respects similar to those of existing birds." 4. Mammals.

It thus appears that much turns on the definition of a bird, and that it is hard, on the evidence thus presented, seriously to impeach the character of the Creation Story. Largely viewed, the place of birds, as an order in creation, is given us by our scientific teachers, or by many among them, between fishes and the bulk of mammals. It is a gratuitous assumption that the Mosaicist intends to assign to them the same date as fishes; he places them in the same day, but then we have to bear in mind that he more than once gives several actions to the same day. H sets them after the fishes; and the fairer construction surely is, not that they were contemporaneous, but that they were subsequent. He forbears, it is true, to notice amphibious reptiles, insects, and marsupials. And why? All these, variously important in themselves, fill no large place, some of them no place at all, in the view and in the concerns of primitive man; and, having man for his object, he forbears, on his guiding principle of relativity, to encumber his narrative with them.

If it be true that the demarcation of the order of birds in creation is less sharply drawn than that (for example) of fishes and of mammals, may we not be permitted to

* The Expositor, p. 29.

† Letter to Mr. Elllein, August 14, 1883.

* "Creation," as before, p. 215.

† Second edition, 1861, p. 5.

‡ "Phillips's Manual of Geology," Part II., by R. Etheridge, F.R.S., Chap. XXV., pp. 511-520.

trace a singular propriety in the diminution, so to speak, of emphasis with which the Mosaicist gives to their introduction a more qualified emphasis, by simply subjoining them (v. 20) to the aquatic creation?

I have now made bold to touch on the principal objections popularly known. They run into details which it has not been possible fully to notice, but which seem to have no force, except what they derive from the illegitimate process of holding down the Mosaic writer in his narration, so short, so simple, so sublime, by restraints which the ordinary historian, though he has plenty of auxiliary expedients, and is under no restraint of space, finds himself obliged to shake off, if he wishes to be understood. On the introduction of the great or recent mammals, and of man, as the objector is silent, I remain silent also.

It would be uncandid, however, not to notice the "creeping thing" of verses 24, 25, and 26. In these verses the "creeping thing" is distinguished from cattle, and undoubtedly appears upon the scene as if it were a formation wholly new. If the Mosaicist really intended to convey that this was the first appearance of the creeping thing in creation, there is, I suppose, no doubt that he is at war with the firmly established witness of natural science. Guyot, indeed, says* that these creeping things are not reptiles, but are the smaller mammals, rats, mice, and the like. If, however, the common rendering be maintained, it may be just worth while to suggest a possible explanation. It is as follows: These creeping things were a very minor fact for creation, so that the purpose of the relator, and the relative importance of the facts, may here, as elsewhere, govern his mode of handling them. It is fit to be observed that he never mentions insects at all,—as if they were too insignificant to find a place among the larger items of his account, as if he selected his materials, and sifted off the less important of them. And there does seem to be some license or looseness in his method of treating these creeping things; for while he severs them from fish, fowl, and beast, in the verses I have named, and, again, in verse 30, from fowl and from beast, yet in verse 28, when the great charter of dominion is granted to man, he sums up in three divisions only, and makes man the lord "over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth." Reptiles appear to have passed out of his view, either wholly,

or so far as not to deserve separate mention; and it may seem likely that he did not think their importance such as to call for a particular and defined place, and did not mean to give them such a place, in the chronological order of creation.

If, on the whole, such be a fair statement of arguments and results, we may justly render our thanks to Dana, Guyot,* Dawson, Stokes, and other scientific authorities, who seem to find no cause for supporting the broad theory of contradiction. I am well aware of my inability to add an atom of weight to their judgments. Yet I have ventured to attempt applying to this great case what I hold to be the just laws of a narrative intended to instruct and to persuade, and thus finding a key to the true construction of the chapter. For myself, I cannot but at present remain before and above all things impressed with the profound and marvellous wisdom which has guided the human instrument, whether it were pen or tongue, which was first commissioned from on high, to hand onward for our admiration and instruction this wonderful, this unparalleled relation. And I submit to my readers that my words were not wholly idle words, when, without presuming to lay down any universal and inflexible proposition, and without questioning any single contention of persons specially qualified, I said that the true question was whether the words of the Mosaic writer, taken as a whole, do not stand, according to our present knowledge, in such a relation to the facts of nature as to warrant and require thus far the conclusion that the Ordainer of Nature, and the Giver or Guide of the Creation Story, are one and the same.

London, England.

THE CENTRAL COUNCIL REFUSE TO ENFORCE A CREED-CONDITION OF MEMBERSHIP UPON THE ORDER OF THE KING'S DAUGHTERS.

From *The Churchman* (Episcopalian), New York, April 19, 1890.

To the Editor of THE CHURCHMAN :

ON reading the article published in *THE CHURCHMAN* of March 29, entitled "Central Council of the King's Daughters Di-

* In the Preface to Guyot's "Creation" will be found some account of the recent literature of his subject. I must also mention a valuable pamphlet entitled "The Higher Criticism," by Mr. Rust, Rector of Westerfield, Suffolk. It sets forth the scope of the negative criticism, and recommends (p. 30) to "have patience for a while, and wait to see the issue."

vided," we feel it to be incumbent upon us, who now constitute the "Central Council," to make plain to the public the position which we maintain concerning membership in the order of "The King's Daughters." We would state that the Central Council is composed of women who, without exception, entertain Trinitarian views. Hence it is apparent that the differences of opinion among us were not founded upon variance in belief. We differed only in judgment as to the requirements which should be exacted of persons desiring to enter the Order. The question was briefly the following:

"Should persons desiring to enter the Order be admitted only on their avowed acceptance of the so-called Apostles' Creed, or should their desire to unite in work with us be recognized as an acknowledgment of their love to God and their wish to serve In His Name?"

The Council decided that their responsibility was to God and not to the Council, and that each soul must decide for itself whether it held such a relation to Christ as would justify its entrance into our ranks. This was in exact accordance with our Constitution, which expressly admits all "who hold themselves responsible to the King, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

In deciding that no creed conditions of membership should be adopted, the Council recognized that to the Church belongs the power to formulate and to demand adherence to creeds. It did not feel itself empowered to assume church prerogatives, but desired its members to be guided theologically by their chosen rectors and pastors. It did not establish new work, but identified itself everywhere with Church labors and interests. And, while we know that the various Christian activities in the churches have been increased through the efforts of the Order, we have also seen by its influence many wavering souls won to allegiance to Christ. For such seeking souls we have not dared to enforce conditions more exclusive in effect than were those imposed by the Lord upon His chosen apostles. To them He said, "Follow me." Taking the Lord's teaching as the guide of the Order, we have invited all persons who recognize their responsibility to Him, and were willing to follow Him, to join us in various forms of service undertaken in His name.

Our Constitution embodies the above thought in its article of membership, and the growing usefulness of the Order, and the increase of spiritual life among the members, testify to its acceptance by God as an agency for good to His creatures.

The religious attitude of the Order of The King's Daughters is to-day exactly what it was in the beginning of its existence, nor have its articles of membership been modified to meet the demand of any denomination.

A great injustice is expressed by your correspondent in the article of March 29, both to the Unitarians and to the Central Council. We quote: "A number of Unitarian ladies in Boston protested against the evangelical attitude of the Central Council." On this point, truth compels us to say that no such protest was ever received by the Council. One Unitarian, representing others (we do not know how many), sent to the Council a letter of inquiry so noble in spirit and word as to be a model for us all. In this letter it is expressly stated that they, our few Unitarian members who had come to us in the beginning, had "always recognized that the Council was evangelical; and that they did not wish to see their views adopted or endorsed by the Council." They only desired to know if we had decided to thrust out, or to refuse thereafter to admit, any who did not hold our own view of the Ever Blessed Trinity.

They never hinted at a desire for us to change from our recognized evangelical basis. On the contrary, they said, "The original basis is more than grand. It is the highest lesson of Christian charity the world has ever seen. It respects the individual conviction of its members, yet unites all in the following of the Master."

Your correspondent continues: "To satisfy them (the Unitarians) the Constitution must be interpreted in an unevangelical sense, and all literature inconsistent with such interpretation must be suppressed."

Now the resolution to amend the leaflets in circulation was not passed to satisfy any complainants, neither was it formed, as THE CHURCHMAN states, "in compliance with Unitarian requests," since no Unitarian ever made such request. But a statement in one of the leaflets seemed to claim the right to put out, or to refuse to admit, members who did not accept the theological views of the Council. This leaflet, offered in the early days of the Order, was allowed to pass into its literature unquestioned, since it embodied the Council's views, but with no thought of its being considered an attempt to thrust a creed condition of membership upon an Order already formed on the simple basis of love and service in the Name of Christ. When we found it being interpreted as an official assumption of authority, the leaflet was carefully and prayerfully considered,

with the result expressed in the following resolution: "Whereas, the Order of 'The King's Daughters' has been the outgrowth of the union and co-operation of persons who, without regard to theological differences of belief, have held in common the desire, in the name and for the love of Christ, to serve the world by the development of spiritual life and the promotion of Christian activity; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That, although the members of the Central Council, individually, accept the 'Apostles' Creed,' they have no authority to require from others, as a condition of membership in the Order, adherence to any formulated creed or to any special theological tenet; such an act being foreign to the spirit of the Order and inconsistent with its origin and purpose, as stated in the first and second circulars, which were the invitation of the Central Council to the women of the world to unite with them to do the Master's work.

"And that it be forever understood by persons now associated in the Order, and by those who may hereafter desire to join its numbers, that the Order of 'The King's Daughters' is a Christian Sisterhood of Service, actuated by love to the King, but bound together by no required formula of doctrinal faith. And be it further

"*Resolved*, That all or any literature provided by the Central Council for the use of the Order, which commits its members to the acceptance of a formulated creed or to a specially stated theological doctrine, be immediately amended by the Committee on Publication or withdrawn from circulation.

"Christ, not dogma, shall be the teaching of the Order.

"Mrs. Margaret Bottome, president; Miss Kate Bond, vice-president; Mrs. Mary L. Dickinson, general secretary; Miss Georgia H. Libby, treasurer; Mrs. Isabella Charles Davis, corresponding secretary; Miss Margaret Barker; Mrs. Grace Ruggles.

"N. B.—Twelve votes cast: seven yeas, five nays."

Examination of the leaflet quoted by your correspondent will show distinctly that "the foundation upon which the Order rests is Jesus Christ our Lord," in whose name and by whose power and to whose glory all our work is done. The sentences omitted from this leaflet did not, in the opinion of the Central Council, accord with our Constitutional position, and were therefore stricken out.

The article in *THE CHURCHMAN* again makes an incorrect statement with regard to our non-creed declaration. It says:

"Notwithstanding this protest, the work of the Central Council of transferring the Order from an evangelical to an Unitarian platform went on." We positively assert that the Order of The King's Daughters stands to-day where it has stood from the beginning. No member of the present Central Council has at any time desired to change its platform. Personal responsibility, loyal allegiance and loving service to the King, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, has always been its teaching, and neither the Council, nor the members of the Order, have desired to build upon any other foundation. The agitation in the Central Council was from within and not from without, and the only change proposed was a transference of the Order from its broad foundation, Jesus Christ alone, to a foundation of theological tenet and dogma. The Central Council has "neither transferred itself, nor the Order, from an evangelical to an Unitarian platform," but it did and does refuse to arrogate to itself the authority to enforce any creed condition of membership upon the Order, or to constitute itself the judge of the relationship of any soul to God.

We learn further, by *THE CHURCHMAN*, "that every effort was made by the Protestants to re-establish the Order upon a position deserving the sanction and co-operation of evangelical pastors and the religious press."

We can only reply that efforts to re-establish that which had never been moved from its foundation would naturally fail; and that both pastors and press seem to have waited for such attacks as that of your correspondent to open their eyes to the "undeserving" character of our work. It is only just to state that no less than four of the seven who signed the protest unite with the resolutionists in characterizing the attack as "misleading and liable to produce false impressions"—and in declaring it "to have been made without their knowledge or consent." Indeed, notwithstanding their difference in opinion, so great has been the respect and affection of these members of the Council for each other, and so great their mutual love for the work, that any effort to injure or destroy it should not be attributed to them, surprising and sad as it seems to find such effort made on the same page, that calls our "Christian lives and beliefs pure, true and beautiful," and "values the privileges of uniting with us in work."

Perhaps we cannot better declare the continued purposes of the Order than by again

quoting from your article. "Upon that solid rock (Christ Jesus) we of various denominational beliefs agreed to unite hand to hand, heart to heart, putting aside all differences of sectarian view in order that we might lead the thousands of women and girls enrolled under our banner to a larger Christian activity and deeper consecration to Him."

What the Order proposed to accomplish in the outset of its organization it still will aim to do. We deeply regret that a creed issue should have been made by our friends in the Council; but we believe it just to ourselves and to the Order at large to state that our Constitution remains unchanged, and that the Order exists to-day, a Christian Order, bound together to serve our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as we enrolled ourselves to do when the beautiful thought of united Christian service first crystallized into circles "The King's Daughters."

The Standing Committees will continue to work in our organization as heretofore, and, although other Christian women may preside over these committees, we believe that Christian work in home and foreign missions, in Churches and Sunday-schools, as well as in the philanthropic movements of the land, will continue to increase in power through the co-operation of the Order.

Hoping the readers of this statement will recognize the true status of the Order, and will understand that the existing Central Council has made no change in the teachings or requirements of its members, but has adhered to its original principle, Christ our personal King, we remain In His Name,

(Signed.)

MRS. MARGARET BOTTOME,
President;

MISS KATE BOND,
Vice-President;

MRS. MARY L. DICKINSON,
General Secretary;

MRS. ISABELLA CHARLES DAVIS,
Corresponding Secretary;

MRS. GRACE B. RUGGLES,
Recording Secretary;

MISS G. H. LIBBY,
Treasurer;

MISS MARGARET BARKER,

MRS. SETH LOW,

MRS. A. S. BARNES,

MRS. DAVID H. GREER,

The Central Council of the King's Daughters.

THE TRUE PROPORTION IN A CREED BETWEEN THE UNIVERSAL AND THE SPECIAL LOVE OF GOD.

BY W. G. T. SHEDD, D.D., LL.D.

From *The Presbyterian Journal*, Philadelphia, May 8, 1890.

It is objected that insufficient emphasis is laid in the Westminster Confession upon the universal offer of mercy, and the common call to faith and repentance, and some even contend that these are not contained in it. Advocates of Revision demand that these doctrines shall be more particularly enunciated than they now are, and complain that much more is said concerning the electing love of God in the effectual call, than upon His indiscriminate love in the outward call. In reply to this we mention the three following reasons why the Westminster Confession, in common with all the Reformed creeds, is more full and emphatic regarding the special love of God toward His Church than regarding His general love toward the world.

First, The Scriptures themselves are more full and emphatic in the first reference than in the last. A careful examination of the Old and New Testaments will show that while the universal compassion of God toward sinful men is plainly and frequently taught, yet it is the relation of God as the Saviour of His people that constitutes the larger proportion of the teachings of the Prophets, the Psalms, the Gospels, and the Epistles. These parts of Scripture are full of God's dealings with His covenant people, instructing them, expostulating with them, rebuking them, comforting them, helping them—expressing in these and other ways His special love and affection for them, as those whom He has chosen before the foundation of the world. Throughout the Bible, men universally are invited to believe and repent. No one disputes this. This is God's universal love. But whenever the love of God is particularly enlarged upon, carefully delineated, and repeatedly emphasized, in the great majority of instances it is His electing love. The Confession therefore follows the Scriptures in regard to the *proportion* of doctrine, when it puts the mercy of God toward His people in the foreground. And to object to this proportion is to object to divine revelation.

Second, The electing love of God and His special grace naturally has the foremost place in the Confession as in Scripture, because it is the only love and grace that is *successful* with the sinner. The universal

love of God in His outward call and common grace is a failure, because it is inadequate to overcome the enmity and resistance with which man meets it. While therefore the sacred writers represent the common call as prompted by the compassion of God toward the sinner, and expressive of His sincere desire that he would hear it, and as aggravating his persistence in the sin of which a free pardon is offered, yet inasmuch as it yields no saving and blessed results, they see no reason for making it the principal and prominent part of the Divine oracles. But that electing love in the effectual call and irresistible grace, which overcomes the aversion of the sinner and powerfully inclines his hostile will, inasmuch as it is the principal work of God in the human heart, becomes the principal subject of discourse for "the holy men of God who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." They dwell rather on the special grace that triumphs over human depravity, than on the common grace that is defeated by it.

Third, The universal offer of mercy is not emphasized and enlarged upon in the Confession, because it is *superfluous*. That the offer of mercy in Christ is universal goes without saying; because if offered at all it *must* be offered universally. It is impossible to offer the atonement of Christ only to the elect. No man knows who are the elect, and therefore the ambassador of Christ must offer salvation to everybody or else to nobody. Any offer at all must, from the nature of the case, be unlimited. Why, therefore, waste words in a creed to declare what must be as a matter of course?

If it be objected that God knows who are the elect, and that it is inconsistent in *Him* to make a universal offer of mercy through an ignorant agent like a Christian minister, when He does not purpose to regenerate and save every individual man, this is a difficulty for Him, not for man. It is certainly consistent for man to offer mercy indiscriminately because he does not know who are the elect, even if it is not for God, because He does know. But is it inconsistent for God? What are the facts in relation to God? He offers mercy to a man in the outward call, and accompanies this call with that degree of grace denominated "common." The man despises the call and frustrates the grace, by suppressing conviction of sin and persisting in the worldly life which he loves. Now does the fact that God has decided not to do anything more than this toward the salvation of this resisting man prove that in doing *this* He has acted inconsistently with mercy? Is not

God's action up to this point kind, forbearing, patient and merciful? All that He has done to this man in the outward call and common grace has had no tendency to injure him by confirming him in sin, but, on the contrary, to benefit him by delivering him from it. There has been nothing hard or unmerciful in this form and grade of Divine grace toward this guilty sinner, who does not deserve the least degree of grace. It is true that it is not the highest form of grace, yet it is real grace, and far greater than any sinner merits. Is it inconsistent in God to do any kind and degree of good to a sinner, if He has decided not to do the highest kind and degree of good in His power? Shall God do nothing at all that is kind and gracious to a sinful man, unless He has decided to overcome all the opposition that he may make to His kindness and grace? Must God make no offer of mercy to a sinner, unless He has decided to make him accept it? Shall He extend the common call only in the case in which He intends to follow it with the effectual call?

There never was an age of the world when men more needed than now to be reminded that they are resisting the common grace of God, and rejecting His universal offer of mercy, and that in so doing they run the great hazard of God's *preterition*; of being passed by in the bestowment of regenerating grace. Men need to fear lest, by stifling conviction of sin and turning a deaf ear to the common call, they shall never be the subjects of the effectual call in regeneration.

CALVINISTS VS. CALVIN.

From *The New York Observer*, May 15, 1890.

ONE of the strangest phenomena of the times is the assault upon Calvin's theology from teachers in the Calvinistic Churches. Such attacks as are now common in Presbyterian weeklies and ecclesiastical assemblies have heretofore been characteristic of those who rejected the fundamental propositions of Calvin's theology. Now there are theologians who accept the fundamental fact of his theology—the absolute sovereignty of God—and then repudiate its legitimate and inevitable consequences. It is stranger still, that such persons misconceive and misstate Calvin's own explicit declarations of the doctrines, which he systematized with consummate skill and admirable logic. It is remarkable how Calvin fortified every proposition and definition. It seems as though he were endowed with prescience to forecast

and guard against the attacks of all coming time from all quarters. In the very hour when a great part of the world which had been hostile to his views had ceased the conflict, his positions are violently assailed by those who were ranked among his defenders.

To legitimate this internal warfare and justify a restatement of doctrine, a distinction is assumed between the Calvinism of Calvin and that of the present day—"the earlier and later Calvinism." It is asserted that Calvin's theology, especially on predestination and infant salvation, is unscriptural, harsh, abhorrent, and discouraging, that the world will not endure it and that the Church has outgrown it.

It is due to the truth and the honor of John Calvin to show that this distinction is unfair and not justified by anything he has written. If anything could be found in his works that would give occasion for certain representations of his view of reprobation, it would be in the chapter in his "Institutes" on that subject. But these are its closing sentences, "If you were to address *any one* thus: If you do not believe, the reason is because God has already doomed you to destruction, you would not only encourage sloth, but also give countenance to wickedness. Should any one give utterance to that sentiment in the future tense, and say that those who hear will not believe because they *are* reprobates, it were an imprecation rather than a doctrine. Wherefore Augustine not unreasonably orders such senseless preachers to retire from the Church. Because we know not who belongs to the number of the predestinated or does not belong, our desire ought to be that *all* may be saved." To such a statement the "latest" Calvinist or the most radical revisionist cannot object. Nay, more, they cannot possibly improve it.

John Calvin's Calvinism is charged with being akin to fatalism. He and his successors are said to have presented predestination so as to make God the cause of the perdition of those whom he deprived of the means of salvation. But this is Calvin's own definition, in which he clearly discriminates between fatalism and predestination: "The fate of the Stoics is a *necessity* which controls God himself. Predestination, as the Scriptures teach it, I define to be the free counsel of God by which he governs the human race and all parts of the world according to his immense wisdom and incorruptible justice." Correlated with this is his view of the love of God, which he expressed so beautifully in his last will and testament, "I also testify and declare that

as I am a suppliant, I ask of him that he would wash and purify me in the blood of my exalted Redeemer, shed for the sins of the human race."

Calvin's view of infant salvation is equally free from the imputations that are cast upon it. He was vastly in advance of the other reformers, excepting Zwingle and the Swiss. While the German and English reformers under Luther and Cranmer held on to the shreds of sacramentalism, he broke entirely away. He showed the true nature and relation of the sacraments in the economy of redemption. The others still regarded them as in some wise essential to salvation. They expressly stated that infants dying unbaptized were lost. Even John Wesley, nearly two centuries after Calvin, so believed and so stated in his work on redemption. The Roman Catholic Church to this day anathematizes all who deny this. Calvin's position was simply this: baptism is a sign and seal of redemption, and all who are subjects of redemption are entitled to it. Infants are the subjects of redemption; therefore it is not to be refused to them. There is not one word in any of his declarations on the subject which expresses his belief that any dying in infancy are lost; that they are called elect does not imply that any are non-elect—because he and all Calvinists hold that that is the term which distinguishes the whole body of the redeemed; infant and adult alike. Dr. Schaff in his Paper on the Consensus of the Reformed Church, in the First General Presbyterian Council held in Edinburgh, July 1877, said: "It is now become almost an article of faith in the Reformed Churches that all infants dying in infancy are saved by the atonement. This is a legitimate development of the Calvinistic doctrine of election, which allows of an indefinite extension of God's saving grace beyond the visible means of grace. All orthodox systems which hold to the necessity of water baptism for salvation, lead to the horrible conclusion that all unbaptized infants dying in infancy . . . are lost forever." Calvin said: "To exclude them from the grace of redemption would be too cruel." Of baptism he said: "If it is right that children should be brought to Christ, why should they not be admitted to baptism, the symbol of our communion and fellowship of Christ." Is it not strange that malediction should be heaped on the memory of the great man and almost the only teacher who wholly emancipated the world and the Church from the horrible doctrine of infant damnation which had been for ages made a doctrine and enforced with anathe-

mas by the Romish Church, and partly retained by the reformers of England and Germany?

The occurrences of the past winter emphasizes this caution of Bishop Horsley: "Take special care before you aim your shafts at Calvin, that you know what Calvinism is and what Calvinism is not."

FIVE-MINUTE SERMONS.

BY THE PAULIST FATHERS.

From *The Catholic Review*, New York, April 26, 1890.

Preached in their Church of St. Paul the Apostle, Fifty-ninth Street and Ninth Avenue, New York.

SECOND SUNDAY AFTER EASTER.

"I am the Good Shepherd. The Good Shepherd giveth His life for His sheep."—*Gospel of the day.*

AMONG all the ways in which we have thought of our Blessed Lord of late—the "Man of Sorrows," the "Lamb led to the slaughter," the "Crucified for our sins," the "Risen and Glorified Saviour"—there is perhaps no way wherein He stands out more beautifully, or more lovingly, than when He says of Himself: "I am the Good Shepherd." What title is there that invites us more tenderly, or draws us more closely than this? Both the Epistle and the Gospel for to-day set Him before us in this light. He has suffered. He has risen. Now, He is our "Good Shepherd," the "Pastor and Bishop of our souls." And the proof of His title is this: "The Good Shepherd giveth His life for His sheep."

My brethren, our Lord is the same Good Shepherd *now* as He was during His life on earth. He speaks as truly now as He spoke then: "I am the Good Shepherd." He is *more* truly, more closely present with His flock than when He suffered His divine nature to be veiled in the feeble frame of a human form. He is with us always—"even unto the consummation of the world." For "we are the people of His pasture, and the sheep of His hand."

How is He now our Good Shepherd? First, He *leads* His sheep. He leads them by His Holy Spirit. He leads them by His example. As the Epistle of to-day tells us: "Christ also suffered for us, leaving you an example that you should follow His steps." His indwelling Spirit guides us in the path of life; filling our souls with love for Him, and desire to be like Him and to be with Him, giving us both the will and the power to come to Him. "My sheep

hear My voice, and I know them, and they follow Me, and I give them life everlasting." We hear His voice saying, "Come unto Me, all you that labor and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you. Take up My yoke upon you, and learn of Me, because I am meek and humble of heart, and you shall find rest to your souls."

And again, as He *leads* His sheep, so He also *feeds* them. "He hath set me in a place of pasture," says the Psalmist, "He hath brought me up on the water of refreshment." Oh, my brethren, how much better it would be for us if we hungered and thirsted more for that heavenly food and for those living waters! For then, according to the promise of the Beatitudes, "we should be filled." Has He not said: "I am the living Bread, which came down from Heaven. If any man eat of this Bread he shall live forever; and the Bread which I will give is My Flesh for the life of the world." That is the true food wherewith the Good Shepherd feeds His flock; and at this Paschal season we have every reason to be mindful of our need of it, and of our obligation to receive it. And while we speak of our Divine Shepherd thus caring for His sheep, those tender words of the Prophet Isaias rise to our memory—words full of sweetness, as though sung by choirs of angels: "He shall feed His flock like a shepherd; He shall gather together the lambs with His arm, and shall take them up in His bosom; and He Himself shall carry them that are with young."

And once more, as the Gospel tells us, the Good Shepherd will seek out and help even the wandering sheep and bring them back to His fold.

Are *we* among the number of those wandering sheep, my brethren? Have *we* strayed afar from the flock, caught perhaps in the thorns and brambles of some besetting sin? He will seek us, no matter how far we have wandered; He *has* sought us over and over again; He is seeking us *now*. Oh, despise not His gracious promises; oh, reject not His proffered love! Alas, for our blindness, which will not see His guiding hand, and for our deafness, which will not hear His warning voice! Let us follow Him, my brethren—our Divine Example, our Good Shepherd—through ever greener pastures, by ever purer streams. Let us never be content until we, with all the flock, at last arrive at that blessed Fold where "they shall not hunger, nor thirst any more; neither shall the sun fall on them, nor any heat: for the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall rule them, and

shall lead them to the fountains of the waters of life ; and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes."

THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES AGAINST ITSELF.

From *The Christian Advocate*, (M. E.) New York, May 8, 1890.

FORTY years ago the Supreme Court of the United States decided "That a general statute of a State prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors without license from municipal authorities, including liquors brought from another State, and sold by the importer in the original barrel or package," was *not* in violation of the Constitution of the United States.

On the 28th day of last month the Supreme Court decided that without a special Act of Congress a State in which Prohibition has been enacted cannot prevent the sale and delivery of liquor to citizens of the said State by citizens of any other State. The case on which this decision is rendered is this : A firm of beer brewers in Peoria, Ill., shipped beer in sealed kegs and cases to Keokuk, Ia., where their agent, a non-resident, put it on sale in the original packages. The marshal of Keokuk seized it, and the brewers brought suit on the ground that the seizure was unconstitutional because the Constitution gives Congress the sole power to regulate commerce between the States. The local Court decided in favor of the brewers, but the marshal appealed to the Supreme Court of Iowa, which reversed the decision. Then the brewers appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, which reverses the decision of the Supreme Court of Iowa. Three of the members of the Supreme Court—GRAY, HARLAN, and BREWER—dissent. GRAY, long Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, writes the dissenting opinion. In it he shows that the decision made forty years ago, now practically reversed, was made upon full argument and great consideration ; that it concurs with the practice during the hundred years since the adoption of the Constitution, and that it has been accepted and acted upon by Congress, State Legislatures, Courts, and people ever since.

Unquestionably decisions of high Courts are influenced as much by the conscious or sub-conscious sympathies of members as by abstract principles. Not that in some cases the principles do not prevail ; but in many

others the sympathies must. Take, for example, the Electoral Commission of 1876. It was eight to seven, the Justices of the Supreme Court deciding upon strictly party lines. As an able writer in the *Atlantic Monthly* for May shows :

Most of its members no doubt approached the question with a patriotic purpose to be perfectly impartial, perfectly judicial. They listened to arguments on both sides, and deliberated and gave their opinions ; and they were divided eight to seven—precisely on party lines ; and this not merely on one or two of the questions, but on every question of importance. In thirty-four divisions of eight to seven ; almost every one that is recorded.

It is quite easy to conceive a state of things in which the Supreme Court of the United States would decide this very question the other way by an equal majority or greater ; but until it is reversed it is the law of the land.

WHAT WILL BE ITS EFFECT ?

It means that the people of the States surrounding Iowa, Kansas, or Maine, or the people of any State, may sell liquor to the inhabitants of Maine, Iowa, or Kansas in any amount, from a flask to a vessel as large as the most capacious oil-tank ever carried by a train. Nor can any law be made to embarrass the delivery to the purchaser in any part of those Prohibition States.

Not only so, but if we understand it aright, the Supreme Court expressly decides that any person or firm has a right to have an agent in the State, and that he may sell the liquor in the original packages in which it was brought into the State. This is the passage :

The plaintiffs in error are citizens of Illinois, and have no permits, but import into Iowa beer which they sell in original packages, as described in our decision in *Bowman vs. Chicago, re Bidway Co.*, *supra*. They had the right to import this beer into that State, and in the view which we have expressed they had the right to sell it, by which act alone it would be commingled in the common mass of property within the State. Up to that point, then, we hold that, in the absence of Congressional permission to do so, the State had no power to interfere by seizure, or in any other action, in prohibition of importation and sale by the foreign or non-resident importer.

If, in view of the nature of the suit, and the act performed against which the appeal was taken, any one can show that we misunderstand the scope of the decision as respects the power of a non-resident manufacturer of liquor to have a non-resident agent in a State to sell the liquor to all comers in the original flasks or vessels, we should be glad to have it done.

Under this decision, first, any citizen of

any State may buy elsewhere and take into the State all liquors that he wishes for his own use. This had been previously settled, and is nothing new. Second, all manufacturers and venders of liquor elsewhere may establish agencies in the States and sell to the inhabitants thereof for their own use any liquors in the original packages in which they sent them into the State. The only way in which a Prohibition State can hope to prevent this is by procuring a special Act of Congress. Therefore the people of such States must apply to Congress for relief. As respects this matter, they are in exactly the same condition they would be if this were exclusively a Federal Government, and there were no such restrictions as State rights.

WHAT RESORT HAVE PROHIBITION STATES ?

Meanwhile what can the States do which find their laws trampled under foot and their will set aside ? They must make every conceivable regulation, and enforce them by every means which police power given to the States allows to prevent the *second* sale or gift, in whole or in part, of the liquor. This is constitutional. Whoever buys a flask of liquor imported from another State may drink it, but the State may pass laws forbidding him either to sell or give away one drop of it. Hence, the *saloon* may still be destroyed and the rum-selling druggist subjected to all the existing limitations ; for the *citizen* of Iowa or any other Prohibition State cannot sell a drop therein, nor could any outside liquor manufacturing or selling firm employ a citizen of the State as an agent therein. In every case he must be a non-resident, and in every case after he has sold the original package to a citizen of the State, it is subject to every law of seizure and destruction and to every penalty the moment it is offered by a citizen for sale, or by any one, citizen or not, *after the breaking of the package*.

The decision will, as Justice GRAY says, "cripple, if not destroy, the whole control of every State over the sale of intoxicating liquors within its borders," unless the most stringent measures are adopted and enforced to restrict the effect to possible legal consequences of this decision. Then, of course, the cry against spies and trying to interfere with the rights of the people will be raised.

It is probable that some of the difficulties and decisions concerning other matters have prepared the minds of the majority of the Court for this decision. Some years ago certain of the States, under cover of attempting to protect the health of the peo-

ple, enacted laws excluding from their own borders cattle slaughtered in the West ; and these laws were overthrown on the same ground. And the principle laid down by the Supreme Court will affect various kinds of business. For example, if it should be known that a contagious and destructive disease prevailed among horses or cattle in the State of New Jersey, the State of New York, by any authority which it possesses for self-protection, could not prevent residents of that State from bringing them across the line. It must have a special Act of Congress. In some such cases, we think, acts have been passed. Oleomargarine is prohibited in some of the States ; but by this decision, if it is sent into them in original packages, and offered for sale by non-resident agents of outside firms, it cannot be stopped. Who knows but the Louisiana Lottery Company will appeal soon against the prohibition of the sale of its tickets in the "original packages !" Nevertheless, while noting the fallibility of its members, and emphasizing the flat contradiction between its decision and that upon which the country has acted for forty years, we will not be guilty of disrespect to so august a body.

The almost uncontrollable joy of the liquor-dealers over this decision is a full answer to the frivolous remarks of such of their unavowed friends as say that it will probably not increase the sale of liquor.

THE PARSONAGE BORE.

BY REV. GEORGE S. BUTTERS.

From *Zion's Herald*, (M. E.) Boston, May 7, 1890.

THIS character is one of the great trials of the minister's household. The bore I mean can be found in nearly every community. His piety is usually his strong point, but he is just as troublesome for all that. He belongs to a class of people who look upon the church parsonage as a place whose doors are open night and day, and whose occupants have nothing to do but to entertain any well-disposed members of the church or community who may chance to ring the bell. These people make it their boast that they have always been an adviser to the minister. If they are women, they will tell you that the minister's wife always made a confidant of them, and that they often went to the parsonage to comfort her in her trials, and that if they were inclined they could tell you things which would

make your heart ache. The bore always comes at the wrong time, and has not sense enough to know it. He also stays so long that one of his visits is sufficient for a five-years' pastorate according to the parsonage estimate. He apologizes if he does not call once a week at least. In some cases he goes oftener than that. He thinks his minister is working too hard, and calls some evening after meeting and stays until nearly midnight. Or she has heard the minister's wife is not well, and she calls at two in the afternoon and stays until tea-time, and goes away to tell the people that their minister will soon be a widower. Sometimes they weary you by their talkativeness, and just as often by stupid and inquisitive silence. There are ministers' wives who went to heaven long before the Lord intended they should, simply because they lost health and patience and hope in affording entertainment for these tiresome people. Many times the good women hoped it might prove that they had entertained "angels unawares." They did prove so, but angels of death.

The bore may be rich or poor, ignorant or wise, sensible or cranky. He is a bore just the same. The social ministerial family are in demand in our churches, but their very power may become a weakness. The parsonage is the minister's home. It should be a centre of religious social life; not by centring all social entertainment there, not by weakening other homes to make it strong, but by making its influence felt in every home in that parish, and by making people feel that their own home is the true source of the best and highest social life. A minister is loved who wins the hearts of the people to himself, but it is no compliment to him that his people refuse to be comforted after his departure, no matter how sympathetic and helpful and able his successor may be. He is a more successful preacher and a stronger type of manhood who has won the love of his people to the church and to their duty, and in doing that made them entirely independent of him. He may not have been popular with the parsonage bore, but his industry has pleased the Lord and shown its fruits in his study and pulpit work. His wife may not have been considered as social as former mistresses of the manse; but she is respected more by sensible and refined people who realize that she has been true to her family responsibility, and has not allowed any invasion of her household rights.

I know that in many parsonages this question is not as easy of settlement as

would seem on paper. I also know that in some communities the bore is more common than in others. The minister's family who have help can more easily rid themselves of the troublesome visitor than those who go to the door themselves. One fact must be settled: It may take heroic treatment, *but the bore must go*, if the parsonage is to become a place of blessing to its inmates as well as to others. Make them feel that your time is precious. Inspire them with your own industry. Have an understanding when you go to a new charge that it is one of your principles to *make and receive short calls*. Some good people will be offended? Yes, but better so than the cause of God should suffer.

PARAGRAPHIC.

THE VATICAN COPYISTS.—Autotype machines have just been served out for the first time to some of the copying clerks at the Vatican; but (according to the Continental correspondent of the *Glasgow Herald*) they are only to be used for the roughest kind of proof-work which has to be done in a hurry. The Pope dislikes the innovation, for he is anxious—and rightly so—not to break up the admirable school of penmanship which flourishes at the Vatican. There is no such writing in the world as that which is seen on the documents sent out by the Curia. All the copying clerks of the first rank are priests and monks, and many of them real artists in calligraphy. They are allowed to exercise their fancy in the tracing of illuminated capitals and ornamental rubrics or margins; but there must not be a single erasure on a page which has been issued in the Pope's name. A misplaced comma causes a whole page to be rewritten.—*The Catholic Review*.

REV. W. HARPER has lately written a paper on the hindrances to missionary work in India. Among other things he says: "Time permits me to mention only one other hindrance. It is the evil done by what our American friends would call tall writing and tall speaking about our work. The missionary who, as things go, asserts that India will presently be Christianized is either vehemently piping to the popular ear or he is singularly defective in sound judgment. The great evil of this is that, among the home churches, it raises false hopes, nourishes impatience for results, and stimulates that tremendous moral pressure for results which many missionaries cannot altogether resist. It feeds the fever for statistics; it formulates estimates for so many and so many conversions within a given time; and from first to last it is the mother of endless humbug. It discourages the humble, earnest, true worker; it encourages the multiplication of mock missionaries, with their mock results, and it fills the churches less or more with wolves in sheep's clothing. My belief is that the best missionary work in India is but little heard of and but little thought of, while the Lord is laying the foundations of Zion in India. 'He that believeth shall not make haste.' The missionary dreamer, or fiction weaver, though popular, is a great hindrance in the way of hastening slowly, and in the way of humble, patient waiting on God—the secret of true success."—*Central Presbyterian, Richmond*.

VIII.

THE VALUE OF WITNESS TO THE
MIRACULOUS.

BY PROFESSOR THOMAS H. HUXLEY.

(Continued from the May number, p. 119.)

century, somewhere, apparently, about the year 830, when Eginhard, ailing in health and weary of political life, had withdrawn to the monastery of Seligenstadt, of which he was the founder. A manuscript copy of the work, made in the tenth century, and once the property of the monastery of St. Bavon on the Scheldt, of which Eginhard was abbot, is still extant, and there is no reason to believe that, in this copy, the original has been in any way interpolated or otherwise tampered with. The main features of the strange story contained in the "*Historia Translationis*" are set forth in the following pages, in which, in regard to all matters of importance, I shall adhere as closely as possible to Eginhard's own words :

While I was still at court, busied with secular affairs, I often thought of the leisure which I hoped one day to enjoy in a solitary place, far away from the crowd, with which the liberality of Prince Louis, whom I then served, had provided me. This place is situated in that part of Germany which lies between the Neckar and the Main,* and is nowadays called the Odenwald by those who live in and about it. And here having built, according to my capacity and resources, not only houses and permanent dwellings, but also a basilica fitted for the performance of divine service and of no mean style of construction, I began to think to what saint or martyr I could best dedicate it. A good deal of time had passed while my thoughts fluctuated about this matter, when it happened that a certain deacon of the Roman Church, named Deusdona, arrived at the court for the purpose of seeking the favor of the king in some affairs in which he was interested. He remained some time; and then having transacted his business, he was about to return to Rome, when one day, moved by courtesy to a stranger, we invited him to a modest refectory; and while talking of many things at table, mention was made of the translation of the body of the blessed Sebastian,† and of the neglected tombs of the martyrs, of which there is such a prodigious number at Rome; and the conversation having turned toward the dedication of our new basilica, I began to inquire how it might be possible for me to obtain some of the true relics of the saints which rest at Rome. He at first hesitated, and declared that he did not know how that could be done. But observing that I was both anxious and curious about the subject, he promised to give me an answer some other day.

When I returned to the question, some time afterward, he immediately drew from his bosom a paper, which he begged me to read when I was alone, and to tell him what I was disposed to think

of that which was therein stated. I took the paper, and, as he desired, read it alone and in secret. (Cap. i, 2, 3.)

I shall have occasion to return to Deacon Deusdona's conditions, and to what happened after Eginhard's acceptance of them. Suffice it, for the present, to say that Eginhard's notary, Ratleicus (Ratleig), was dispatched to Rome and succeeded in securing two bodies, supposed to be those of the holy martyrs Marcellinus and Petrus; and when he had got as far on his homeward journey as the Burgundian town of Solothurn or Soleure,* notary Ratleig dispatched to his master, at St. Bavon, a letter announcing the success of his mission.

As soon as by reading it I was assured of the arrival of the saints, I dispatched a confidential messenger to Maestricht, to gather together priests, other clerics, and also laymen, to go out to meet the coming saints as speedily as possible. And he and his companions, having lost no time, after a few days met those who had charge of the saints at Solothurn. Joined with them, and with a vast crowd of people who gathered from all parts, singing hymns, and amid great and universal rejoicings, they traveled quickly to the city of Argenteratum, which is now called Strasburg. Thence embarking on the Rhine they came to the place called Portus,† and landing on the east bank of the river, at the fifth station, thence they arrived at Michilinstadt,‡ accompanied by an immense multitude, praising God. This place is in that forest of Germany which in modern times is called the Odenwald, and about six leagues from the Main. And here, having found a basilica recently built by me, but not yet consecrated, they carried the sacred remains into it and deposited them therein, as if it were to be their final resting-place. As soon as all this was reported to me, I traveled thither as quickly as I could. (Cap. ii, 14.)

Three days after Eginhard's arrival began the series of wonderful events which he narrates, and for which we have his personal guarantee. The first thing that he notices is the dream of a servant of Ratleig the notary, who, being set to watch the holy relics in the church after vespers, went to sleep, and during his slumbers had a vision of two pigeons, one white and one gray and white, which came and sat upon the bier over the relics; while, at the same time, a voice ordered the man to tell his master that the holy martyrs had chosen another resting-place and desired to be transported thither without delay.

Unfortunately, the saints seem to have forgotten to mention where they wished to go, and, with the most anxious desire to gratify their smallest wishes, Eginhard was naturally greatly perplexed what to do.

* At present included in the duchies of Hesse-Darmstadt and Baden.

† This took place in the year 836 A.D. The relics were brought from Rome and deposited in the Church of St. Medardus at Soissons.

* Now included in western Switzerland.

† Probably, according to Teulet, the present Sandhofer-fahrt, a little below the embouchure of the Neckar.

‡ The present Michilistadt, thirty miles northeast of Heidelberg.

While in this state of mind, he was one day contemplating his "great and wonderful treasure, more precious than all the gold in the world," when it struck him that the chest in which the relics were contained was quite unworthy of its contents; and after vespers he gave orders to one of the sacristans to take the measure of the chest in order that a more fitting shrine might be constructed. The man, having lighted a wax candle and raised the pall which covered the relics, in order to carry out his master's orders, was astonished and terrified to observe that the chest was covered with a blood-like exudation (*loculum mirum in modum humore sanguineo undique distillantem*), and at once sent a message to Eginhard.

Then I and those priests who accompanied me beheld this stupendous miracle, worthy of all admiration. For just as when it is going to rain, pillars and slabs and marble images exude moisture, and, as it were, sweat, so the chest which contained the most sacred relics was found moist with the blood exuding on all sides. (Cap. ii, 16.)

Three days' fast was ordained in order that the meaning of the portent might be ascertained. All that happened, however, was that at the end of that time the "blood," which had been exuding in drops all the while, dried up. Eginhard is careful to say that the liquid "had a saline taste, something like that of tears, and was thin as water, though of the color of true blood," and he clearly thinks this satisfactory evidence that it was blood.

The same night another servant had a vision, in which still more imperative orders for the removal of the relics were given; and, from that time forth, "not a single night passed without one, two, or even three of our companions receiving revelations in dreams that the bodies of the saints were to be transferred from that place to another." At last a priest, Hildfrid, saw, in a dream, a venerable white-haired man in a priest's vestments, who bitterly reproached Eginhard for not obeying the repeated orders of the saints, and upon this the journey was commenced. Why Eginhard delayed obedience to these repeated visions so long does not appear. He does not say so in so many words, but the general tenor of the narrative leads one to suppose that Mulinheim (afterward Seligenstadt) is the "solitary place" in which he had built the church which awaited dedication. In that case all the people about him would know that he desired that the saints should go there. If a glimmering of secular sense led him to be a little suspicious about the real cause of the unanimity of the visionary beings who mani-

festated themselves to his *entourage* in favor of moving on, he does not say so.

At the end of the first day's journey the precious relics were deposited in the church of St. Martin, in the village of Ostheim. Hither a paralytic nun (*sanctimonialis quædam paralytica*) of the name of Ruodlang was brought in a car by her friends and relatives from a monastery a league off. She spent the night watching and praying by the bier of the saints; "and health returning to all her members, on the morrow she went back to her place whence she came, on her feet, nobody supporting her, or in any way giving her assistance." (Cap. ii, 19.)

On the second day the relics were carried to Upper Mulinheim, and finally, in accordance with the orders of the martyrs, deposited in the church of that place, which was therefore renamed Seligenstadt. Here, Daniel, a beggar boy of fifteen, and so bent that "he could not look at the sky without lying on his back," collapsed and fell down during the celebration of the mass. "Thus he lay a long time, as if asleep, and all his limbs straightening and his flesh strengthening (*recepta firmitate nervorum*), he arose before our eyes, quite well." (Cap. ii, 20.)

Some time afterward an old man entered the church on his hands and knees, being unable to use his limbs properly:

He, in the presence of all of us, by the power of God and the merits of the blessed martyrs, in the same hour in which he entered was so perfectly cured that he walked without so much as a stick. And he said that, though he had been deaf for five years, his deafness had ceased along with the palsy. (Cap. iii, 33.)

Eginhard was now obliged to return to the court at Aix-la-Chapelle, where his duties kept him through the winter; and he is careful to point out that the later miracles which he proceeds to speak of are known to him only at second hand. But, as he naturally observes, having seen such wonderful events with his own eyes, why should he doubt similar narrations when they are received from trustworthy sources?

Wonderful stories these are indeed, but as they are, for the most part, of the same general character as those already recounted, they may be passed over. There is, however, an account of a possessed maiden which is worth attention.

This is set forth in a memoir, the principal contents of which are the speeches of a demon who declared that he possessed the singular appellation of "Wiggo," and revealed himself in the presence of many witnesses, before the altar, close to the relics of the blessed martyrs. It is noteworthy that the revelations appear to have been made in

the shape of replies to the questions of the exorcising priest, and there is no means of judging how far the answers are really only the questions to which the patient replied yes or no.

The possessed girl, about sixteen years of age, was brought by her parents to the basilica of the martyrs.

When she approached the tomb containing the sacred bodies, the priest, according to custom, read the formula of exorcism over her head. When he began to ask how and when the demon had entered her, she answered, not in the tongue of the barbarians, which alone the girl knew, but in the Roman tongue. And when the priest was astonished and asked how she came to know Latin, when her parents, who stood by, were wholly ignorant of it, "Thou hast never seen my parents," was the reply. To this the priest, "Whence art thou, then, if these are not thy parents?" And the demon, by the mouth of the girl, "I am a follower and disciple of Satan, and for a long time I was gatekeeper (janitor) in hell; but, for some years, along with eleven companions, I have ravaged the kingdom of the Franks." (Cap. v, 49.)

He then goes on to tell how they blasted the crops and scattered pestilence among beasts and men, because of the prevalent wickedness of the people.*

The enumeration of all these iniquities, in oratorical style, takes up a whole octavo page; and at the end it is stated, "All these things the demon spoke in Latin by the mouth of the girl."

And when the priest imperatively ordered him to come out, "I shall go," said he, "not in obedience to you, but on account of the power of the saints, who do not allow me to remain any longer." And, having said this, he threw the girl down on the floor and there compelled her to lie prostrate for a time, as though she slumbered. After a little while, however, he going away, the girl, by the power of Christ and the merits of the blessed martyrs, as it were awakening from sleep, rose up quite well, to the astonishment of all present; nor after the demon had gone out was she able to speak Latin: so that it was plain enough that it was not she who had spoken in that tongue, but the demon by her mouth. (Cap. v, 51.)

If the "Historia Translationis" contained nothing more than has been, at present, laid before the reader, disbelief in the miracles of which it gives so precise and full a record might well be regarded as hyper-skepticism. It might fairly be said: "Here you have a man, whose high character, acute intelligence, and large instruction are certified by eminent contemporaries; a man who stood high in the confidence of one of the greatest rulers of any age, and whose other works prove him to be an accurate and judicious narrator of ordinary events. This man tells you, in language which bears the stamp of

sincerity, of things which happened within his own knowledge, or within that of persons in whose veracity he has entire confidence, while he appeals to his sovereign and the court as witnesses of others; what possible ground can there be for disbelieving him?"

Well, it is hard upon Eginhard to say so, but it is exactly the honesty and sincerity of the man which are his undoing as a witness to the miraculous. He himself makes it quite obvious that when his profound piety comes on the stage, his good sense and even his perception of right and wrong make their exit. Let us go back to the point at which we left him, secretly perusing the letter of Deacon Deusdona. As he tells us, its contents were—

that he (the deacon) had many relics of saints at home, and that he would give them to me if I would furnish him with the means of returning to Rome; he had observed that I had two mules, and, if I would let him have one of them and would dispatch with him a confidential servant to take charge of the relics, he would at once send them to me. This plausibly expressed proposition pleased me, and I made up my mind to test the value of the somewhat ambiguous promise at once;* so giving him the mule and money for his journey I ordered my notary Ratleig (who already desired to go to Rome to offer his devotions there) to go with him. Therefore, having left Aix-la-Chapelle (where the emperor and his court resided at the time) they came to Soissons. Here they spoke with Hildoin, abbot of the monastery of St. Medardus, because the said deacon had assured him that he had the means of placing in his possession the body of the blessed Tiburtius the martyr. Attracted by which promises he (Hildoin) sent with them a certain priest, Hunus by name, a sharp man (*hominem callidum*), whom he ordered to receive and bring back the body of the martyr in question. And so, resuming their journey, they proceeded to Rome as fast as they could. (Cap. i, 3.)

Unfortunately, a servant of the notary, one Reginbald, fell ill of a tertian fever, and impeded the progress of the party. However, this piece of adversity had its sweet uses; for, three days before they reached Rome, Reginbald had a vision. Somebody habited as a deacon appeared to him and asked why his master was in such a hurry to get to Rome; and when Reginbald explained their business, this visionary deacon, who seems to have taken the measure of his brother in the flesh with some accuracy, told him not by any means to expect that Deusdona would fulfill his promises. Moreover, taking the servant by the hand, he led him to the top of a high mountain, and, showing him Rome (where the man had

* In the middle ages one of the most favorite accusations against witches was that they committed just these enormities.

* It is pretty clear that Eginhard had his doubts about the deacon, whose pledge he qualifies as *sponsiones incertæ*. But, to be sure, he wrote after events which fully justified skepticism.

never been), pointed out a church, adding : "Tell Ratleig the thing he wants is hidden there ; let him get it as quickly as he can and go back to his master" ; and, by way of a sign that the order was authoritative, the servant was promised that from that time forth his fever should disappear. And as the fever did vanish to return no more, the faith of Eginhard's people in Deacon Deusdona naturally vanished with it (*et fidem diaconi promissis non haberent*). Nevertheless, they put up at the deacon's house near St. Peter da Vincula. But time went on and no relics made their appearance, while the notary and the priest were put off with all sorts of excuses—the brother to whom the relics had been confided was gone to Beneventum and not expected back for some time, and so on—until Ratleig and Hunus began to despair, and were minded to return, *infecto negotio*.

But my notary, calling to mind his servant's dream, proposed to his companion that they should go to the cemetery which their host had talked about without him. So, having found and hired a guide, they went in the first place to the basilica of the blessed Tiburtius in the Via Labicana, about three thousand paces from the town, and cautiously and carefully inspected the tomb of that martyr, in order to discover whether it could be opened without any one being the wiser. Then they descended into the adjoining crypt, in which the bodies of the blessed martyrs of Christ, Marcellinus and Petrus, were buried; and, having made out the nature of their tomb, they went away thinking their host would not know what they had been about. But things fell out differently from what they had imagined. (Cap. i, 7.)

In fact Deacon Deusdona, who doubtless kept an eye on his guests, knew all about their manœuvres and made haste to offer his services, in order that, "with the help of God" (*si Deus votis eorum favere dignaretur*), they should all work together. The deacon was evidently alarmed lest they should succeed without *his* help.

So, by way of preparation for the contemplated *vol avec effraction*, they fasted three days ; and then, at night, without being seen, they betook themselves to the basilica of St. Tiburtius, and tried to break open the altar erected over his remains. But the marble proving too solid, they descended to the crypt, and "having invoked our Lord Jesus Christ and adored the holy martyrs," they proceeded to prise off the stone which covered the tomb, and thereby exposed the body of the most sacred martyr Marcellinus, "whose head rested on a marble tablet on which his name was inscribed." The body was taken up with the greatest veneration, wrapped in a rich covering, and given over to the keeping of the deacon and his brother

Lunison, while the stone was replaced with such care that no sign of the theft remained.

As sacrilegious proceedings of this kind were punishable with death by the Roman law, it seems not unnatural that Deacon Deusdona should have become uneasy, and have urged Ratleig to be satisfied with what he had got and be off with his spoils. But the notary having thus cleverly captured the blessed Marcellinus, thought it a pity he should be parted from the blessed Petrus, side by side with whom he had rested for five hundred years and more in the same sepulchre (as Eginhard pathetically observes) ; and the pious man could neither eat, drink, nor sleep, until he had compassed his desire to reunite the saintly colleagues. This time, apparently in consequence of Deusdona's opposition to any further resurrectionist doings, he took counsel with a Greek monk, one Basil, and, accompanied by Hunus, but saying nothing to Deusdona, they committed another sacrilegious burglary, securing this time, not only the body of the blessed Petrus, but a quantity of dust, which they agreed the priest should take, and tell his employer that it was the remains of the blessed Tiburtius.

How Deusdona was "squared," and what he got for his not very valuable complicity in these transactions, does not appear. But at last the relics were sent off in charge of Lunison, the brother of Deusdona, and the priest Hunus, as far as Pavia, while Ratleig stopped behind for a week to see if the robbery was discovered, and, presumably, to act as a blind if any hue and cry were raised. But, as everything remained quiet, the notary betook himself to Pavia, where he found Lunison and Hunus awaiting his arrival. The notary's opinion of the character of his worthy colleagues, however, may be gathered from the fact that, having persuaded them to set out in advance along a road which he told them he was about to take, he immediately adopted another route; and, traveling by way of St. Maurice and the Lake of Geneva, eventually reached Soleure.

Eginhard tells all this story with the most naïve air of unconsciousness that there is anything remarkable about an abbot, and a high officer of state to boot, being an accessory both before and after the fact to a most gross and scandalous act of sacrilegious and burglarious robbery. And an amusing sequel to the story proves that, where relics were concerned, his friend Hildoin, another high ecclesiastical dignitary, was even less scrupulous than himself.

On going to the palace early one morning, after the saints were safely bestowed at Seligenstadt, he found Hildoin waiting for an audience in the emperor's ante-chamber, and began to talk to him about the miracle of the bloody exudation. In the course of conversation, Eginhard happened to allude to the remarkable fineness of the garment of the blessed Marcellinus. Whereupon Abbot Hildoin replied (to Eginhard's stupefaction) that his observation was quite correct. Much astonished at this remark from a person who was supposed not to have seen the relics, Eginhard asked him how he knew that. Upon this, Hildoin saw that he had better make a clean breast of it, and he told the following story, which he had received from his priestly agent, Hunus: While Hunus and Lunison were at Pavia, waiting for Eginhard's notary, Hunus (according to his own account) had robbed the robbers. The relics were placed in a church, and a number of laymen and clerics, of whom Hunus was one, undertook to keep watch over them. One night, however, all the watchers, save the wide-awake Hunus, went to sleep; and then, according to the story which this "sharp" ecclesiastic foisted upon his patron—

it was borne in upon his mind that there must be some great reason why all the people, except himself, had suddenly become somnolent; and, determining to avail himself of the opportunity thus offered (*oblata occasione utendum*), he rose and, having lighted a candle, silently approached the chests. Then, having burned through the threads of the seals with the flame of the candle, he quickly opened the chests, which had no locks;* and, taking out portions of each of the bodies which were thus exposed, he closed the chests and connected the burned ends of the threads with the seals again, so that they appeared not to have been touched; and, no one having seen him, he returned to his place. (Cap. iii, 23.)

Hildoin went on to tell Eginhard that Hunus at first declared to him that these purloined relics belonged to St. Tiburtius; but afterward confessed, as a great secret, how he had come by them, and he wound up his discourse thus:

They have a place of honor beside St. Medardus, where they are worshiped with great veneration by all the people; but whether we may keep them or not is for your judgment. (Cap. iii, 23.)

Poor Eginhard was thrown into a state of great perturbation of mind by this revelation. An acquaintance of his had recently told him of a rumor that was spread about, that Hunus had contrived to abstract all the

remains of SS. Marcellinus and Petrus while Eginhard's agents were in a drunken sleep; and that, while the real relics were in Abbot Hildoin's hands at St. Medardus, the shrine at Seligenstadt contained nothing but a little dust. Though greatly annoyed by this "execrable rumor, spread everywhere by the subtlety of the devil," Eginhard had doubtless comforted himself by his supposed knowledge of its falsity, and he only now discovered how considerable a foundation there was for the scandal. There was nothing for it but to insist upon the return of the stolen treasures. One would have thought that the holy man, who had admitted himself to be knowingly a receiver of stolen goods, would have made instant restitution and begged only for absolution. But Eginhard intimates that he had very great difficulty in getting his brother abbot to see that even restitution was necessary.

Hildoin's proceedings were not of such nature as to lead any one to place implicit trust in anything he might say; still less had his agent, priest Hunus, established much claim to confidence; and it is not surprising that Eginhard should have lost no time in summoning his notary and Lunison to his presence, in order that he might hear what they had to say about the business. They, however, at once protested that priest Hunus's story was a parcel of lies, and that after the relics left Rome no one had any opportunity of meddling with them. Moreover, Lunison, throwing himself at Eginhard's feet, confessed with many tears what actually took place. It will be remembered that, after the body of St. Marcellinus was abstracted from its tomb, Ratleig deposited it in the house of Deusdona, in charge of the latter's brother, Lunison. But Hunus, being very much disappointed that he could not get hold of the body of St. Tiburtius, and afraid to go back to his abbot empty-handed, bribed Lunison with four pieces of gold and five of silver to give him access to the chest. This Lunison did, and Hunus helped himself to as much as would fill a gallon measure (*vas sextarii mensuram*) of the sacred remains. Eginhard's indignation at the "rapine" of this "nequissimus nebulo" is exquisitely droll. It would appear that the adage about the receiver being as bad as the thief was not current in the ninth century.

Let us now briefly sum up the history of the acquisition of the relics. Eginhard makes a contract with Deusdona for the delivery of certain relics which the latter says he possesses. Eginhard makes no inquiry

* The words are *scrinia sine clave*, which seem to mean "having no key." But the circumstances forbid the idea of breaking open.

how he came by them ; otherwise, the transaction is innocent enough.

Deusdona turns out to be a swindler, and has no relics. Thereupon Eginhard's agent, after due fasting and prayer, breaks open the tombs and helps himself.

Eginhard discovers, by the self-betrayal of his brother abbot, Hildoin, that portions of his relics have been stolen and conveyed to the latter. With much ado he succeeds in getting them back.

Hildoin's agent, Hunus, in delivering these stolen goods to him, at first declared they were the relics of St. Tiburtius, which Hildoin desired him to obtain ; but afterward invented a story of their being the product of a theft, which the providential drowsiness of his companions enabled him to perpetrate from the relics which Hildoin well knew were the property of his friend.

Lunison, on the contrary, swears that all this story is false, and that he himself was bribed by Hunus to allow him to steal what he pleased from the property confided to his own and his brother's care by their guest Ratleig. And the honest notary himself seems to have no hesitation about lying and stealing to any extent, where the acquisition of relics is the object in view.

For a parallel to these transactions one must read a police report of the doings of a "long firm" or of a set of horse-coupers ; yet Eginhard seems to be aware of nothing, but that he has been rather badly used by his friend Hildoin and the "nequissimus nebulo" Hunus.

It is not easy for a modern Protestant, still less for any one who has the least tincture of scientific culture, whether physical or historical, to picture to himself the state of mind of a man of the ninth century, however cultivated, enlightened, and sincere he may have been. His deepest convictions, his most cherished hopes, were bound up in the belief of the miraculous. Life was a constant battle between saints and demons for the possession of the souls of men. The most superstitious among our modern countrymen turn to supernatural agencies only when natural causes seem insufficient ; to Eginhard and his friends the supernatural was the rule, and the sufficiency of natural causes was allowed only when there was nothing to suggest others.

Moreover, it must be recollected that the possession of miracle-working relics was greatly coveted, not only on high but on very low grounds. To a man like Eginhard, the mere satisfaction of the religious sentiment was obviously a powerful attraction. But, more than this, the possession of such

a treasure was an immense practical advantage. If the saints were duly flattered and worshiped, there was no telling what benefits might result from their interposition on your behalf. For physical evils, access to the shrine was like the grant of the use of a universal pill and ointment manufactory ; and pilgrimages thereto might suffice to cleanse the performers from any amount of sin. A letter to Lupus, subsequently abbot of Ferrara, written while Eginhard was smarting under the grief caused by the loss of his much-loved wife Imma, affords a striking insight into the current view of the relation between the glorified saints and their worshipers. The writer shows that he is anything but satisfied with the way in which he has been treated by the blessed martyrs whose remains he has taken such pains to "convey" to Seligenstadt, and to honor there as they would never have been honored in their Roman obscurity :

It is an aggravation of my grief and a reopening of my wound, that our vows have been of no avail, and that the faith which we placed in the merits and intervention of the martyrs has been utterly disappointed.

We may admit, then, without impeachment of Eginhard's sincerity, or of his honor under all ordinary circumstances, that when piety, self-interest, the glory of the Church in general, and that of the church at Seligenstadt in particular, all pulled one way, even the work-a-day principles of morality were disregarded, and *a fortiori*, anything like proper investigation of the reality of the alleged miracles was thrown to the winds.

And if this was the condition of mind of such a man as Eginhard, what is it not legitimate to suppose may have been that of Deacon Deusdona, Lunison, Hunus, and company, thieves and cheats by their own confession ; or of the probably hysterical nun ; or of the professional beggars, for whose incapacity to walk and straighten themselves there is no guarantee but their own ? Who is to make sure that the exorcist of the demon Wiggo was not just such another priest as Hunus ; and is it not at least possible, when Eginhard's servants dreamed night after night in such a curiously coincident fashion, that a careful inquirer might have found they were very anxious to please their master ?

Quite apart from deliberate and conscious fraud (which is a rarer thing than is often supposed), people whose mythopœic faculty is once stirred are capable of saying the thing that is not, and of acting as they should not, to an extent which is hardly

imaginable by persons who are not so easily affected by the contagion of blind faith. There is no falsity so gross that honest men, and, still more, virtuous women, anxious to promote a good cause, will not lend themselves to it without any clear consciousness of the moral bearings of what they are doing.

The cases of miraculously effected cures of which Eginhard is ocular witness appear to belong to classes of disease in which mal-lingering is possible or hysteria presumable. Without modern means of diagnosis, the names given to them are quite worthless. One "miracle," however, in which the patient was cured by the mere sight of the church in which the relics of the blessed martyrs lay, is an unmistakable case of dislocation of the lower jaw in a woman; and it is obvious that, as not unfrequently happens in such accidents to weakly subjects, the jaw slipped suddenly back into place, perhaps in consequence of a jolt, as the woman rode toward the church. (Cap. v, 53.)*

There is also a good deal said about a very questionable blind man—one Alberich (Alberich?)—who, having been cured, not of his blindness, but of another disease under which he labored, took up his quarters at Seligenstadt, and came out as a prophet, inspired by the archangel Gabriel. Eginhard intimates that his prophecies were fulfilled; but, as he does not state exactly what they were or how they were accomplished, the statement must be accepted with much caution. It is obvious that he was not the man to hesitate to "ease" a prophecy until it flitted, if the credit of the shrine of his favorite saints could be increased by such a procedure. There is no impeachment of his honor in the supposition. The logic of the matter is quite simple, if somewhat sophistical. The holiness of the church of the martyrs guarantees the reality of the appearance of the archangel Gabriel there, and what the archangel says must be true. Therefore, if anything seem to be wrong, that must be the mistake of the transmitter; and, in justice to the archangel, it must be suppressed or set right. This sort of "reconciliation" is not unknown in quite modern times, and among people who would be very much shocked to be compared with a "benighted papist" of the ninth century.

The readers of this review are, I imagine, very largely composed of people who would

be shocked to be regarded as anything but enlightened Protestants. It is not unlikely that those of them who have accompanied me thus far may be disposed to say: "Well, this is all very amusing as a story; but what is the practical interest of it? We are not likely to believe in the miracles worked by the spolia of SS. Marcellinus and Petrus, or by those of any other saints in the Roman calendar."

The practical interest is this: If you do not believe in these miracles, recounted by a witness whose character and competency are firmly established, whose sincerity can not be doubted, and who appeals to his sovereign and other contemporaries as witnesses of the truth of what he says, in a document of which a MS. copy exists, probably dating within a century of the author's death, why do you profess to believe in stories of a like character which are found in documents, of the dates and of the authorship of which nothing is certainly determined, and no known copies of which come within two or three centuries of the events they record? If it be true that the four Gospels and the Acts were written by Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, all that we know of these persons comes to nothing in comparison with our knowledge of Eginhard; and not only is there no proof that the traditional authors of these works wrote them, but very strong reasons to the contrary may be alleged. If, therefore, you refuse to believe that "Wiggo" was cast out of the possessed girl on Eginhard's authority, with what justice can you profess to believe that the legion of devils were cast out of the man among the tombs of the Gadarenes? And if, on the other hand, you accept Eginhard's evidence, why do you laugh at the supposed efficacy of relics and the saint-worship of the modern Romanists? It can not be pretended, in the face of all evidence, that the Jews of the year 30, or thereabout, were less imbued with the belief in the supernatural than were the Franks of the year A.D. 800. The same influences were at work in each case, and it is only reasonable to suppose that the results were the same. If the evidence of Eginhard is insufficient to lead reasonable men to believe in the miracles he relates, *a fortiori* the evidence afforded by the Gospels and the Acts must be so.*

But it may be said that no serious critic denies the genuineness of the four great

* Eginhard speaks with lofty contempt of the "*vana ac superstitiosa presumptio*" of the poor woman's companions in trying to alleviate her sufferings with "herbs and frivolous incantations." Vain enough, no doubt, but the "muller-culæ" might have returned the epithet "superstitious" with interest.

* Of course, there is nothing new in this argument; but it does not grow weaker by age. And the case of Eginhard is far more instructive than that of Augustine, because the former has so very frankly, though incidentally, revealed to us not only his own mental and moral habits, but those of the people about him.

Pauline Epistles—Galatians, First and Second Corinthians, and Romans—and that, in three out of these four, Paul lays claim to the power of working miracles.* Must we suppose, therefore, that the Apostle to the Gentiles has stated that which is false? But to how much does this so-called claim amount? It may mean much or little. Paul nowhere tells us what he did in this direction, and, in his sore need to justify his assumption of apostleship against the sneers of his enemies, it is hardly likely that, if he had any very striking cases to bring forward, he would have neglected evidence so well calculated to put them to shame.

And, without the slightest impeachment of Paul's veracity, we must further remember that his strongly marked mental characteristics, displayed in unmistakable fashion in these Epistles, are anything but those which would justify us in regarding him as a critical witness respecting matters of fact, or as a trustworthy interpreter of their significance. When a man testifies to a miracle, he not only states a fact, but he adds an interpretation of the fact. We may admit his evidence as to the former, and yet think his opinion as to the latter worthless. If Eginhard's calm and objective narrative of the historical events of his time is no guarantee for the soundness of his judgment where the supernatural is concerned, the fervid rhetoric of the Apostle of the Gentiles, his absolute confidence in the "inner light," and the extraordinary conceptions of the nature and requirements of logical proof which he betrays in page after page of his Epistles, afford still less security.

There is a comparative modern man who shared to the full Paul's trust in the "inner light," and who, though widely different from the fiery evangelist of Tarsus in various obvious particulars, yet, if I am not mistaken, shares his deepest characteristics. I speak of George Fox, who separated himself from the current Protestantism of England in the seventeenth century as Paul separated himself from the Judaism of the first century, at the bidding of the "inner light"—who went through persecutions as serious as those which Paul enumerates, who was beaten, stoned, cast out for dead, imprisoned nine times, sometimes for long periods, in perils on land and perils at sea. George Fox was an even more widely traveled missionary, and his success in founding congregations, and his energy in visiting them, not merely in Great Britain and Ireland and the West India Islands, but on the continent of Europe and that of North

America, was no less remarkable. A few years after Fox began to preach there were reckoned to be a thousand Friends in prison in the various jails of England; at his death, less than fifty years after the foundation of the sect, there were seventy thousand of them in the United Kingdom. The cheerfulness with which these people—women as well as men—underwent martyrdom in this country and in the New England States is one of the most remarkable facts in the history of religion.

No one who reads the voluminous autobiography of "Honest George" can doubt the man's utter truthfulness; and though, in his multitudinous letters, he but rarely rises far above the incoherent common-places of a street preacher, there can be no question of his power as a speaker, nor any doubt as to the dignity and attractiveness of his personality, or of his possession of a large amount of practical good sense and governing faculty.

But that George Fox had full faith in his own powers as a miracle-worker, the following passage of his autobiography (to which others might be added) demonstrates:

Now after I was set at liberty from Nottingham gaol (where I had been kept prisoner a pretty long time) I traveled as before, in the work of the Lord. And coming to Mansfield Woodhouse, there was a distracted woman under a doctor's hand, with her hair let loose all about her ears; and he was about to let her blood, she being first bound, and many people being about her, holding her by violence; but he could get no blood from her. And I desired them to unbind her and let her alone; for they could not touch the spirit in her by which she was tormented. So they did unbind her, and I was moved to speak to her, and in the name of the Lord to bid her be quiet and still. And she was so. And the Lord's power settled her mind and she mended; and afterwards received the truth and continued in it to her death. And the Lord's name was honored; to whom the glory of all his works belongs. Many great and wonderful things were wrought by the heavenly power in those days. For the Lord made bare his omnipotent arm and manifested his power to the astonishment of many; by the healing virtue whereof many have been delivered from great infirmities and the devils were made subject through his name: of which particular instances might be given beyond what this unbelieving age is able to receive or bear.*

It needs no long study of Fox's writings, however, to arrive at the conviction that the distinction between subjective and objective verities had not the same place in his mind as it has in that of ordinary mortals. When an ordinary person would say "I thought so and so," or "I made up my mind to do so and so," George Fox says "it was opened to me," or "at the command of God I did

* See 1 Cor. xii, 10-23; 2 Cor. vi, 12; Rom. xv, 19.

* "A Journal or Historical Account of the Life, Travels, Sufferings, and Christian Experiences, etc., of George Fox," ed. 1, 1694, pp. 27, 28.

so and so." "Then at the command of God on the ninth day of the seventh month 1643 [Fox being just nineteen] I left my relations and brake off all familiarity or friendship with young or old." "About the beginning of the year 1647 I was moved of the Lord to go into Darbyshire." Fox hears voices and he sees visions, some of which he brings before the reader with apocalyptic power in simple and strong English, alike untutored and undefiled, of which, like John Bunyan, his contemporary, he was a master.

"And one morning, as I was sitting by the fire, a great cloud came over me, and a temptation beset me; and I sate still. And it was said, *All things come by Nature*. And the elements and stars came over me; so that I was in a manner quite clouded with it. . . . And, as I sate still under it, and let it alone, a living hope arose in me, and a true voice arose in me which said, *There is a living God who made all things*. And immediately the cloud and the temptation vanished away, and life rose over it all, and my heart was glad and I praised the Living God" (p. 13).

If George Fox could speak as he proves in this and some other passages he could write, his astounding influence on the contemporaries of Milton and of Cromwell is no mystery. But this modern reproduction of the ancient prophet, with his "Thus saith the Lord," "This is the work of the Lord," steeped in supernaturalism and glorying in blind faith, is the mental antipodes of the philosopher, founded in naturalism and a fanatic for evidence, to whom these affirmations inevitably suggest the previous question: "How do you know that the Lord saith it?" "How do you know that the Lord doeth it?" and who is compelled to demand that rational ground for belief without which, to the man of science, assent is merely an immoral pretense.

And it is this rational ground of belief which the writers of the Gospels, no less than Paul, and Eginhard, and Fox, so little dream of offering that they would regard the demand for it as a kind of blasphemy.

IX.

AGNOSTICISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

BY PROF. THOMAS H. HUXLEY.

Nemo ergo ex me scire querat, quod me nescire scio, nisi forte ut nescire discat.—AUGUSTINUS, De Civ. Dei, xii, 7.*

CONTROVERSY, like most things in this world, has a good and a bad side. On the

good side, it may be said that it stimulates the wits, tends to clear the mind, and often helps those engaged in it to get a better grasp of their subject than they had before; while, mankind being essentially fighting animals, a contest leads the public to interest themselves in questions to which, otherwise, they would give but a languid attention. On the bad side, controversy is rarely found to sweeten the temper, and generally tends to degenerate into an exchange of more or less effective sarcasms. Moreover, if it is long continued, the original and really important issues are apt to become obscured by disputes on the collateral and relatively insignificant questions which have cropped up in the course of the discussion. No doubt both of these aspects of controversy have manifested themselves in the course of the debate which has been in progress, for some months, in these pages. So far as I may have illustrated the second, I express repentance and desire absolution; and I shall endeavor to make amends for any foregone lapses by an endeavor to exhibit only the better phase in these concluding remarks.

The present discussion has arisen out of the use, which has become general in the last few years, of the terms "agnostic" and "agnosticism."

The people who call themselves "agnostics" have been charged with doing so because they have not the courage to declare themselves "infidels." It has been insinuated that they have adopted a new name in order to escape the unpleasantness which attaches to their proper denomination. To this wholly erroneous imputation I have replied by showing that the term "agnostic" did, as a matter of fact, arise in a manner which negatives it; and my statement has not been, and can not be, refuted. Moreover, speaking for myself, and without impugning the right of any other person to use the term in another sense, I further say that agnosticism is not properly described as a "negative" creed, nor indeed as a creed of any kind, except in so far as it expresses absolute faith in the validity of a principle which is as much ethical as intellectual. This principle may be stated in various ways, but they all amount to this: that it is wrong for a man to say that he is certain of the objective truth of any proposition unless he can produce evidence which logically justifies that certainty. This is what agnosticism asserts; and, in my opinion, it is all that is essential to agnosticism. That which agnostics deny and repudiate as immoral is the contrary doctrine, that there

* Let no one therefore seek to know from me what I know I do not know, except in order to learn not to know.

are propositions which men ought to believe, without logically satisfactory evidence ; and that reprobation ought to attach to the profession of disbelief in such inadequately supported propositions. The justification of the agnostic principle lies in the success which follows upon its application, whether in the field of natural or in that of civil history ; and in the fact that, so far as these topics are concerned, no sane man thinks of denying its validity.

Still speaking for myself, I add that, though agnosticism is not, and can not be, a creed, except in so far as its general principle is concerned ; yet that the application of that principle results in the denial of, or the suspension of judgment concerning, a number of propositions respecting which our contemporary ecclesiastical "gnostics" profess entire certainty. And in so far as these ecclesiastical persons can be justified in the old-established custom (which many nowadays think more honoured in the breach than the observance) of using opprobrious names to those who differ from them, I fully admit their right to call me and those who think with me "infidels" ; all I have ventured to urge is that they must not expect us to speak of ourselves by that title.

The extent of the region of the uncertain, the number of the problems the investigation of which ends in a verdict of not proven, will vary according to the knowledge and the intellectual habits of the individual agnostic. I do not very much care to speak of anything as unknowable. What I am sure about is that there are many topics about which I know nothing, and which, so far as I can see, are out of reach of my faculties. But whether these things are knowable by any one else is exactly one of those matters which is beyond my knowledge, though I may have a tolerably strong opinion as to the probabilities of the case. Relatively to myself, I am quite sure that the region of uncertainty—the nebulous country in which words play the part of realities—is far more extensive than I could wish. Materialism and idealism ; theism and atheism ; the doctrine of the soul and its mortality or immortality—appear in the history of philosophy like the shades of Scandinavian heroes, eternally slaying one another and eternally coming to life again in a metaphysical "Nifelheim." It is getting on for twenty-five centuries, at least, since mankind began seriously to give their minds to these topics. Generation after generation, philosophy has been doomed to roll the stone up hill ; and, just as all the world swore it was at the top, down it has rolled

to the bottom again. All this is written in innumerable books ; and he who will toil through them will discover that the stone is just where it was when the work began. Hume saw this ; Kant saw it ; since their time, more and more eyes have been cleansed of the films which prevented them from seeing it ; until now the weight and number of those who refuse to be the prey of verbal mystification has begun to tell in practical life.

It was inevitable that a conflict should arise between agnosticism and theology ; or rather I ought to say between agnosticism and ecclesiasticism. For theology, the science, is one thing ; and ecclesiasticism, the championship of a foregone conclusion* as to the truth of a particular form of theology, is another. With scientific theology, agnosticism has no quarrel. On the contrary, the agnostic, knowing too well the influence of prejudice and idiosyncrasy, even on those who desire most earnestly to be impartial, can wish for nothing more urgently than that the scientific theologian should not only be at perfect liberty to thrash out the matter in his own fashion, but that he should, if he can, find flaws in the agnostic position, and, even if demonstration is not to be had, that he should put, in their full force, the grounds of the conclusions he thinks probable. The scientific theologian admits the agnostic principle, however widely his results may differ from those reached by the majority of agnostics.

But, as between agnosticism and ecclesiasticism, or, as our neighbors across the Channel call it, clericalism, there can be neither peace nor truce. The cleric asserts that it is morally wrong not to believe certain propositions, whatever the results of a strict scientific investigation of the evidence of these propositions. He tells us that "religious error is, in itself, of an immoral nature."† He declares that he has prejudged certain conclusions, and looks upon those who show cause for arrest of judgment as emissaries of Satan. It necessarily follows that, for him, the attainment of faith, not the ascertainment of truth, is the highest aim of mental life. And, on careful analysis of the nature of this faith, it will too often be found to be not the mystic process of unity with the divine, understood by the religious enthusiast—but that which the candid simplicity of a Sunday scholar once

(To be continued.)

* "Let us maintain, before we have proved. This seeming paradox is the secret of happiness." (Dr. Newman, "Tract 85," p. 85.)

† Dr. Newman, "Essay on Development," p. 357.

GOODLY WORDS.

Readings from the Mystics, selected by C. H. A. BJERRE-GAARD, of the Astor Library.

When the disciple has ceased to hear the many, he may discern the ONE—the inner sound which kills the outer.

Then only, not till then, shall he forsake the region of *Asat*, the false, to come unto the realm of *Sat*, the true.

Before the soul can see, the Harmony within must be attained, and fleshly eyes be rendered blind to all illusion.

Before the soul can hear, the image (man) has to become as deaf to roarings as to whispers, to cries of bellowing elephants as to the silvery buzzing of the golden fire-fly.

Before the soul can comprehend and may remember, she must unto the Silent Speaker be united, just as the form to which the clay is modelled is first united with the potter's mind.

The Self of matter and the SELF of Spirit can never meet. One of the twain must disappear; there is no place for both.

Ere thy Soul's mind can understand, the bud of personality must be crushed out, the worm of sense destroyed past resurrection.

Let not the fierce Sun dry one tear of pain before thou wipest it from the sufferer's eye. But let each burning human tear drop on thy heart and there remain, nor ever brush it off, until the pain that caused it is removed. These tears, O thou of heart most merciful, these are the streams that irrigate the fields of charity immortal. 'Tis on such soil that grows the midnight blossom of Buddha (viz., Adeptship), more difficult to find, more rare to view than is the flower of the Vogay tree.

Help Nature and work on with her; and Nature will regard thee as one of her creators and make obeisance.

And she will open wide before thee the portals of her secret chambers, lay bare before thy gaze the treasures hidden in the very depths of her pure virgin bosom. Unsullied by the hand of matter she shows her treasures only to the eye of Spirit—the eye which never closes, the eye for which there is no veil in all her kingdoms.

THE VOICE OF THE SILENCE. *Translated and Annotated by H. P. B.* London, n.d.

There is only one way of escape. . . . Turn round, and instead of standing against the forces, join them; become one with Nature, and go easily upon her path. Do not resist or resent the circumstances of life any more than the plants resent the rain and the wind. Then suddenly, to your own amazement, you find you have time and strength to spare, to use in the great battle which it is inevitable every man must fight,—that in himself, that which leads to his own conquest. . . . Cultivate, I say, and neglect nothing. Only remember, all the while you tend and water, that you are impudently usurping the tasks of Nature herself. Having usurped her work, you must carry it through until you have reached a point when she has no power to punish you, when you are not afraid of her, but can with a bold front return her her own. She laughs in her sleeve, the mighty mother, watching you with covert, laughing eye, ready relentlessly to cast the whole of your work into the dust if you do but give her the chance, if you turn idler and grow careless. The idler is the father of the madman in the sense that the child is the father of the man. Nature has put

her vast hand on him and crushed the whole edifice. The gardener and his rose-trees are alike broken and stricken by the great storm which her movement has created; they lie helpless till the sand is swept over them and they are buried in a weary wilderness. From this desert spot Nature herself will recreate, and will use the ashes of the man who dared to face her as indifferently as the withered leaves of his plants. His body, soul, and spirit are all alike claimed by her.

MABEL COLLINS, *Through the Gates of Gold*. Boston, 1887.

THERE IS ONE ACTOR IN ALL ACTION; HIM
KNOW!

Digest well not only that food which enters thy mouth, but also that food which enters thine ears and thine eyes, and at every touch.

As the pains of indigestion accompany the too hasty eater, so the sorrows of misunderstanding accompany the too hasty hearer, or seer, or toucher.

Judge not as impure, or unfit, or unclean, anything that thou dost hear, or see, or touch; for this is too hasty judgment.

I, who made the heavens and the earth, make all things that thou dost see, and speak all sounds that thou dost hear, and write all words that thou dost read. What thing, what sound, what book, shalt thou choose as mine? Choose all, and thou wilt choose aright.

But he who chooses some, rejecting others, digests not all his food; and is like the hasty eater, who must repent anon.

Digest all thoughts and things as wholesome food which I prepare for all. They are the meats and the drinks of my body and of my blood. Whoso rejecteth aught rejecteth mine; and whoso rejecteth mine cannot be partaker with me in heaven.

But I long for thee, and call thee to thy Supper and thy Rest. I turn from thee never; but when thou dost hunger and thirst, my meat and my drink are ready for thy taking.

Behold my works, they all are meat; and my thoughts, they all are drink! Accept them all as mine; then they all are thine; and Thou and I are One.

U. R. LEAFLET, May, 1890.

Extract from BUDDHA'S FIRST SERMON. *Translated by J. W. Rhys Davids.*

"Birth," said the Teacher, "is attended with pain; and so are decay and disease and death. Union with the unpleasant is painful, and separation from the pleasant; and any craving that is unsatisfied is a condition of sorrow. Now, all this amounts, in short, to this, that wherever there are the conditions of individuality, there are the conditions of sorrow. This is the First Truth, the truth about sorrow.

"The cause of sorrow is the thirst or craving which causes the renewal of individual existence, is accompanied by evil, and is ever seeking satisfaction, now here, now there—that is to say, the craving either for sensual gratifications, or for continued existence, or for the cessation of existence. This is the Noble Truth concerning the origin of sorrow.

"Deliverance from sorrow is the complete destruction, the laying aside, the getting rid of, the being free from, the harbouring no longer of, this passionate craving. This is the Noble Truth concerning the destruction of sorrow.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

CHRONICON EPHRATENSE. A History of the Community of Seventh-Day Baptists at Ephrata, Lancaster County, Pa., by "Lamech and Agrippa." Translated from the original German by J. MAX HARK, D.D., Lancaster, Pa. Published by S. H. Zahm & Co., 1889. 8vo. \$2.50.

The appearance of an English version of the *Chronicon Ephratense* is an event of some interest to students of American Church History. The original, which was printed in the convent at Ephrata, Pennsylvania, in 1786, had become excessively rare, so that not more than twenty copies were known to exist, and these were jealously guarded by their possessors. The Ephrata imprint is fascinating to book-collectors; and local antiquarians of all kinds were anxious to possess a book which was known to have been printed with home-made ink on home-made paper. To scholars the *Chronicon* was known to be a storehouse of information concerning the curious forms of German mysticism which flourished in some parts of Pennsylvania in the last century, but very few had enjoyed the privilege of consulting it.

To use this curious book to advantage, it was not enough to be familiar with the German language as it is now studied and spoken. The *Chronicon* was evidently not the work of a practised hand, and its author had probably not even heard the names of the great masters of literature. A German peasant of the last century, with little general information, but thoroughly steeped in the mysticism of Boehme and Beissel, would naturally employ words which are not in the dictionaries, and turns of expression which it is not easy to follow.

In translating the *Chronicon*, Dr. Hark has been remarkably successful. It has evidently been a labor of love, and his version is, therefore, not only accurate, but preserves much of the quaintness of the original. The translator has added a few notes, but we wish there had been more of them, as the book contains many allusions which are obscure to most modern readers. Thus, for instance, we are told, on page 73, that the "doctores" in Germany warned their American correspondents that the religious movement at Ephrata would probably result in "a new Evische Rotte." Here, we think, it might have been well to explain that this is an allusion to a sect founded in 1702 by Eva von Buttlar, which was supposed to

represent the extreme of religious fanaticism.

The authorship of the *Chronicon* is, on the title-page, ascribed to Brothers "Lamech and Agrippa;" but we know from contemporary sources that it was "Lamech" who wrote the book, which was found in manuscript in his cell, after his death. "Agrippa" composed the preface, and may have modified a sentence here and there; but his style is so peculiar that we may conclude with certainty that no considerable part of the book was written by him. The translator says: "Who 'Lamech and Agrippa,' the authors of the *Chronicle*, really were, is utterly unknown. . . . It is a secret that has been well kept. . . . The future is not likely ever to reveal it." We agree with this statement so far as "Agrippa" is concerned; but are inclined to believe that the identity of "Lamech" may be determined with reasonable certainty. There is a scarce book—entitled "The Life of Ezekiel Sangmeister"—which was written by a discontented monk, and hidden behind a panel in his cell. In this book, which was found and published in numbers in 1825, the writer frequently refers to the author of the *Chronicon*, but always by his monastic name, Lamech. Having gained access to the manuscript of the *Chronicon* at a time when it was not supposed it would ever be published, Sangmeister took brief notes of its contents, though not generally in the exact language of the original. These notes are reproduced in his book, generally accompanied by unfavorable comments. On page 13 we find the following statement: "In 1725 Brother Lamech, who had previously been a Baptist, joined the community;" and on referring to the corresponding passage in the *Chronicon*, we read that "the Baptists were not a little offended, in that in 1725 one of their proselytes, Jan Mayle, went over to the new congregation." From these parallel passages, in conjunction with others which we have no room to cite, we conclude that "Lamech" and Jan Mayle were identical, and that the latter—who is known to have been an influential member of the community—was the author of the *Chronicon Ephratense*.

The work very properly begins with a sketch of the religious and social condition of Germany at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The great Pietistic revival, which had been inaugurated by such men as Spener and Jean de Labadie, had not yet spent its power; but its adherents had already separated into two widely contrasted parties. The first of these—the Pietists

proper—remained in the established churches, in the hope of awakening them to a new life; the second party was generally known as the Mystics, and included sectarians of every variety. Some of the latter were satisfied to be members of the so-called “Philadelphian societies,” in which they studied such works as Boehme’s “Morgenröthe,” fondly imagining that in them they beheld the prophetic dawns of a brighter era. Others became associated with the scattered fragments of the persecuted Anabaptists, who in secluded valleys cultivated a form of mysticism peculiar to themselves; and from this association sprang many curious sects—Inspirationists, Ronsdorfers, Ellerians, and others. In 1708 Alexander Mack founded, at Schwarzenau, the society of Baptist “Brethren,” who subsequently emigrated in a body to America, where they have greatly prospered, and are now popularly known as “Dunkers” or “Dunkards.” Many of the Mystics were strongly inclined to socialism, and the Labadists and others seriously attempted to revive mediæval monasticism. Indeed, there are socialistic communities even now which, though not strictly monastic, remotely derive their origin from this period of German mysticism.

Conrad Beissel, the founder of the “Order of the Solitary,” at Ephrata, appears in some respects to have resembled the founders of the great monastic orders of the Roman Catholic Church. Born at Ebersbach in the Palatinate, in 1690, in the humblest circumstances, he was from his childhood impressed with the idea that he would be called to great things. Though his opportunities for acquiring an education were limited, he did not remain ignorant. He acquired, at any rate, much general information, and became a good musician and a fluent writer in prose and verse. Above all, he possessed an undefinable power, which rendered him a leader of men; so that during his whole career we find men who were vastly his superiors in intellect and learning freely submitting to his guidance, and humbly following him in all his vagaries.

After his conversion, in 1715, Beissel became more and more eccentric. If he did not, like St. Francis, preach to the birds and fishes, many of his religious utterances were hardly less unusual. His piety assumed the form of strict asceticism, and he began to declare the glories of celibacy, “being convinced that marriage came in with the fall.” These extravagancies naturally brought him into collision with the authorities of the Reformed Church, of

which he had previously been a member, and he found it advisable to leave his native land.

We have no room to tell the story of Beissel’s pilgrimage, as it is related in the *Chronicon*. Working at his trade, as a baker, though without accepting regular wages, he visited many places “to commune with awakened souls.” Gradually his mind became fixed in the old Anabaptist notion that “present inspiration is more highly to be commended than the written word;” and as he was convinced of his personal inspiration, he no longer needed the guidance of others.

It was with the purpose of living the life of a hermit, somewhere in the wilderness, that Beissel, in 1720, emigrated to America. In an unsettled part of Lancaster County, Pa., he built his humble hermitage, but was not long suffered to possess the joys of solitude. The fame of his sanctity spread through the land, and a little company of mystics gathered around him, and prayed him to become their religious leader.

At this time Beissel attended a religious meeting conducted by Peter Becker, the “Dunker” preacher of Germantown, and received baptism at his hands. At first, it is said, he was in great perplexity whether he ought to be baptized by this man, but it finally occurred to him that “Christ himself had suffered himself to be baptized by one who was less than himself.” The union with the “Dunkers,” however, remained unbroken but a single day. It was almost immediately discovered that Beissel had declared himself in favor of the observance of the Jewish Sabbath, and to this observance the “Dunkers” would by no means agree. His views with reference to celibacy were also objectionable, and the result was a schism which was never healed.

The story of the monks and nuns of Ephrata, as related in the *Chronicon*, is not uninteresting. It is, however, almost a repetition of the history of many monastic institutions. The most devout of the brethren and sisters determined to adopt a monastic rule, and, curiously enough, accepted that of the Capuchins. They wore coarse garments, and hoods that almost covered their faces. Except in the coldest weather they walked barefoot. No meat ever appeared on their tables, and their simple fare was served on wooden platters. At night they slept on rude wooden benches, with no pillow but a wooden billet, and often at midnight they were called to engage in worship which continued until morning. In 1732 the monastic buildings began to be

erected. They were undertaken in faith, but the means for their completion were not lacking. Though entirely destitute of ornament, these buildings were large, and, in a certain sense, imposing. Several of them are still standing, though others have long since disappeared.

In the management of the institution, Beissel manifested great shrewdness. Though he observed the monastic rule in all its particulars, he lived in a separate house, and never condescended to familiarity with the brethren. He bore the title of Superintendent, and was addressed as "Father;" but preferred to be known by his monastic name as "Friedsam Gottrecht." He was naturally regarded with unbounded reverence, and it was currently believed that he possessed the power of working miracles.

The temporal management of the monastery was committed entirely to the Prior, who was elected by the brethren. Israel Eckerlin, known in religion as "Brother Onesimus," was perhaps the ablest man who held this office, and under his guidance the order rapidly grew wealthy. He made the brethren toil like slaves, it is said; and there can be no doubt that if he had remained in office his far-reaching plans would have been splendidly realized. Unfortunately, he was ambitious, and sought to supplant the Superintendent by making him a sort of *pontifex maximus*, who was to be profoundly revered but deprived of all power. Beissel endured all this for a while; but in due time his silent influence prevailed, and Onesimus was driven forth into the wilderness.

John Peter Miller, known as "Brother Jaebez," subsequently held the office of Prior for many years, and suited the Superintendent much better. He had been sent to America as a missionary by the Reformed consistory of Heidelberg, and was a thoroughly educated man; but having come under the influence of Beissel, he renounced the ministry and embraced the ascetic life. It was mainly under his influence and direction that Ephrata became an important literary centre.

Beissel had certainly studied monasticism to some purpose. Every member of the fraternity was kept constantly at work on the fields, or in the mills or workshops. The sisters were also supplied with suitable work, so that there was little time for idle gossip. To occupy the long winter evenings there was a writing-school and a singing-school. Specimens of calligraphy have been preserved which are exceedingly beautiful. The music cultivated at Ephrata is minute-

ly described in the *Chronicon*, and it must certainly have been charming. In those days enthusiasm for poetry and music was unbounded. Beissel himself was the author of four hundred and forty-one hymns, and composed more than a thousand tunes. A whole series of Ephrata hymn-books dates from this period. Three of them were printed in Roman type by Benjamin Franklin—the earliest in 1730; but this style of typography was not acceptable, and in 1739 Christopher Saur printed for the "Brethren" a larger collection of hymns, entitled "Zionitischer Weyrauch's Huegel oder Myrrhen Berg" ("Zion's Hill of Incense, or Mountain of Myrrh"). The latter was the first book issued by its celebrated publisher, and, indeed, the first book printed in America in German characters. It is dedicated "to all the solitary turtle-doves that coo in the wilderness;" and the turtle-doves of Ephrata themselves certainly kept up a billing and cooing that made the forests ring.

In 1742 the Ephrata Society purchased a press, and began the publication of a long series of volumes bearing its imprint. There are at least seventy-five of these; but the most important is "Der Blutige Schaulplatz" (1748), which is generally known as the "Baptist Martyr-Book." This immense folio is a translation into German of a work first published in Holland in 1660. It is by far the largest book printed in America during the colonial period.

There are probably few modern readers who would be interested in the "Theological Lectures" of Conrad Beissel, as they were printed at Ephrata. They are full of the "fog-spirit" which was distinctive of the writings of Boehme and Gichtel. As in all the mystical books published at Ephrata, the celibate life is glorified as "the wooing of the beautiful virgin, Sophia;" and to this personification of divine wisdom the most endearing epithets are constantly applied. Occasionally, however, we find a passage which is not only intelligible but brilliant, and we may, indeed, sometimes be surprised to discover that Beissel has anticipated Schelling or Hegel.

The *Chronicon Ephratense* concludes with the death of Beissel, in 1768, though we might wish that "Lamech" or "Agrippa" had continued the story to a later date. We know, however, that soon after the death of the founder the society began to decline. In its best days it had numbered about three hundred members, of whom from seventy-five to one hundred had taken monastic vows. Gradually the order declined, and after the death of Miller, the last Prior, in

1796, it practically ceased to exist. In 1814 the property was legally transferred to the society of "The German Seventh-day Baptists," which now numbers less than fifty members.

The *Chronicon Ephratense*, as translated by Dr. Hark and published by S. H. Zahm & Co., is a handsome octavo, well printed, and bound in a style that is suggestive of the antique. A few copies have been printed on large paper for extra illustration. The publication of such a book, in these days, is in itself a curiosity. We hope, however, that it will be appreciated, not only by the lovers of the quaint and curious, but by all who are interested in the early religious history of our country.

JOSEPH HENRY DUBBS.

Lancaster, Pa.

LES FRÈRES GIBERT. Deux pasteurs du Désert et du Refuge (1722-1817). Par Daniel Benoît, pasteur. Toulouse: Société des Livres Religieux, 1889. Pp. 429, 12mo.

The author of this volume has within the past few years given to the world four or five interesting and valuable books all having to do with one of the least known, but by no means least important periods of French Protestant history—the period of a little over a century elapsing between the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and the Edict of Toleration of 1787. Three of these were monographs treating respectively of Jacques Roger and Desubas, who were put to death for preaching the Gospel, and of Marie Durand, who endured an almost lifelong imprisonment in the terrible Tour de Constance, at Aigues Mortes. More recently M. Benoît has contributed an introduction to the valuable edition of the great French Martyrology of Jean Crespin, brought out by the Toulouse Religious Book Society. The volume before us covers another part of the same field, with which the author has made himself unusually familiar in the course of his earlier investigations, and seems to us to surpass in general interest and value all his previous productions. The two brothers Gibert were striking characters among the intrepid pastors that figured in the middle and the latter part of the eighteenth century, and to whose fearless and self-sacrificing labors is due, under God, the complete resuscitation of the churches of the Huguenots. Neither one was of the class of the pioneers in this work. The honor of restoring Protestantism belongs to the ministers of the generation immediately preceding, to Antoine Court and his associ-

ates. Jean Louis Gibert and his younger brother, Étienne, were of those who, coming to the help of the survivors of that early band, contributed powerfully to consolidate their work, and to carry it forward to such marvellous success, that, in a fast-day sermon preached in 1784, only one year before the centenary of the Revocation and three years before the return of toleration, Étienne Gibert was able to state that, despite persecution of the most persistent and atrocious character, there were in France at that time not less than five hundred Protestant churches, with one hundred and fifty pastors, and at the most moderate computation a million and a half of adherents (p. 310). How this result was effected is a curious and very interesting story, which cannot even be sketched here. The prime actors were, of course, the courageous pastors, living a life of continual peril, watched by the government, tracked by paid spies, wandering about in strange disguises, liable at any moment to be denounced by false brethren and, if caught, to be speedily tried and broken alive on the wheel; yet many of them escaping after the most singular adventures. And yet the very government that persecuted them respected their probity, and did not disdain occasionally to resort to them for help in restraining or insuring the submission of their flocks. In such cases their success was greater than it was in securing the aid of the clergy of the established Church in controlling its laity. Truth is frequently stranger than fiction. About 1756, profiting by a temporary abatement in the persecutions exercised against them, the Protestants of the western province of Saintonge made bold to begin to meet for worship with greater courage and more publicity than before. They even established a number of *maisons d'oraison* (houses of prayer), differing little from the traditional Protestant *temples*, or churches of their ancestors, except that they were much smaller and externally had only the appearance of common dwelling-houses. In November of that year the royal intendant of Saintonge, loath to resort to violent measures, which might have led to an open disturbance of the peace, sent word to Jean Louis Gibert requesting him to acquiesce in the demolition of two of the places of worship, in which case the others would be allowed to stand. Gibert absolutely refused to consent. At this very time Gibert was under sentence, pronounced by the intendant who solicited his intervention, to be hung for the discharge of his functions as a Protestant minister. The Huguenots of Saint-

tonge, we are told, continued to go in crowds to the services held twice on every Lord's Day (pp. 106, 107).

To American readers the chief interest associated with the elder Gibert resides in the fact that, tired of the unreasonable persistence of the French Government in a system of persecution condemned by the spirit of the age and prolonged only from a foolish desire to shield the memory of Louis XIV. from merited opprobrium, this pastor led a colony of his countrymen to the shores of South Carolina. This emigration, which is briefly referred to in Ramsay's "History of South Carolina" and elsewhere, is described at considerable length in the ninth and tenth chapters of M. Bénéoit's book. The colonists made their way as best they could to England, and, after about two months' futile attempts to clear from the tempestuous shores of the Channel, set sail from Plymouth on February 22d, 1764. They reached Charleston on April 14th. M. Bénéoit incorporates in his book many interesting particulars respecting the successful founding of the French establishment of New Bordeaux, so called from the capital of the province of Guyenne, of which many of the colonists were natives. The narrative has the advantage of novelty, and is supported by letters and other original documents, which may be read in the appendix. Jean Louis Gibert was accompanied in his colony by a second pastor, his brother-in-law, Pierre Boutiton. The project of emigration was not looked upon with much favor by the French churches at home. They undoubtedly felt that, in view of the certainty that the reign of persecution could not last much longer, it was not best further to weaken the churches that had withstood such a protracted period of trial by removing their members to the other side of the Atlantic.

The younger brother, Étienne, has a closer connection with the religious life of France. His biography throws a little light upon the declension of doctrinal orthodoxy and vital piety during the second half of the eighteenth century. The progress of such movements is often very difficult to trace with accuracy. Forms of sound words are retained long after they have ceased to be cordially accepted, and the professors of creeds would frequently be shocked did they realize how far they have departed from the sentiments of the authors of their standards. Among the French Protestants of the middle of the last century the influence of the writings of Rousseau and Voltaire was not inappreciable. As persecution began to di-

minish, the zeal of many of the pastors, for the truths in defence of which so much suffering had been willingly undergone, also perceptibly abated. Some of the collections of sermons that have come down to us testify to the extent to which the preaching of morality had usurped the place of the proclamation of the doctrines of the Cross. The theological seminary founded by Antoine Court at Lausanne, inestimable as had been the benefits it had conferred upon France, now became, by the lukewarmness or positive unsoundness of its teachers, a source of positive injury. Étienne Gibert appears to have left the seminary, as he had entered it, an unconverted man. He had narrowly escaped the Socinianism into which he had at one time been in danger of falling, and his views of the divinity of Christ had been settled, thanks to the careful study of Abbadie's works; but he had been several years pastor at Bordeaux before he experienced the change which gave to his future life an entirely new character. There is reason to believe that his intercourse with some Moravian Brethren sojourning in France was specially fruitful of good to him. The alteration of his views and the fresh zeal that entered into his preaching could not long remain unperceived. His hearers, even the consistory itself, took alarm. Accustomed to discourses that were addressed to the intellect, they were restless under sermons that dwelt without ceasing upon the necessity of regeneration by the influences of the Holy Spirit. They formulated their complaints under several heads—that he employed the Heidelberg Catechism (having had an edition of it printed without consulting the elders) in preference to the standard catechisms of Saurin and Osterwald; that he had maintained that man is unable to do any good action before faith, and that philosophy is useless in religion; that he was always coming back to one point—that is, to Jesus Christ, and that he was too intimate with the Moravian Brethren. It was all in vain that Gibert undertook to prove from the Bible the truth of his doctrines, and from the Confession of Faith of the French churches, that his views were identical with those of the fathers. The consistory, after many conferences with Gibert, insisted that he should either resign his pulpit or promise never again to treat in his sermons of the doctrines of grace or of the impotence of man without the help of God. The provincial synod, to which Gibert appealed, while taking good care not to condemn his utterances directly, supported the consistory of Bordeaux in its most objection-

able positions, and, ostensibly in the interests of peace, removed him from his present parish while authorizing him to labor elsewhere in Saintonge. Throughout the whole affair the members of the synod displayed a suspicious timidity, which reached its climax when it was learned that Gibert had prepared an extended paper, fifty-six pages in length, in justification of his doctrinal views. The synod refused to enter into the ultimate merits of the question, "in view of the delicacy of the matter," and forbade the pastor to circulate his paper in the church of Bordeaux.

These events, for a fuller discussion of which we must refer the reader to the very interesting volume of M. Bénéoit, occurred in 1770. The elder Gibert had been driven into exile by persecution; his younger brother expatriated himself in consequence of the disappointment of his hopes of preaching the truth as he held it in his native land. The remainder of his life he spent in Great Britain and its dependencies. He became a faithful clergyman of the Church of England, and from 1794 to 1815 was rector of the parish of Saint Pierre Port, on the island of Guernsey. The list of his writings, in which Christian Apologetics hold a prominent place, is a long one.

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NOTICES OF MAGAZINES.

HARPER'S for June contains one article of interest to the friends of missions—a finely illustrated description of a trip "Through the Caucasus," by Vicomte Eugene Melchior de Vogüe, whose recent writing on Russia in this magazine will be pleasantly recalled.

THE CENTURY for May is largely taken up with Washington. Many portraits and relics are given. Marie Bashkirtseff has another appearance. May we hope it is her last? Her self-made likeness does not flatter her; as far as looks go, we prefer "The Women of the French Salon;" but the drawings reproduced show that she was a clever artist.

THE great, indeed unique, interest in SCRIBNER'S for June is Mr. Stanley's article, which contains a remarkable confession of faith in God under trying circumstances: "Constrained at the darkest hour to humbly confess that without God's help I was helpless, I vowed a vow in the forest solitudes that I would confess His aid before men. Silence, as of death, was round about me; it was midnight; I was weakened by illness, prostrated by fatigue, and wan with anxiety for my white and black companions, whose fate was a mystery. In this physical and mental distress I besought God to give me back my people. Nine hours later we were exulting with a rapturous joy. In full view of all was the crimson flag with the crescent, and beneath its waving folds was the long-lost rear column."

THE COSMOPOLITAN for June has an excellent article on "Farm Life and Irrigating in Persia," by S. G. W. Benjamin, and another by Lafcadio Hearn on "Half-Breed Races in the West Indies." Miss Bisland writes enthusiastically, in almost childish delight, over Japan, in which land she spent part of two days (!) in the course of her flying trip around the world.

THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY for May has the usual variety of matter, though with the exception of a short article on the Massachusetts Bay Psalm Book, A.D. 1640, nothing of directly religious interest.

THE MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

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FOR THE MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

PATRISTIC STUDIES IN AMERICA.

BY RIGHT REV. A. CLEVELAND COXE, D.D., LL.D., BISHOP OF WESTERN NEW YORK.

THE attention of American scholars has been turned to Patristic Studies in a very phenomenal degree and very suddenly. When the Christian Literature Company resolved upon beginning its career with the republication of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, many predicted that the venture would prove a failure. The effort has been wonderfully sustained, and what is worthy of special note is the fact that subscribers are to be found among Christians of divers names and antecedents—among all those who can boast of an educated ministry. Not only so, but missionaries of different classes, in distant regions of the world, have welcomed the Ante-Nicene Series as a boon, and are glad, so far as their means permit, to continue their subscriptions for the publications that have followed. We venture to affirm that nothing but the *res angustæ* of too many of our American divines limits, in any degree, the circulation of the works of Augustine and Chrysostom, as they have been published under the able editors presided over by Dr. Schaff. They would be found in every clergyman's library in the land were not even the unprecedented terms on which they are offered too much for many a thoughtful and devout scholar, whose friends ought to remember that a competent pastor cannot live by bread alone. If he is expected to teach, he must be a life-long learner; and to be ignorant of the Christian Fathers is to be ignorant of Christian history and of the development of thought, and so of moral as well as of doctrinal theology. Well may any divine blush for his position who finds himself invested with a doctorate in Divinity while he is, consciously, ignorant of the very sources of theological thought, and knows nothing of what the great doctors of Christendom have taught, whether for good or for evil; whether to be quoted as masters of Holy Writ, or censured for corrupting the Scriptures. It is time for every church and con-

gregation in the land to create a pastoral library, and next to critical works on the Old and New Testaments, we venture to say their pastors will demand what is a library in itself, history and exposition included—the entire published series of the Fathers.

Let me mention some signs of the times which account for this general interest in Patristic Studies, and which go to prove that we are entering upon an important epoch, which demands and will exact, for years to come, a general reviewal of historic theology by all who abhor superficial attainment in the equipment of teachers who are pledged to edify their fellow-men.

It is not only for the clergy that these demands have significance. The part which intelligent laymen are more and more expected to take in religious questions is one which calls upon them to qualify their minds and habits of thought for a share in the great discussions now forced upon popular attention. So ignominious is the position of any laity which is reduced to the ignoble position of mere "dumb driven cattle," that even the laity of the Roman Church in America are forcing themselves upon their hierarchy and demanding at least a nominal voice in the affairs of that anachronism of the age and that irreconcilable element in the nation, a church essentially alien and despotic. A recent adventurer has taken the pains to reproduce for their use three heavy volumes of garblings from the Fathers, which had fallen into oblivion even among English Romanists because the compilation had served its purpose and was already in conflict with existing Vaticanism on fundamental points. Thus it says: "It is no article of Catholic faith to believe that the pope is, in himself, infallible, separated from the Church, even in expounding the faith." By the new dogma of Pius IX. this is heresy; he is not limited by the Church in his infallible decrees. Again, it admits quotations from

the Fathers which refute the new dogma of the "Immaculate Conception of Mary," which even popes and canonized saints have refuted and abhorred. Also, as it was framed to seduce English politicians, it contains mild Gallican views of the Papal prerogatives, which the Syllabus has made heretical. Now, the Roman laity in America, beginning to think for themselves, will soon be driven to study the Primitive Fathers, as against those of the Middle Ages and the Scholastics. Press upon them, as will be done by Patristic scholars, the great rule argued by Tertullian and formulated by Vincent of Lerins—" *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*"—reminding them that this has always been recognized, *nominally*, even by the popes, as the test of Catholicity—and they will see that *quod semper* sends them to the Ante-Nicene ages; and if they see proof that anything in the Syllabus and the new dogmas is utterly unknown to the first three centuries of Primitive Antiquity, or even violently opposed to their testimony, then they must see that it is not Catholic, and cannot be required of the faithful. No matter how generally diffused subsequently, if it was not part of "the faith once delivered to the saints," and so held in the martyr ages, it cannot be of the faith now. The rule *quod semper* excludes it. If it fails to find warrant in the Scriptures, as interpreted in the first ages, it has no place in what must be taught "as necessary to salvation." If, then, the Roman laity begin to study these Fathers by this law—as *until now* their clergy have professed to do*—they will make their new-found liberties very useful to themselves and to the Republic. They will force their hierarchy to abandon everything for which they cannot carry back the evidence to the earliest Fathers and to Holy Scripture. And as pastors and preachers everywhere in this land are now constrained to meet intelligent inquirers, and Jesuit sophists as well, in questions of the day, it follows that the Fathers must be, more and more, in demand, as witnesses and tests of the Vatican novelties. The Ante-Nicene Series, coming forth just as "Berington and Kirk" were republished here, was found a sufficient refutation. Instead of garblings from all sorts of corrupt as well as from pure sources, here were the entire works of the Primitive Witnesses. And nothing is left of Pius IX., when confronted with Scripture and Antiquity, by those who know how to handle the *quod semper*, in an appeal

to Lactantius, Cyprian, Tertullian, and the great Alexandrian doctors; mounting up to Ignatius and Polycarp, and so to the Holy Scriptures, the end of controversy.

But another class of lay inquirers have been led to explore these ancient mines. Testimony to their evidential value, and even to their high intellectual touch with modern thought, are rapidly multiplying. True, men of the very opposite extreme are playing the same tricks of garbling and misrepresentation which I have noted in the tactics of Roman controvertists. As an example, take the author of "Supernatural Religion," who has suffered an ignominious defeat at the hands of the late Bishop Lightfoot. Here is a specimen of the sort of conflict for which the men of this generation and the next must be prepared unless this country is to share the fate of France, between superstition on the one hand and atheism on the other.

But far nobler is the outlook in another quarter of the horizon. While the respectable Pontiff who now reigns in the Vatican permits his clergy to exercise their minds by studying St. Thomas Aquinas—in spite of his "heresy" about the Virgin—there are scholars who can remind him that this is about the same as granting astronomers the privilege of studying the old Ptolemaic System. Grand was the genius that invented such a system, and grand, in the same way, was the system of St. Thomas. But both are the lumber of intellectual garrets, and have less to do with the affairs of our day than the hand-looms and spinning-wheels of the Plymouth Colonists. On the other hand, go to the original teachers of the Church, on the principle *quod semper*, and we find ourselves in touch with the freshest thought of our own times—a fact which proves the antiquity of reformed Christianity and the hopeless condition of any form of Christianity that tolerates no appeal beyond Aquinas, and not even to him *where he agrees with Antiquity*. Hear the testimony of John Fiske, and observe that it carries with it a striking suggestion that he who would be a Christian, equipped with all that is lasting in the scientific and moral conclusions of our own times, should educate himself in the study of Nicene and Ante-Nicene Christianity. In his characteristic work on "The Idea of God," he remarks:*

The system of Christian theism was the work of some of the loftiest minds that have ever appeared upon the earth.

Can Christian pastors allow themselves to

* In "the Creed of Pius IV.," the distinctive Creed of Romanism, they profess to do this even now!

know nothing of these "loftiest minds," when a Harvard philosopher tells them such a truth? He censures Augustine as introducing anthropomorphic ideas of God; those, in short, which led to the intolerable degradation of the Divine Father, who is seen, amid the smoke of altars, exhibited as an old man, with the Pope's tiara on his head. If this be true, or even if it be false, should not the clergy of the age be as well acquainted with Augustine as a very forcible thinker who brings forward and argues such an accusation? But again he says :*

It is interesting to observe the characteristics of the Idea of God as conceived by the three greatest Fathers of the Greek Church, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Athanasius.

Of the latter he says :†

The metaphysic in which *his views* are couched is alien to the metaphysic of our time, yet through this vast difference it is all the more instructive to note how closely Athanasius approaches the confines of modern scientific thought simply through his fundamental conception of God as the indwelling life of the Universe.

Again, he says :‡

The intellectual atmosphere of Alexandria for two centuries before and three centuries after the time of Christ was *more modern* than anything that followed down to the days of Bacon and Descartes.

When Patristic Studies receive such eulogy from a man of the world, and one, alike, wounded by and yet wounding the theories of Darwin; a man in every respect the equal of any other American who has appeared before his countrymen as a "Darwinian," can the clergy condemn themselves to ignorance of the old masters who control in so great a degree his centrifugal tendencies, and hold him still near the Source of Light and of Life?

But mark what follows. If what is now called "the conflict between faith and science" is to be closed by another triumph for the Gospel, it is by acquaintance with the purest, because the primitive witnesses for the true idea of God, that such a triumph must be wrought. Such is the opinion, whether true or mistaken, of the eminent thinker I have quoted; and, in my own conviction, his reflection on the ideas of the Scholastics and of St. Thomas Aquinas, as responsible for the greatest aberrations of Protestant as well as of Roman theology, are most just. He says :§

It is not science that is responsible for the mischievous distinction between divine action and natural law. That distinction is historically derived from a loose habit of philosophizing characteristic of ignorant ages, and was *bequeathed to modern times*

by the theology of the Latin Church. . . . One has only, however, to adopt the higher Theism of Clement and Athanasius, and this alleged antagonism between science and theology, by which so many hearts have been saddened, so many minds darkened, *vanishes forever.*

These are noble words and noble ideas, expressed, it may be, with guarded deference to scientific theories not yet demonstrated, but yet in many ways refreshing. They shed light on the difficulties which have of late been so boldly confessed by very learned and pious Presbyterians, as saddening and darkening their own minds and spiritual vitalities, and they awaken hopes of a brighter future, and of the ultimate unity of all believers, if not of the conversion to Christ of all earnest thinkers.

As we write, the news reaches us of the close of a great career in Germany, that of the "Christian Rabbi," FRANZ DELITZSCH, at the age of seventy-seven. Who can review that career and its influence on contemporaries, or compare his period with those that preceded it in the dreary century of *Illuminism*, without a cheerful conviction that our own age is not destined to flicker and die out, as did that century, in the stench of unbelief? When the writer of this paper first gave devoted attention to theological studies, fifty years ago, German thought and German scholarship were still largely identified with the most impudent and self-asserting attacks on the Christian faith, not so much working by bold infidelity as by the secret undermining of professed Christians who yet betrayed the Master with a kiss. But reflect what changes have been wrought out since Tholuck exposed the shallow vanity of Semler; and how, consciously, that good man felt that he had been permitted to make an epoch and to start a new and nobler spirit—that of the return to faith. In words which he bequeathed, with dying lips, to the new generation, I could almost venture, in view of the awakened spirit of inquiry into Patristic testimony, to apply them to our own nebulous but clarifying times. He said :

The work of the Spirit of God is, in these days, greater than most people think. Yes, a great resurrection morning is dawning. Hundreds of youths are being awakened everywhere by the Spirit. Everywhere the converted enter into closer relations. Science itself will become a handmaid and friend of the Crucified.

Away with the cowardly spirit which the enemy accepts as surrender, and uses to claim a victory. We defy that enemy. Hardly a weapon is lifted against us which Clement and Athanasius did not crush as if they were straws. What is claimed as

* Page 82.

† Page 86.

‡ Page 73.

§ Page 109.

"progress" is retrograde thought in essence, in all cases where it conflicts with the faith. What true science is doing for mankind, she is doing for the Church of Christ not less. All truth is hers, and he who trembles before any fact is not half a believer.

FOR THE MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

LORD BALTIMORE'S COLONY.

BY REV. S. D. McCONNEL, D.D., RECTOR OF ST. STEPHEN'S CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

IN the early years of Elizabeth's reign the ambassador of his Most Catholic Majesty of Spain wrote to his master that the woman was "possessed of a hundred thousand devils." If this were true, it is likely that the task assigned to five legions of them was to harry the English Parliament—the other five were occupied with the Puritans. When James I. succeeded, the Romanists came to believe that a wholesale exorcism had been wrought in the kingdom. It was true that James was more of a Protestant than Elizabeth, so far as theological definitions are concerned. Nothing would have pleased the royal theologian better than a set discussion with the Pope himself. But he differed radically from the leonine queen in temper. He would argue with the Romanists by the week—but he would not cut their heads off. By Elizabeth's method argument is quickly ended; by James's it may be continued.

This being the King's disposition, when George Calvert, one of his State officers, became a pervert to Romanism in 1624, he did not thereby forfeit the royal favor. He was made Lord Baltimore, in lieu of the honorable offices this step compelled him to relinquish. But he thereby cast his lot with a people who had been, upon the whole, fairly judged, and lay under the popular verdict of bad Christians and untrustworthy Englishmen. For this cause the rights of citizens had been taken from them. They held their fortunes and lives by sufferance, and both were often in jeopardy. Calvert made himself intimately acquainted with their situation. His connection by marriage with Sir Thomas Arundell, their chief adviser, gave him opportunity to know their needs and wishes. He was already one of the members of the Virginia Council. This fact probably suggested his scheme to him. The Puritans had their colony; why should not the Romanists have theirs? They could there escape the social and political disabilities which their fathers had brought upon

them, and maybe add a new jewel to the much battered tiara. In any case, in the New World the priest would not be compelled to disguise himself in Hodge's smock frock or the livery of a footman, nor the people to hear Mass with guarded doors and in deadly fear of the hangman's knife.

Thus Maryland, like the other earliest colonies, started with a distinctly religious motive. It was to be a refuge and seed plot for the English Roman Catholics.

For this purpose, openly avowed, Lord Baltimore received from Charles I. a patent for the territory lying between the mouth of the Potomac and the fortieth degree of north latitude, and running westward indefinitely.* Before the charter received the imprint of the Great Seal Baltimore died. Leonard Calvert, his son, took up his father's task. Romish noblemen and gentlemen furnished the outfit, and their humbler followers became the colonists. Two ships, the Ark and the Dove, bore the company of a hundred people. They were the best equipped and furnished of all the early companies. They sailed from Cowes, November 22d, 1633. After a long and stormy voyage, in which they were driven by stress of weather to the Barbadoes and Montserrat, they entered the mouth of the Potomac, which they consecrated to St. Gregory, and rechristened the two capes which clip its mouth Cape St. Gregory and Cape St. Michael. The islands they sailed by they called St. Clement, St. Catherine, and St. Cecilia. On this last they landed, and the two Jesuits sent by their provincial with the expedition, Father Andrew White and Father John Altham, said Mass for the company on Annunciation Day, 1634. Hence they moved to the Maryland shore and unloaded their goods at St. Mary's. "There," says Bancroft, "religious liberty obtained a home, its only home in the wide world."

This last declaration has been so often made, that in the interest of common justice it should be qualified and supplemented. Things which differ ought to be distinguished. That Roman Catholics should be claimed as the champions of religious liberty in the seventeenth century seems sufficiently grotesque to the student of history.†

The simple truth in the premises is this. The Calverts did believe and practise so; the Roman Church did neither the one nor the other. The settlers of Maryland were too glad to find safety to think of persecution. Not that they would have done so if

* Shea, "Catholic Church in Colonial Days," p. 34.

† This claim was the burden of the addresses at the Roman Catholic Conference at Baltimore, in October, 1889.

they could. They should have, ungrudged, their meed of praise; but they must not monopolize the praise. It must not be forgotten that their new home was given them by a Protestant king, with the hearty advice and approval of a Protestant Council, who, in so doing, waived their own claims in the interest of their misguided but still loved countrymen. They made the gift with their eyes open. It was not alone or chiefly that their religion was abhorrent. By the Romanists' own declaration they took their political orders from an enemy whom England could not then afford to despise. Romanists in England meant servants of the Papacy and agents of the King of Spain. Despite this, Protestant Englishmen gave them that peaceful home in Maryland, which had already been brutally refused them by their French coreligionists in Newfoundland.* The founders were of those few in their day who were Catholics rather than Romanists, and Englishmen before either. Such were the Calverts, a noble race, with few contemporaries and fewer descendants. They had neither the will nor the power of intolerance. They laid no claim to toleration as a virtue. They simply recognized existing facts. The first offer of persecution by the Maryland colony would have brought such a storm about them as would have swept them into the ocean. Churchmen and Quakers, Baptists and Puritans would have combined to exterminate the ingrates. They were glad to leave England, and there is serious reason to believe that they were not altogether sorry to be three thousand miles farther away from Rome. Their chosen priests were Jesuits, and the Society of Jesus was not in favor at Rome. It had already launched upon that policy of adaptability to every circumstance which made it distrusted, and finally led to its suppression by the Pope himself. Dominicans, Capuchins, and Franciscans were those whom Rome then looked upon with favor. The judgment of the Roman Church was at one with that of the Puritan upon this question. Cotton Mather spoke for both when he pronounced "toleration—a doctrine of devils." The Calverts and their friends were as far removed from the spirit of their Church as from that of their times. They were never looked upon kindly by their spiritual superiors, and when the last of them returned to England the Romish King James II. refused to receive him.

This colony, with its exceptional advantages of equipment, soil, and climate, filled

up more slowly than any of its compeers. At first the immigrants were of the same faith as the founders. But this supply of men was quickly exhausted. The truth was, there were few of that sort among the English-speaking people to draw from. The stream of immigration soon became Protestant. Before a generation had passed away these last were in the majority; before the end of the century they were twelve to one. While there was no religious establishment, the offices of the province were all rigidly kept in the hands of Roman Catholics, and this even after they had become less than one twelfth of the population. No open obstacle was placed in the way of Protestant worship, but any official advantage available was lent to that of Rome. Occasional services of the Episcopal Church were held almost from the first by clergy from Virginia, from New England, and by occasional visitors from England. In a few places services were kept up with regularity for considerable periods, but the record of them in detail is not now extant.

In Cromwell's time the Commonwealth sent over a commission to set up the "New Model," and Romanists and Churchmen were both suppressed.

At the Restoration things returned to the same state as before.

Ten years later the Roman Catholic population had been engulfed. The Italian plant in America had withered and never again revived till the stream of Irish immigration poured over it in the second quarter of this present century.

When this condition had been reached the people of Maryland effected, rightly, the "Protestant Revolution." A petition was offered to the Crown praying that the offices of the province might be placed in the hands of Protestants who constituted its people. It was right and just on the Calverts' own principles that this should be done. Nor did their descendants and successors strongly oppose it.

The first clear view of the Church of England's career there begins in 1675. A Mr. Yeo, of Patuxent, writes to the Archbishop of Canterbury:

"The province of Maryland is in a deplorable state for want of an established ministry. Here are ten or twelve counties, and in them at least twenty thousand souls, and but three Protestant ministers of the Church of England. The Lord's Day is profaned, religion is despised, and all the notorious vices are committed, so that it has become a Sodom of uncleanness and a pest of iniquity."

* Shea, "Catholic Church in Colonial Days," p. 32.

The picture drawn by Mr. Yeo is probably too deeply colored, but there is abundant testimony that that pestilent class had multiplied which has since become the bane of the United States. "Bad Catholics" have always been the worst of the population, while good ones have been as good as any. The only authority which they have been reared to recognize as really binding is the Church. When they or their children break away or lapse from under it there is nothing to take its place. The intrinsically divine quality of civil government, which has always been one of the underlying beliefs of Protestantism, is unknown by them. In their eagerness to accent the divine nature of the Church they have emptied everything else of its divinity. When they break away from it they are left wandering stars. In the present day they form a great share of the inmates of jails and penitentiaries. In the last days of the seventeenth century they were at large in Maryland. The Roman Catholic Church had almost completely lost its hold on its own children. It was not till a hundred years later that they were able to support their first bishop. When Madison went to England for consecration, John Carroll, the Roman Catholic, was his shipmate on his way to accomplish a similar errand.

The lapsed Romanists were mingled with lapsed Episcopalians, Quakers destitute of the "inner light," Baptists, and a few Scotch Presbyterians. They were practically all planters. The evil effect of African slavery upon the masters was beginning to show itself. They were overbearing, indolent, and licentious—the three besetting sins of slave-keeping people. Dancing, drinking, horse-racing, cock-fighting, were their serious occupations.* Their charter was revoked in 1690, like those of Massachusetts and New York, in pursuance of the home policy, which determined to bring the colonial territory out of its anomalous political status, and restore it to its place as a part of the common possessions of the kingdom. By this act of the Crown—not the colonists themselves—the ecclesiastical balance was overturned. The people came back under English law. By that law the Romanist as such was proscribed. His very existence became treason. By the same law the English Church was part of the machinery of the realm. It needed no new statute for either. The existing laws sufficed. The Church of England was now the established Church of Maryland. Clergy began to come apace,

but of a character and quality so indifferent that their presence wrought, if possible, more harm than their previous absence had done. It is evil for a people to have no priests; it is still worse to have bad ones. The first Maryland parson we catch sight of is of this sort. John Coode, a politician, a mountebank, a land surveyor, a jack of all trades, had been mixed up with all the broils of the colony, was always to be found at his post after the fight, when the spoil was being gathered. He had been most forward in the petition to have the colonial offices turned over to Protestants, and had secured two or three of them for his share. The duties of one of them called him to England. While there he managed to have himself ordained to the ministry. Upon his return he began at once to officiate. It can readily be imagined how much good he did. His character grew from bad to worse. Without giving up either his sacred or secular office he added to them that of customs officer. At odd times he surveyed a plantation and bowed all the evening with its owner. He was so drunk once during the service on Sunday that Governor Nicholson, who was in the congregation, led him out and caned him handsomely—and was challenged by him for the indignity. He went up and down the colony preaching on Sunday, and lecturing during the week on "The Absurdities of Christianity," a sort of seventeenth-century Ingersoll in spurs and cassock! Finally his conduct became so intolerable that he was arrested, tried for general misbehavior, and banished from the colony.

It must not be supposed that all the priesthood were such as this—the first we meet. The early missionaries had been devout and godly men, and some such still remained. But for the most part they had passed away. Now that plantation life had grown easy, and a ready fortune was to be gathered, and the people themselves had declined in manners, so many of Coode's sort came that we shall find ministerial misconduct to be a painful feature of the Church for more than a generation—indeed, in the Southern colonies quite up to the Revolution.

When the year 1700 had been reached the position of the Church in the province of the Calverts was roughly this:

There were about twenty-two thousand inhabitants, nineteen twentieths of them nominally Protestants, a turbulent and ill-regulated populace. The English Church was established by law. A poll tax of forty pounds of tobacco was assessed for its support upon every rate-payer. There were about half a dozen clergy. The people were in

* Lodge, "English Colonies in America," p. 127 et seq.; McMaster, "History of the People of the United States," vol. i., pp. 424, 425.

many places anxious both for more and better ones. They forwarded petitions to the Bishop of London and Canterbury frequently to this end. A curious fact is that the signers of these petitions constantly called themselves "Protestant Catholics." Did they anticipate by two centuries a true conception of the Church? Were the two classes so fused together in the common population that they simply described themselves?

The establishment was most unpopular even in the eyes of the staunchest Churchmen. The tax of tobacco was evaded, or else paid in an herb of so poor a quality that even Parson Samson raised his gorge at it.

The ecclesiastical history of the colony has been well summed up in the words of a modern writer :

"There were three eras of toleration in Maryland. That of the Proprietaries, which lasted fifty years. Under it all believers in Christ were (theoretically) equal before the law, and all support to churches and ministers was voluntary.

"That of the Puritans, which lasted six years, and included all but Romanists, Episcopalians, and heretics.

"The Anglican toleration, which lasted eighty years, had glebes and churches for the Establishment, connivance for Dissenters, penal laws for Catholics, and from all forty pounds per poll."*

A PALESTINIAN UTOPIA.

BY THOMAS HODGKIN.

From *The Contemporary Review* (London), June, 1890.

A *RIDE* through Palestine, though one may go only over the most beaten tracks, and though it occupy only the six weeks which are all that is generally allotted to this part of the journey, can hardly fail to set the traveller thinking. Thinking, too, not only about the Hebrew, the Roman, the Crusading memories of the Fateful Land, but also about its present—its miserable present—and its dark and almost desperate future.

There is something in the very mode of travel which makes reflections of this kind natural and almost necessary. When one is being whirled across Europe in an express train, passing an endless series of exactly similar railway stations, and occasionally bestowing a languid glance at the scenery, one's mind is generally more occupied with

the book that one is reading, or at best with the conversation of an intelligent fellow-traveller, than with the phenomena, physical or social, of the country through which one is passing. But when one spends eight or nine hours in the saddle, when reading is out of the question, and when conversation with the comrade in front or behind is almost equally impossible, one finds oneself shut up to the companionship of the country, and the book which one reads is that the pages of which are the distant mountain, the waterless wady, the ruined khan, or the fellah's mud cottage.

Thus pondering, the traveller is compelled to ask himself the question, "What must life in Palestine, which I know only as one long and delightful picnic, be for those who have to live it always?" His inquiries will naturally relate to the peasant, whether fellah or pastoral Bedouin, for indeed he sees no other inhabitant. He is not probably—at least I was not—furnished with letters of introduction to aghas and pashas; and a middle class, if it ever existed, has been subjected to such extensive denudation—to use a geological term—that it has almost disappeared from the social stratification. In the course of our little journey I met with one effendi, accompanied by his servant, riding from Nablous to Jerusalem, and I believe he was the only person above the rank of a peasant whom we saw in the whole country outside the walls of the cities.

If the traveller forgets for a little while his archæological interest in the land with which he is, as I have said, silently communing, and asks himself, "What is the chief characteristic of Palestine as compared with the European lands which I have hitherto known, I will not say with France or Germany, but even with the more backward districts of Italy?" I think the answer will be, "Chiefly its great *withoutness*." Here is a country *without roads*. The one or two good roads practicable for carriages, made by the forced labour of the peasantry, between Jaffa and Jerusalem, or Jerusalem and Hebron, and the fine road made by French engineers between Damascus and Beyrout, are entirely exceptional. The "Sultaniyeh," the royal road between the two capitals of Jerusalem and Damascus, is generally a mere track across a moor, sometimes only the bed of a torrent, always hopelessly untraversable by wheeled carriages, and rendering needful the possession of a very sure-footed horse if the rider is to reach his journey's end in safety. Distinction between highway and byeway I can see

* "American Commonwealths, Maryland," p. 186.

none, except that sometimes the byeway, as being more grassy, is pleasanter for the traveller, and enables him to get over his journey more quickly. In short, let a person who has not yet visited Palestine think of the worst bridle-path he remembers in Cumberland or Switzerland, and he will form a pretty just conception of the Sultaniyeh, the royal high-road of Palestine, at its best.

It is a country *without shops*. If the commonest requisite of daily life in civilized countries breaks, or is lost, one must wait till one gets to Beyrout or Damascus before one can replace it.

It is a country *without regular posts*. The receiving of a letter at Nazareth, or its despatch from Tiberias, is a matter with which the Government does not concern itself, and which the individual must accomplish by private assistance as best he can.

It is a country *without newspapers*—a most tolerable deficiency to a European traveller gorged with too much newspaper reading at home, but one which must be felt as an inconvenience, at least, by a permanent dweller in the land. It would be easy to lengthen the list of “withouts,” as, for instance, to say that the country is *without schools*, except such as foreign missionaries provide; *without doctors and hospitals* (again with the same exception); *without justice*, for universal testimony is borne to the venality of the Turkish *cadi*. But I will only mention one more which impresses a superficial observer like myself as vividly as anything—it is a country the cottages of which are *without glazed windows*.

Formerly, when I looked at a picture of a town or village in Palestine, I used to wonder what it was which made it so unlike a modern European village. There might be no ruins visible, no dome or graceful minaret to break the skyline, and yet one felt that the sketch or the photograph brought before one something utterly different from a nineteenth-century village, even in picturesque Italy, and one half suspected that the artist had idealized his picture. At the first village that I came to—Ya-sûr, on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem—my question was answered. I saw that among all the fifty or sixty houses before me there was not one that had the common glazed window which adds so much to the comfort and detracts so much from the picturesqueness of an ordinary English village. And so it is, as a rule, throughout Palestine. There is an arched doorway below, sometimes, but not always, provided with a door, and one or

two slits in the wall above to admit a little light and air, but no true window. Of course in that climate the comfort of a dwelling-house is less important than in ours. During the greater part of the year, men, women, and children, if not at their work, sit or squat out of doors in the daytime, or, at the utmost, seek the shelter of the house only during the burning noonday hours for the sake of its shade. The nights are shorter, and fierce driving rainstorms are unknown during a considerable part of the year. Still, after all, the structure of the house is one of the best measures of a nation's civilization, and now that window-panes have been invented we may safely say that a country in which the majority of the inhabitants never use them is low down in the scale. A striking confirmation of this is afforded us by the fact that in the Lebanon, where the peasant's standard of comfort is without doubt higher than in Palestine, we at once find the usual glazed and framed window reappearing, to the delight of the political economist and the despair of the artist.

Another circumstance to which the absence of the window-pane bears evidence is that human beings and cattle are generally living in the same room. The home is also a cow-byre, and man sinks naturally to the level of his four-footed fellow-lodger. Of course the presence of furniture such as you would find in the humblest lodging-house in London becomes impossible in this companionship. In some of the better-built houses a raised divan or a gallery may be set apart for the carpets or matting which are used as beds; but this is the exception rather than the rule.* Oliphant, in his “Haifa,”† gives an amusing but pathetic picture of the discomfort endured by the wife of a fellah, who has been brought up in the luxury of a wealthy Damascus home, and who has now to sleep in the same room with the sheep and oxen of her husband. More pathetic still are the accounts which I received from a missionary at Ramallah of the condition of the fever-stricken sheikh of a neighboring village. The doctor attached to the mission was doing his utmost for his recovery, but felt that, lying as he was there on his wretched pallet in that noisome atmosphere, with all the operations of the house and of the cow-house going on around him, and with the door continually opening and letting in a stream of air—sometimes cold air—upon him, his recovery was all but impossible. I cannot describe

* See Conder's “Tent Life in Palestine,” I. 101, II. 237-8.
† P. 117.

the wretchedness of some of the little mud huts which I saw in the beautiful vale of Esdraelon, the dwellings of the peasants who till the plain for a wealthy financier of Beyrout; but I can only say that I had to look at them again and again before I could believe that human beings lived in such styces.

In short, the whole impression left in my mind by what I saw of the fellaheen in Palestine was that here was an ancient and historic people—perhaps I should rather say the descendants of three such peoples, the sons of Canaan, of Aram, and of Ishmael—sinking down into a state of mere savagery, such as that of the least civilized of the tribes whom Stanley encountered in his march across Africa.

For this long-continued and still continuing decline of Palestine we must hold the natives of Palestine partly responsible. Their weakness may be to some extent the result of that enervating climate of theirs, where Baal, the mighty sun-god, still shows himself as of old a terrible potentate, withering up the greenness of the earth and the vital forces of men. But, whatever the cause, I think we must admit the fact that there is a grievous lack of energy and self-reliance among the Syrian peasants. Accustomed from childhood to stretch out the hand for *backsheesh*, and following in stolid ignorance the same round of agricultural labours which their forefathers have trodden for centuries, the very features in their character which make them so interesting a study to the student of Biblical archæology, seem to make it almost a hopeless task to form them into an enterprising, progressive, self-governing community. As a little illustration of the helplessness of the modern fellah, and his want of power of adapting himself to new conditions, I may mention that the landlord of the new (and excellent) "Jordan Hotel" at Jericho complained to me that he could hardly get any one to give a good solid day's work for good wages. Every requisite for his hotel had to be brought down from Jerusalem. He thought when he started the hotel he should at least get fruit and garden-stuff supplied him by the peasantry, but in practice he had found this quite impossible.

But, while admitting that the besetting sin of the Syrian peasant is indolence, a traveler who has had occasion daily to admire the patient, persevering, efficient toil of his camp-followers (some of the best of them, it is true, natives of Lebanon) may cherish the hope that under good guidance even the "soft Syrian" could do much for the

redemption of his country. This good guidance, however, he has not had for centuries, nor—the prediction may be safely ventured—will he ever get from the Ottoman. I am not going to draw a long indictment against the Turk, whom I profoundly pity. A *parvenu* among nations, elevated by what we call chance, and by the folly of mediæval Europe, into a position of command for which he was utterly unfitted, having inherited the bad old traditions of the centralized Byzantine despotism without its redeeming culture, and then for centuries having muddled away his strength of body and mind in the sensual indulgences of the Mussulman harem, he is of course, by the necessity of his nature and position, a hopelessly bad governor, and never worse than when he is playing at Reform in order to throw a little dust—dust of which he has an unlimited supply in the fruitful provinces that have become deserts under his rule—in the eyes of European ambassadors. I might quote many a little incident of travel to show how at every point where one comes in contact with the Turkish Government, at the custom-house, at the post-office, at the police-bureau, one is made to feel its utter corruption and inefficiency. But there is no need to do this. Everybody who is not writing to prove a prescribed and foregone conclusion, Layard as much as Pears, and Conder as much as Bryce, admits—nay, urges—that Ottoman rule is a curse to the countries over which it extends. Many doubt whether this or that substitute for it will not be worse, but I think not one impartial observer doubts that it is in itself bad.

Notwithstanding these observations, I am not going to ask my readers to enter with me into the labyrinth of the Eastern Question. I confine my attention to the land whose desolation I have been endeavouring to describe, and which is, it may be said, the spiritual fatherland of the Christian and the Jew, part of the religious heritage of Europe and America. Can nothing be done, even now, and without waiting for some far-off millennial change, to relieve its misery and arrest its decline?

The word "millennial" will at once remind the reader that there is a large school of Biblical students who hope to see the difficulty solved, and that soon, by the return of the Jews to their own land. As it is calculated that there are altogether about 6,000,000 Jews in the world, and as the whole extent of Palestine is only one-sixth that of England, it is obvious that, except under utterly altered conditions, the land

which now barely supports a population of half a million could not possibly furnish subsistence for the whole existing Jewish people. But let that pass. Can we hope that by the return, say, of one or two millions of Jews, and their formation into an independent State, the economic condition of Palestine will be improved, and a proper use be made of its resources?

I confess that for long I cherished the hope (quite independently of the interpretation which may be put on particular passages in the prophetic Scriptures) that this would be the solution, perhaps the early solution, of so much of the Eastern enigma as relates to Palestine. There is something fascinating to the historical imagination in the idea of a nation, after nearly two thousand years of exile, returning to the land of its fathers: and the enormous wealth of the great Jewish financiers—wealth which has given them a semi-royal position in European society—seems as if it might furnish the lever by which this territorial revolution would be accomplished. And so it may still be. No one who has studied the romances, written and acted, of Benjamin Disraeli, will dare to speak lightly of what the race-idea fructifying in the Jewish mind may yet accomplish. But speaking merely from my own observation, and from the testimony of all with whom I could converse on the subject, I see no probability that the return of a million or two of Jews to Palestine would in any way assist the economic development of the country. The Jews whom one now sees at Jerusalem and Tiberias are probably unfavourable specimens of the race, chiefly paupers attracted by the bountiful almsgiving of the Rothschilds and Montefiores, or the children of elderly people who have come to the Holy Land to die. Whatever be the cause, they look as little fitted, physically, to undertake the redemption of the country and to turn the wilderness into a fruitful field, as the same number of tailors from the sweating shops of London. Seeing some of these weak, anæmic Jews, in yellow gaberdine, and with spiral curls hanging down on their shoulders, lounging inside the Jaffa Gate of Jerusalem, and then seeing a company of sturdy Russian *moujiks*, with fur caps and bushy beards, emerging from it and tramping stoutly along, regardless of the heat, one could not help wishing, "Oh, that *these* were *those*, to come and win back, by their own strong arms, and not with the sword, but with the spade, the wasted inheritance of their fathers!" I trust I shall not be supposed to write in any vulgar spirit of *Juden-hetze*. I see the great

gifts of the Jewish race; I can almost accept all that Disraeli has said, in the person of Sidonia, as to their position among the nations of the world, and I feel that there must be strength of brain where there is such immense tenacity of life. But the question now before us is one, not so much of brain, as of *biceps*. The need is of patient, steady, persevering workers, to struggle with the climate and the soil. And the phrase which one often hears repeated, and which, after all, tallies with our own experience of the Hebrew in Western lands, "The Jew will do anything rather than take his coat off and work," seems to show that it is not to a great Jewish immigration that we have to look for the deliverance of Palestine.

But if there is not to be any great change in the population of the country, it would seem that the hoped-for improvement must come from a change in the political conditions under which that population lives. To assert this is not to deny what was said a little while back as to the defects in the national character of the Syrian, for it is one of the commonplaces of politics that the characters of the ruler and the ruled react upon one another, and that while some natives lose freedom because they are not worthy to retain it, others which have been long treated as slaves do for that very reason develop slavish vices. And while it might safely be assumed as an axiom that if Palestine is to prosper it must be freed from the miserable misgovernment of Turkish pashas, axiom the second in our political Euclid must be that at present there is no material out of which to form an organized self-governed community. How soon under good government, and with systematic education, such a community might be formed, is a matter on which opinions will greatly differ, but he would be a sanguine man who would predict that in one generation the Syrians of Palestine will be ready for self-government, and it is probable that fifty years may prove none too long for the process of preparation.

If then the Turk as practical ruler and administrator of Palestine has to go, and if the sovereign people is not yet ready to take his place, to whom shall we look to "occupy and administer" Palestine during the years, be they few or many, that must intervene? To England? to France? to Russia? I will say at once that I believe the government of the country by any one of these Powers would incalculably increase its material wealth and the happiness of its people; that any one of them would, by the

mere habits of civilized government which it has acquired, be impelled to construct roads, to excavate harbours, to plant forests, to improve agriculture, to administer something like justice. And of all these nations I doubt not that England would do her work the most efficiently and the most unselfishly. And yet no such solution of the problem is to be thought of, for the simple reason that it could only be achieved at the cost of a terrible European war. Least of all is it to be thought of in the case of our own country, the "weary Titan," which has already on its shoulders a load of world-wide responsibilities almost heavier than it can bear.

The peculiar spiritual ties which bind all the European nations more or less strongly to the Holy Land, and the jealousies of the various Christian Churches that are planted there, are also reasons for deprecating the exclusive assumption by any European Power of the tutelage of the people of Palestine. It is only necessary to pay a visit to any of the "Holy Places," to observe the Greeks' jealous clutch at their inheritance in the Holy Sepulchre, or to hear the Franciscan friars chuckling over the points which they have won at the Grotto of the Nativity, to feel how little chance there would be of fair play between the rival Churches if either an Orthodox or a Catholic Power bore sole sway in the land.

But in this very jealousy between the Greek and the Latin Churches lies perhaps one hope, if a faint one, of a peaceful settlement of the entangled controversy. By their political antipathies France and Russia are being drawn more and more strongly into mutual sympathy, and all Europe is expecting in the next great war to see them fighting shoulder to shoulder. But by their religious traditions they are bound to take opposite sides in every question tending to the future of Palestine. Russia is, of course, the champion of every Greek church and monastery throughout the East, but not less is France, Voltairian and Materialist though she may be at home, so traditionally connected with the defence of the interests of the Latin Church in those regions, that she cannot now shake herself loose from the obligation. The Jesuit fathers at Beyrout teach all their pupils French. Your attendant in the camp, if he speak no other European language than French, is almost to a certainty a Catholic. And in that land, where religion is nationality, the chain thus forged is almost impossible to break. France as a nation *cannot* sacrifice the interests of the Latin Church in Palestine.

We shall probably be safe in asserting that not more certainly do the lines representing the aspirations of Russia and Austria intersect one another before they reach Constantinople, than the similar lines drawn for Russia and France intersect before Jerusalem. Since this is so, and since it is for the interests of France and Russia at present to remain friends, and probably to become allies, it is possible that both might acquiesce in an arrangement that should put supremacy in the Holy Land out of the reach of either.

I. One such arrangement, which would I believe, work admirably, though the very suggestion of it excites a smile, is that the United States of America should undertake to "occupy and administer" Palestine. Here is a Power, strong, neutral, tolerant, one which by its very nature is bound to think constantly of the material prosperity of the territory over which it rules, yet which also feels, and has testified in various ways, that interest—call it sentimental or religious, as you please—without which no nation would undertake the irksome and difficult task which we are considering. The expedition fitted out by the United States Government to examine the physiography of the Jordan valley; the fact that some of the chief authorities on the topography of Palestine, notably Robinson and Thompson, have been Americans; the successful college and schools which American missionaries have established at Beyrout and Jerusalem—all testify to the interest taken by the citizens of the United States in the land of Canaan. But notwithstanding the strength of this spiritual tie, so thoroughly has the principle of religious equality penetrated into every part of their political organization, that they might be safely trusted to treat the Moslem and the Christian, the Druse and the Maronite, the Orthodox Greek and the Protestant missionary, with perfect impartiality as far as religious questions were concerned. Then, again, they occupy an admirably central position towards the three chief Powers that may be thought to have opposing interests at the Eastern end of the Mediterranean. Sprung from the loins of England, aided by France in their struggle for nationality, and for at least half a century firm friends with Russia, America would, as I conceive, be not even tempted to violate the neutrality to which she would, on our hypothesis, be pledged, in favour of one or other of these three Powers.

But I fear that all these arguments in favour of that which seems to me the most

satisfactory solution of our problem are in vain. The United States have determined—wisely, no doubt, as a general rule—to “keep clear of European complications,” and probably not even the unanimous request of Europe, founded upon a confidence in their honourable neutrality, would induce them to undertake a charge which might conceivably entangle them in European politics.

II. Another and much less ambitious solution of the problem would be to apply to Palestine a similar arrangement to that now adopted for the Lebanon. By this arrangement, which was forced on the Porte after the terrible massacre of the Christians in 1840, the Lebanon is placed under the government of a Christian unconnected with the country, appointed for not less than five years, whose nomination must be approved by the Five Great European Powers (Italy had not then asserted her claim to convert the pentarchy into a hexarchy). The most superficial observer cannot fail to be struck with the good results of this arrangement. Partly, no doubt, owing to the greater energy of the Lebanon mountaineer, whether Druse or Maronite, but also and more largely because he is freed from extortionate tax-gatherers, unjust judges, and the general system of compulsory *backsheesh* which is facetiously called the Turkish Government, the villages of Lebanon are a joy to the heart of the traveller who is interested in the welfare of the people.

Nowhere, perhaps, is the contrast between the “Lebanon” and “Syria” more striking than at Zakhleh, a village just within the Lebanon frontier, lying near to the high road from Beyrout to Damascus. It is called a village, but should rather be styled a town, for it has 20,000 inhabitants, whose neat, prosperous-looking houses are scattered over the hill-side. Near the top of the hill is a large and commodious (unfortunately not picturesque) court-house, erected by the inhabitants of Zakhleh at their own expense, and presented to the Government. They are also constructing, on their own initiative, a road practicable for carriages, which will connect them directly with Beyrout. But not only here: in many other parts of the Lebanon one feels that one is in presence of a spirit of energy, self-reliance, progress, quite unlike what one sees anywhere else between Hermon and the wilderness of the South. In fact, as I said to myself over and over again, “the Lebanon is the Piedmont of Syria.”

Even the Lebanon arrangement, however,

with all its many advantages, has its weak points. Though the Porte cannot appoint without the assent of the Great Powers, it may refuse to appoint or to re-appoint the man whom they deem the most suitable. Only lately it exercised this right by the recall of Rustem Pasha, who, by all accounts, is the best governor Lebanon has had, but who was sacrificed, it is said, to some Palace intrigue, and whose term of office was accordingly not renewed.

In Palestine, also, where the Moslems form the majority of the people, the provision that the governor should always be a Christian has less apparent justice than in the Lebanon, where so large a part of the population is Christian, and where even the Druses are dissenters from the strict creed of Islam.

III. Even for the maintenance of the Lebanon scheme a certain amount of concerted action between the great European Powers, and of trust in each other's good faith, is needful. If this could be more strongly relied on, a yet better scheme, as it seems to me, might be devised. Here we take the step out from the disheartening world of suspicion and distrust, in which our European statesmen move, and into Utopia. As is the manner with the describers of that delightful country, we will put our speculations on what might be into the shape of a record of that which has been, and will write the future history of a regenerated Palestine as if it were past.

“Weary of strife, and smitten with shame for the calamities which their mutual jealousies had brought upon the land which gave birth to their religion, the nations of Europe came to a solemn agreement that the land of Palestine should be the possession of none, but that its improvement should be the common concern of all. Leaving, therefore, to the Ottoman Sultan the mere name and fiction of sovereign power, and allowing to him so much revenue as he had hitherto by lawful means extracted from the country, they established an International Commission, to whom the government was to be thereafter entrusted. To this Commission each one of the Sovereign Powers of Europe, whether great or small (I mean not such pigmy States as Monaco, Andorre, and San Marino), elected one member, the Commissioners being chosen not so much on account of eminent services in war or diplomacy as on account of their experience as ‘Captains of Industry,’ their attainments as men of science, or their success as practical philanthropists. The Commission thus formed proceeded to

elect its chief, whose only necessary qualification was that he should *not* be a citizen of one of the six great European States. Being thus limited in their choice, the Commissioners generally elected either a Scandinavian or a Swiss, who was found to hold a more even balance between the Greek and Latin Churches than either a Spaniard or a Hellene would have done. The governor was elected for ten years; but in order to throw the bias in favour of the permanence of his office, his re-election for subsequent decades did not require, as the election of an entirely fresh candidate did, the unanimous consent of the Powers.

"The administrative power of the government was nearly equivalent to that of a Turkish pasha, but the judges, who were carefully selected from amongst the most learned legists of Europe, and administered justice in a similar manner to the English judges in India (only taking the Civil Law instead of the English Common Law for the basis of their procedure where the Koran was wholly inapplicable), were quite independent of the governor, and irremovable by him. In all financial matters it was necessary for the governor to obtain the consent of a majority of the council composed of his brother Commissioners, and without such consent no new taxes could be imposed.

"The new State had no army nor navy, its virtual independence being guaranteed by all the Powers of Europe. A strong force of police was organized in order to repress the incursions of the Bedouins, and to keep the peace between the followers of different religions. But the maintenance of internal order, as well as the administration of justice in small cases, was left then as under the previous government, chiefly in the hands of the local authorities, especially of the village sheikhs.

"All the energies of the new government were directed to the development of the material resources of the country. The promise made by each Commissioner on taking office bound him 'to seek by every means in his power the prosperity of the people of Palestine, to forget his own country and his father's house, to use the power which had been entrusted to him, neither for his own private advantage, nor yet to promote the interests real or supposed of the Church or the nation to which he belonged.' This promise was better kept than official oaths often are. Placed beyond the temptation to petty bribes by a handsome salary, the Commissioners did, as a rule, take a genuine interest in the great work in which they were engaged, and de-

votion to the advancement of the internal prosperity of Palestine became a passion, almost a religion, in the hearts of many of the council. The different departments of administration were portioned out amongst them according to their relative fitness. Thus, at the time when the writer of this retrospect happened to visit the country, a Frenchman was making the roads, an Englishman was building the piers at Jaffa and Haifa, a German professor of forestry was covering the hills with pine-woods, an Italian was in command of the police, and a Russian had charge of the postal and telegraphic service.

"For the carrying into execution of some of these projects for the improvement of the country it was needful to raise money by loan. But as all the surplus of the rapidly increasing revenue of the country above the sum payable to the Porte (which had been exorbitant when exacted from a poverty-stricken peasantry, but was trifling in comparison to the increased produce of the soil) was strictly applied to the redemption of this debt, it soon disappeared, and all the remaining improvements—the roads, the canals for irrigation, the forests, the harbour works—were easily provided for out of revenue. The one fundamental principle of the Palestinian finance was that (save for the before-mentioned fixed tribute to the Sultan) all the money raised by taxation from the people went back in one shape or another into the land.

"The rival claims of Christian Churches to the possession of the Holy Places were settled on the principle of *uti possidetis*. If the Latins had established themselves in this grotto, theirs it remained. If the Greeks had secured themselves from intrusion by walling up the chancel of that church, their wall was untouched, even though it spoilt the church architecturally. But as between Moslem and Christian, and as between one Christian Church and another, absolute freedom to choose his religion was left to every man, the old prohibition to the Mussulman to change his creed except under pain of death being, of course, utterly abrogated. Herein the laws of the new State corresponded almost exactly with those expounded by Master Raphael Hythlodaye to Sir Thomas More* in the pleasant garden of Peter Giles, in the city of Antwerp.

"For Kyng Utopus, even at the first beginning, hearing that the inhabitants of the land were, before his coming thither, at

* "Utopia," book ii., last section.

continual dissension and strife among themselves for their religions, . . . made a decree that it should be lawfull for everie man to favoure and folow what religion he would, and that he mighte do the best he could to bring others to his opinion, so that he did it, peaceable, gentlie, quietly without hastie and contentious rebuking and invehing against each other. If he could not by faire and gentle speche induce them unto his opinion, yet he should use no kinde of violence, and refraine from displeasaunte and seditious wordes. To him that would vehemently and ferventlie in this cause strive and contende was decreed banishment or bondage. This law did Kynge Utopus make not only for the maintenance of peace, which he saw through continuall contention and mortall hatred utterly extinguished: but also, because he thought this decree should make for the furtherance of religion."

"The problem of education was one of the most difficult which awaited the rulers of the new State, since it was difficult to give any good secular instruction which should not seem to be aimed at some chapter of the Koran. Moslem schools were not only permitted but encouraged; but the faith of Islam does not seem to incline its votaries to take much trouble in educating their children. The best voluntary schools continued to be those of the Protestant missionaries; but the members of the Greek and Latin Churches were roused in many places by their efforts to healthy and honourable emulation in this matter. In every town and village of more than 100 inhabitants where no such school was established by voluntary effort, a free school was planted by the Government, and in these free schools only secular instruction was imparted, and that with as little offence as could be given to Mussulman prejudices.

"Under the influence of this wise and benevolent administration Europe soon beheld an extraordinary improvement in the material condition of Palestine. Even the climate of the country changed, the planting of forests being followed by a more adequate rainfall. The irrigation canals and the introduction of improved methods of husbandry quintupled the productive resources of the country, which soon became a large exporter of corn, fruits, and silk. The peasantry, from one of the most ignorant, became one of the most intelligent that can anywhere be found. A strong and stable middle class was called into existence, and the day now seems not far distant when it will be possible for the European International Commission to depart, leaving to

the natives of Palestine the administration of a Constitutional Government which will take its place. Whether the shadowy sovereignty of the Sultan shall be permitted to continue or not is a question which has yet to be decided. Possibly it may be better to preserve it than to run the risk of the strifes and jealousies which might be kindled by the election of a King of Jerusalem.

"But, great as were the benefits to Palestine arising from the International commission, it may be doubted whether the benefits to Europe were not even greater. Drawn together by their interest in a work of unselfish benevolence, and at the same time learning how much their common welfare depended on the triumph of civilization over barbarism, the European States gradually laid aside something of their old attitude of mutual suspicion and distrust. They came to the practical conclusion that no great readjustment of the boundaries of existing nationalities was any longer possible, and that it was time to close the chapter of great European wars. The prodigious armaments of 1890, the ruinous budgets, the national conscriptions, the grinding taxation which were the despair of enlightened statesmen and the hope of social anarchists, came to an end, and, as in Palestine, so also all over Europe, the rulers consulted the oracle of Science, in order to ascertain not how they might kill in a few moments of time the greatest number of their foes, but how they might support for a lifetime the greatest number of their friends, by which word they meant their subjects.

"Gradually, too, by similar, yet not identical, methods to those adopted in Palestine, the condition of the various nationalities between the Adriatic and the Euphrates was improved, *not* at the cost of a European war, and one leaf after another of the thorny Eastern Question was firmly plucked, and finally disposed of.

"Other causes, doubtless, have been at work, but one of the chief causes of the happier outlook for the world now, as compared with the closing years of the nineteenth century, has certainly been the establishment of the International Commission for Palestine."

"And I awoke, and behold it was a dream."

Yet it is conceivable that the dream might be a reality, if statesmen and diplomatists would admit into their minds the possibility that there may be a few germs of practical truth in the Christianity which they profess, and if the nations of Europe could, in

their conduct toward one another, rise to the level of the ordinary English gentleman, instead of borrowing their code of morals from the revolver-armed bullies of a Californian gambling-house.

P. S.—Since the foregoing article was written, I have been made aware of some facts (especially those contained in an interesting paper on Jewish Settlements in Palestine, contributed to the *Spectator* of February 8, 1890), which make me doubt whether I have not formed too low an estimate of Jewish settlers in Palestine as tillers of the soil. The main argument of the paper, however, would not be much affected by an error on this point. It will be generally admitted that a large influx of Polish Jews (and such are the majority of the present Hebrew immigrants) would not at once solve the problem before us, and that they would want much help and guidance before they could develop into a progressive, self-governed community. T. H.

THE OFFICE AND WORK OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN OUTLINE.

BY THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.

From *The Sunday-School Times*, Philadelphia, May 31, 1890.

WE may often hear it said that the Old Testament is an introduction to the New. Much more is contained in these words than an irreflective recital may permit us to grasp. Yet they do not seem to cover the whole case. It seems necessary to glance first at the conjoint function of the two Testaments, in order to measure fully the exalted mission of the earlier. As the heavens cover the earth from east to west, so the Scripture covers and comprehends the whole field of the destiny of man. The whole field is reached by its moral and potential energy, as a provision enduring to the end of time. But it is marvellous to consider how large a portion of it lies directly within the domain of the Old Testament. The interval to be bridged over between the prophet Malachi and the Advent is not one of such breadth as wholly to abolish a continuity, which was also upheld by visible institutions divinely ordained, and by the production of certain of the Psalms themselves. It is further narrowed in so far as something of a divine *afflatus* is to be found in the books which form the Apocrypha, which are esteemed by a large division of Christendom to be actually a part of

the Sacred Canon, and which in the Church of England have a place of special though secondary honor. At the more remote end of the scale, it is difficult to name a date for the beginning of the Sacred Scriptures. The corroborative legends of Assyria,* ascertained by modern research, concerning the Creation and the Flood, to which we know not what further additions may still progressively be made, carry us up,† it may be finally said,

“To the first syllable of recorded time.”

Historic evidence does not warrant our carrying backwards the probable existence of the Adamic race for more than some such epoch as from 4,000 to 6,000 years anterior to the advent of Christ. And if, as appears likely, the Creation Story has come down from the beginning, the Christian may feel a lively interest in observing that, for by far the larger portion of human history, the refreshing rain of Divine inspiration has descended, with comparatively short intervals, from heaven upon earth, and the records of it have been collected and preserved in the Sacred Volume. Apart from every question of literary form and of detail, we now trace the probable origins of our Sacred Books far back beyond Moses and his time. And so we have a marvellous picture presented to us, not only all-prevailing for the imagination and the heart of man, but, as I suppose, quite unexampled in its historical appeal to the human intelligence. The whole human record is covered and bound together in that same unwearied and inviolable continuity, which weaves into a tissue the six Mosaic days of gradually advancing creations, and fastens them on at the hither end to the advancing stages of Adamic, and, in due course, of subsequent history.

We find, then, that, apart from the question of moral purity and elevation, the Scriptures of the Old Testament appear to be distinguished from the sacred books possessed by various nations in several vital particulars. They deal with the Adamic race as a whole. They begin with the preparation of the earth for the habitation and use of man. They then, from his first origin, draw downwards a thread of personal history. This thread is enlarged into a web, as from being personal, the narrative becomes national, and eventually includes the whole race of man. They are not given

* These legends will be separately treated later in the present series.

† See No. VI. of this series for the ground of the argument, which, as here presented, has in a certain measure the character of an assumption.

once for all, as by Confucius or Zoroaster in their respective spheres; they do not deliver a mere code of morals, or of legislation, but they purport to disclose a close and continuing superintendence from on high over human affairs. And the whole is doubly woven into one: first, by a chain of Divine action, and of human instructors acting under Divine authority, which is never broken until the time when political servitude, like another Egyptian captivity, has become the appointed destiny of the nation; secondly, by the Messianic bond, by the light of prophecy shining in a dark place, and directing onward the minds of devout men to the "fulness of time" and the birth of the wondrous Child, so as effectually to link the older sacred books to the dispensation of the Advent, and to carry forward their office until the final day of doom. May it not boldly be asked, what parallel to such an outline as this can be supplied by any of the sacred books preserved among any other of the races of the world? So far, then, the office and work of the Old Testament, as presented to us by its own contents, is without a compeer among the old religions. It deals with the case of man as a whole. It is alike adapted to every race and region of the earth. And how, according to the purport of the Old Testament, may that case best be summed up? In these words: it is a history of sin and of redemption.

Our Lord has emphatically said, "They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick" (Matt. 9: 12); and this saying goes to the root of the whole matter. Is there, or is there not, a deep disease in the world which overflows it like a deluge, and submerges in a great degree the fruit-bearing capacities of our nature? Are we as a race whole, or are we profoundly sick? I think that to an impartial eye and to a thoughtful mind it must seem strange that there should be a doubt as to the answer to be given to this question. It seems more easy to comprehend the mental action of those whom the picture of the actual world, as it is unrolled before them, tempts, by its misery, guilt, and shame, into doubt of the being of God, than of persons who can view that picture, and who cannot but observe the dominant part borne by man in determining its character, and yet can make it a subject of question whether man is morally diseased. Veils may have been cast between our vision and the truth of the case by the relative excellence of some select human spirits; by the infinitely varied degrees of the universal malady; by the exaggera-

tions and the narrowness of outlying schools of theology; and lastly by the remarkable circumstance that races—above all the extraordinarily gifted race of the ancient Greeks—have lived on into large developments of art, of intellect, and of material power, without creating or retaining any strong conception of moral evil under the only aspect which reveals its deeper features; that aspect, namely, which presents it to the mind as a departure from the will of God. But these disguises are pierced through and through by ever so little of calm reflection. We can conceive how generations, blinded by long abuse to the character of moral evil, could well contrive to blink and pass by the question. But we, who inherit the Christian tradition, ethical as well as dogmatic, cannot, I think, deny the prevalence, perhaps not even the preponderance, of moral evil in the world, without a preliminary process of degeneracy in our own habit of mind. In renouncing that tradition, we shall find that we return to a conception which admitted to be evil only that which was so violently in conflict with the comfort of human society as to require condemnation and repression by its laws. The gap between these two conceptions—the one of disordered nature, the other of Divine grace—is immeasurable.

It seems, then, that, in describing vividly the fact of sin in the world, the Scriptures of the Old Testament proceed upon lines which have also been drawn in the general consciousness at least of the Christian ages. Nor can we wonder that sin is described as a deviation from the order of nature, as a foreign element, not belonging to the original creation of Divine design, but introduced into it by special causes. And here we come to what is known as the fall of man, and to the narration of that fall as it is given in the Book of Genesis. Against this narration the negative criticism has been actively employed. The action ascribed to the serpent is declared to be incredible; the punishment of Adam, disproportioned to the offense, which consisted only in an action not essentially immoral; the punishment of all mankind, for the fault of one, intolerably unjust.

Now let us set entirely aside, for the moment, the form of this narrative, and consider only its substance. Let us deal with it as if it were a parable, in which the severance between the form and the substance is acknowledged and familiar. In proposing this, I do not mean to make on my own part any definitive surrender of the form as it stands, or any admission adverse to it.

There is, it may be, high and early Christian authority even for surrendering the form. I only seek to pass within it, and to put the meaning and substance of it upon their trial. In this relation, we find a certain aggregate of objects, which we are now to treat as if they were simply significant figures. There are presented to us the man with the woman in a garden; the serpent with its speech; the two trees of knowledge and of life respectively; a fruit forbidden by Divine command, but eaten in defiance of it; and ejectionment from the garden in consequence. In this ejectionment is involved a great deterioration of outward state. And a deterioration of inward nature is also exhibited in the derangement of its functions. A new sense of shame bears witness to the revolt of its lower against its higher elements, and for the first time exhibits it to us as a disordered, and therefore dishonored, thing. Together with all this, there is the outline of a promise that from among the progeny of the fallen pair a Deliverer shall arise, who, at the cost of personal suffering, shall strike at the very seat of life in the emblem of evil, and so destroy its power. In this relation many modern objectors have discovered an intolerable folly, and the Christian tradition of eighteen centuries has acknowledged a profound philosophy and a painful and faithful delineation of an indisputable truth.

Now what is the substance conveyed under this form? The Almighty has brought into existence a pair of human beings. He has laid upon them a law of obedience, not to a Decalogue setting forth things essentially good, and the reverse of them, but simply to a rule of feeding and not feeding. The point at which this brings into view an independent or objective law lies in the prohibition to feed upon a tree which imparts the knowledge of good and evil. That is to say, the pair, as they then were, were forbidden to aspire to the possession of that knowledge. It was a dispensation of pure obedience.

The question whether this was reasonable or unreasonable cannot be answered upon abstract grounds, but resolves itself into another question, whether it was appropriate or inappropriate to the state of the beings thus addressed. Some may assume that Adam was what so great a writer as Milton has represented him to be,—

“For contemplation and for valor born;” *

and not for contemplation only, but for intricate inquiry and debate on

“Fixed fate, free-will, foreknowledge absolute.” *

If we take the developed man, such as we know him in Christian and civilized society; it seems plain that to lay down for him a law of life which did not include the consideration of essential good and evil, would not only stunt and starve his faculties, but would shock his moral sense.

It may be said that a single act of disobedience, even after full warning, could not so deprave a character as reasonably to entail upon the offender a total change of condition. But I would observe that the school of cities which would take this objection is the very school which, utterly rejecting the literal form of the narrative, is bound to look at it as parable. When so contemplated, its lesson is that rebellion, deliberate and wilful (and this is nothing less), fundamentally changes for the worse the character of the rebel. It places him in a new category of motive and action, in which the repetition of the temptation ordinarily begets the repetition of the sin; and it is mercy, not cruelty, which meets this deterioration of character, not with a final and judicial abandonment, but with a deterioration of state, which teaches the lesson of retribution, and serves as an emphatic warning against further sin.

Scripture lies before us in a true perspective when we come to understand that everywhere the will of God is in accord with the righteousness of God, and that what is promised or inflicted by command is also promised or inflicted by self-acting consequence, according to the constitution of the nature we have received. Religion and philosophy thus join hands, and never part them. When, therefore, we are told that Adam after his sin was shut out from Eden, we are not entitled to say, how hard that he could not be allowed to return, and perhaps amend. What is inflicted as penalty from without is acted in character within. Repentance is not innocence; there must be a remedial process, and, until that process has been faithfully accomplished, the anterior state and habit of mind cannot be resumed.

I do not argue with those who say this is a bad constitution of things, under which sin engenders sinfulness; some better one might surely have been devised. It is for us not merely as Christians, but as men of sense, to eschew speculations which even their authors must see to be wholly devoid of practical effect, and to assume the great moral laws and constitution of our nature

* “Paradise Lost.”

* “Paradise Lost.”

as ultimate facts, as boundaries which it is futile to overstep.

To my mind, then, the narrative of the Fall is in accordance with the laws of a grand and comprehensive philosophy, and the objections taken to it are the product of narrower and shallower modes of thought. Introducing us to man in his first stage of existence,—a stage not of savagery, but of childhood,—it exhibits to us the gigantic drama of his evolution in its opening. In the Paradise of the Book of Genesis, it reduces to a practical form the noble legend of the Golden Age, cherished especially in pre-historic Greece. It wisely teaches us to look to misused free-will as the source of all the sin, and of all the accompanying misery, which still overflow the world, and environ human life like a moral deluge. It shows us man in his childhood, no less responsible for disobedience to simple command, than man in his manhood for contravention of those laws of essential right and wrong, which remain now and forever clothed with the majesty of Divine command. It teaches us how sin begets sin, how the rebellion of the creature against the Creator was at once followed by the rebellion of the creature's lower appetites against his higher mind and will. It impresses upon us that sin is not like the bird lightly flying past us in the air, which closes as it goes, and leaves no trace behind. It alters for the worse the very being of the man that acts it, and leaves to him a deteriorated nature, which he in turn, by the inexorable laws of his constitution, transmits to his descendants; and which again in them exhibits, variably, yet, on the whole, with clear and even glaring demonstration, the evil bias it has received, until it shall be happily corrected and renewed by those remedial means which it was the office of the Old Testament to foreshadow and of the New to establish. Everywhere, then, in this narrative, we find that it is instinct with the principles of the highest moral and judicial order.

For the present I pass by the Flood (Gen. 6-8) and the Dispersion (Gen. 10), which may be most conveniently considered in connection with what is termed profane history, and I touch next upon the call of Abraham, which imports the selection of a peculiar and separate people to be in a special degree the subjects of God's care, the guardians of his Word, and the vehicles of his promises. Of all great and distinctive chapters in the history of the human race we have here perhaps the greatest and the most distinctive.

This selection of Abraham and his race,

if we speak after the manner of men, we might perhaps describe as follows. The original attempt to plant a race upon our planet, which should be endowed with the faculty of free-will, but should always direct that will to good, had been frustrated through sin; and the tainted progeny had, after a trial of many generations, been destroyed by the Deluge. In the descendants of Noah, man was renewed upon a far larger scale. Different branches of the race (Gen. 10) were sent, or were allowed to go forth, and to people different parts of the earth, each carrying with them different gifts, and different vocations according to those gifts, the notes of which, in various prominent cases, we cannot fail to discern written large upon the page of history. After a time, choice was made not of a nation, but of a person,—namely, Abraham,—who, with his descendants, became subject to a special training. They lived, according to the record in the Bible, not like other men generally, dependent upon the exercise of their natural faculties alone, but with the advantage from time to time, and with the continuing responsibility, of supernatural command and visitation. But this remarkable promotion to a higher form of life did not invest them with any arbitrary or selfish prerogative. On the contrary, as the legislation of Moses was distinguished from other ancient codes by its liberal and likewise elaborate care for the stranger; so also, from the very outset, and before the family could blossom into the nation,—nay, even in the very person of Abraham,—the gift imparted to him was shown to be given for the behoof of mankind at large. "In thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed" (Gen. 28 : 14). The prerogative of the Jew was from its very inception bound up with the future elevation of the Gentile.

This elevation doubtless carried with it the duty and the means of reaching a higher level of moral life than prevailed among the surrounding Asiatic nations, who, sharing with the chosen race the infirmity and deterioration of nature, differed in this that they carried the reflection of their own sinfulness into their creed respecting the unseen, and made religion itself a direct instrument of corruption. But those whom we call the patriarchs were not exempted from the general degeneracy; and even Abraham, the general strain of whose life appears to have been simple and devout, on going down into Egypt to escape from famine, exposed his wife to the risk of an adulterous connection with the king of the

country, lest, if she were known to be his wife, his personal safety should be compromised. On the moral standing of the race of Abraham, as compared with that of contemporary races, there will be more to say hereafter. Meantime it may be observed that the sins and follies of the favored race are told in the narrative frankly, and without attempting to excuse them. This frankness of relation extends also to the calamities which befell the Israelites; and as an evidence of the integrity of the Hebrew penmen, it suggests a presumption that such plain speaking, in the face of national and ancestral self-love, is, to say the least, highly in accordance with the belief that the record was framed under special guidance from above.

The selection of Abraham and his posterity in its immediate effect withdrew nothing from the nations outside the Hebrew pale. It bestowed, indeed, upon the line of Ishmael a preferential but inferior blessing, which, however, it is no part of the present purpose to examine, further than to say that the Mohammedan religion may be regarded, in its conflict with the idolatry which it first confronted, and in the present day among the tribes of Western Africa, as the communication of a relative good.

The object which demands our attention is the promise of a blessing in and by the seed of Abraham to all the nations of the earth. The first-fruits of this blessing may be said to have been perceived in the translation of the books of the Old Testament into Greek during the third century before the Advent. At the time when the Greek language was maturing its supremacy in the East through the conquests of Alexander the Great, and in the West through appreciation by the Italian genius, in some respects allied to it, the race was on its decline, both as to its intellect and as to its practical energy. This decline may, perhaps, have rendered the world more receptive of the influences, which the substance of the Hebrew books was calculated to exercise.

There can hardly be a doubt that, among all the forms of Greek thought exhibited in the different schools of philosophy, that of the Stoics was the highest in respect of its conception of the Deity, of its emancipation from idolatry, and of its capacity of moral elevation. In the hands of Seneca, of Epictetus, and of Marcus Aurelius, Stoic ideas attained so high a level as to have been used by some in disparagement of the exclusive claim of the gospel to the promulgation of truths powerful enough to regen-

erate the world. Without asserting that the early Stoics derived their inspiration through the Greek version, called the Septuagint, from the Hebrew Scriptures, it may be observed that, as a matter of fact, philosophy rose to a higher level through the Stoics while the Greek mind was declining, and that Stoicism made its first appearance at the epoch when those Scriptures had become accessible. Also it arose and flourished not in Greece, but at points such as Citium, in countries such as Pontus, in schools of learning such as Alexandria, which were seats of Jewish resort and influence.*

It was an advance of a different order towards the fulfilment of the Abrahamic promises, when the apostles, charged with the commission of our Lord, went forth into all the world, and preached the gospel to every creature (Mark 16:16). Then, indeed, an enginery was set at work, capable of coping with the whole range of the mischiefs brought into the world by sin, and of completely redeeming the human being from its effects, and consecrating our nature to duty and to God. It is impossible here to do so much as even to skirt this vast subject. But at once these three things may be said as to the development through the gospel of the Abrahamic promise. First, that in the vast aggregate of genuine believers, the recovery of the Divine image has been effectual, and the mainspring of their being has been set right before their quitting the world, by the dedication of the will to God. Secondly, that the social results of the change have been beneficial and immense in the restriction of wars, in the abolition of horrible practices publicly sanctioned, in the recognition of rights, in the elevation of woman (whose case most and best of all represents the case of right against force), in the mitigation of laws, in the refinement of manners, and in the public acknowledgment of higher standards of action. Thirdly, that Christendom is at this moment undeniably the prime and central power of the world, and still bears, written upon its front, the mission to subdue it. In point of force and onward impulsion, it stands without a rival, while every other widely spread religion is in decline. Critical, indeed, are the movements which affect it from within. Vast are the deductions which on every side are to be made from the fulness of the Divine promises when we try to measure their results in the world of facts. Indefinitely slow, and

* "Encycl. Britann." 9th ed. Art. "Stoics."

hard to trace in detail, as may be, like a glacier in descent, the march of the times, the Christianity of to-day has, in relation to the world non-Christian, an amount of ascendancy such as it has never before possessed; and, if it retain its inward consistency, the only question seems to be as to the time, the circumstances, and the rate of its further, perhaps of its final, conquests.

I know that it is far beyond the scope of a few pages such as these to make good in detail the claims of the Abrahamic promise. Still, I think, that even what has been said may in some measure suffice for the purpose which I have immediately in view. That purpose is to establish in outline the exceptional character of the books of the Old Testament; and with this aim to show that they bear upon them the stamp of a comprehensiveness which embraces, which penetrates, which covers the history of the work as a whole. The promise, given to Abraham nearly two thousand years before the Advent, finds its correlative marks in the train of subsequent history. These marks demonstrate that it was given by a Divine foreknowledge. And if so, then the venerable record in which it is enshrined surely seems here, at least, to carry the seal and signature of a Divine authorship.

Now let us consider from another point of view the selection of the Hebrew race, and the peculiar standing of the Mosaic legislation so intimately allied with the whole of its singularly checkered fortunes. And in order to do something toward ascertaining what was probably the cause determining the Divine selection and procedure, we may do well first to refer to some aims which might at first sight have been thought probable, such as to provide a complete theology, or such as to reward with honor, wealth, and power, a peculiarly virtuous people, whose moral conduct was of a nature likely to make them an edifying and attractive example to the nations of the earth. Human speculation might have been forward to anticipate that one or both of these aims might have been contemplated by a plan so exceptional as the selection and isolation of one particular line and people. But the facts appear to show that any such anticipation would have been entirely mistaken.

By a complete theology I mean simply such a theology as would confront and make provision for all the leading facts of the moral situation. Among these a prominent place had already been given to the entrance of sin into the world, and to the promise of redemption from its power.

Now, it is evident that there was no attempt in the legislation of the Pentateuch at this theological completeness. Its theology is summed up in clear declarations of the being of God and of duty and love to him, with which are directly associated in the Decalogue the main items of man's duty to his neighbor, and, both there and elsewhere, the doctrines of rewards and punishments. The race also inherited the narrative of what is termed in Christian theology the Fall of Man. This, however, was part of the anterior tradition, and, though implied in the Mosaic system, was not directly set forth in its terms.

But these rewards and punishments are of a temporal nature, and the Mosaic legislation gives no indication of a future state or of an underworld. This is the more remarkable, because the early chapters of Genesis, although they usually contain but the merest outline of history, are not without such indication (Gen. 5 : 24). Enoch, at the end of his three hundred and sixty-five years, "was not, for God took him." These remarkable words are substituted for the formula given in the cases of the other patriarchs, whose record closes with the phrase "and he died" (Gen. 5 : 5, and *passim*). This seems to be a clear manifestation of the state into which Enoch entered without passing through the gate of death.

Again, we now know, from the Egyptian Book of the Dead and otherwise, that the religious system of that country not only included, but was greatly based upon, the conception of a future life. It seems absolutely impossible that the Israelites, even had they not been aware of it already, could have dwelt for many generations in the land of Egypt without coming to know of it. Our Lord himself affirms that they knew it (Matt. 22 : 32; Mark 12 : 27). And we have it exhibited to us in the Psalms (Psalm 16 : 10; 49 : 15), which exhibit the interior and spiritual life of chosen souls. It has, perhaps, been too much the practice to assume that the Mosaic law is to be regarded as an enlargement of the patriarchal religion. Without doubt, it is at least a very large and important supplement to that religion. But a supplement is less as well as more. It need not contain everything contained in that to which it is a supplement. Here is a great and vital particular in which the Mosaic law cannot be said even to have republished the patriarchal religion, and which both preceded and survived the law, but did not find a place in it. Accordingly, among the Jews of the Advent the school which rigidly adhered to the letter of the

law, namely, the Sadducees (Acts 23 : 8), denied the future state, and held "that there is no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit."

We are not, therefore, to suppose that Israel was without the hope of a future life, which St. Peter on the Day of Pentecost himself demonstrated from the Sixteenth Psalm (Acts 2 : 25), but only to perceive that the Mosaic legislation was limited to its proper purpose,—that, namely, of setting apart a nation from the rest of mankind, and providing it with peculiar means and guarantees for the fulfilment of its mission as a nation. It erected a walled precinct, within which the ancient belief of the fathers was to find shelter and to thrive, while it was wofully perishing away from all the kindred nations of the world. It supplied an impregnable home for personal religion. But personal religion, taken by itself, is sadly weak in the means of transmission from age to age. The sons of Eli were wicked persons, and the evil Manasseh succeeds the pious Hezekiah. It is not without the aid of institutions that the sacred fire is kept alive among men. Hence our Lord did not merely teach his holy precepts, and fulfil his Divine career, but founded his church on earth, to carry his work onward, even to the day of doom. And hence, under the guidance of the Most High, Moses was commissioned to establish a system which, without being in itself complete, provided for the double purpose, first, of building up a fastness or fortress within whose walls true spiritual religion in singular fulness might flourish and abound ; and, secondly, of establishing a firmly-knit national system of doctrine and worship, intended to secure the permanent purity of belief in the one self-existent God, and the continuing practice of a ritual which set forth in act the existence of sin, and made intelligible and familiar to the people at large the need of deliverance from it by reconciliation. And so, through the long ages from the Exodus to the Advent, there lived on the two systems together, distinct but accordant. The one was the religion of interior devotion, powerfully upheld and stimulated, as occasion offered, by the Prophets, and continually exercised and developed in the Psalms. The other was the religion of exterior worship, full of significance, and by its command over the entire people, its incorporation in public laws and institutions, and its association at every point with the national life, exempting that higher and interior treasure from the risks of dependence on short-lived individual

fervor, and providing secure means for its transmission from age to age.

We have in the institution of the prophetic school the setting forth of a profound lesson, which reminds us that the Mosaic system was alike in itself necessary, and of itself insufficient.

From another, and possibly even more commanding, point of view, we perceive the insufficiency of Mosaism to fill up fully the outlines of Divine dispensations. Sin in the form of disobedience to the Divine command had entered into the world, and had utterly marred the fair order which at the outset the Almighty had noted in his Creation. The mischief was not left to stand alone, and the promise of a Redeemer from it was immediately delivered. Thus far the Mosaic system helps us, but in helping us tells us to look beyond itself. By its system of sacrifice it threw into distinct relief the idea of the offense which had been committed. But with this were associated the further ideas that from this offense there would be a way of reconciliation and recovery, and that this way would be found in a member of the human race, a portion of the seed of the woman. On these further ideas Mosaism so far threw light that it pointed through sacrifice to pardon, but it added nothing of force or clearness to the promise that this recovery should be wrought out in and through a Redeemer having the form and the nature of man. This vital portion of the ancient tradition of the patriarchs did not derive any supplement or enforcement from the construction of the Hebrew laws and institutions. It remained, and it propagated itself mainly in the Psalms and in the Prophets. But its root was pre-Mosaic. Some rays of the light of that promise may, perhaps, be traced outside the Hebrew precinct, in that close vital association between Deity and humanity which marked the Greek or Olympian religion, but which, as the fundamental conception of sin faded away, lost all its moral force. Mosaism did essential and infinite service in deeply sculpturing (so to speak) the idea of sin in the human consciousness, but it was not favorable to that theanthropy, or union of the divine and human, of which the human side had been so strongly foreshadowed in the original charter. Perhaps by the rigid prohibition of images, which was so necessary for its direct purpose, it rather tended to widen the distance at which man stood as a being worshipping his Maker. Already idolatry, such as prevailed in the East, was associated with the human form, and the necessity of shutting out that

idolatry carried with it, in this respect, a certain religious incompleteness as a consequence.

I now come to the second supposition ; and I ask whether the selection of the Hebrew race was grounded on their moral superiority. Within narrow limits, the answer would be affirmative. They were appointed to purge and to possess the land of Canaan on account of the terrible and loathsome iniquities of its inhabitants. The nations whom they were to subdue had reached that latest stage of sensual iniquity which respects neither God nor nature. The sensual power within man, which rebelled against him when he had rebelled against God, had in Canaan enthroned its lawlessness as law, and its bestial indulgences had become recognized, normal, nay more, even pious and obligatory. And there are those in the present day who, admitting the facts, find in them a subject of pleasurable contemplation as exhibiting the free exercise of natural propensities. The propensities were due, indeed, to nature, but only to nature in a condition of disorder and disease.

The vicious practices of these nations, indicated rather than described in the Old Testament, and veiled apparently for decency's sake in the translations, are sadly attested by the character of the remains, which, in later times, archæology has recovered from their hiding-places. They are also attested by the poems of Homer, where the Phœnicians represent Syrian religion, and where we find the goddess Aphrodite, whose debased worship it seems plain that they were gradually importing into Greece, to have stood for little more than a symbol of lawless lust. This is "Ashtoreth, the goddess of the Sidonians" (1 Kings 11 : 5-33).

I find it much more difficult to answer the question, whether the Hebrew race were planted in the land of promise, which flowed with milk and honey, by reason of, or in connection with, their moral superiority to the nations of the world taken universally. It is at the present day extremely difficult to make any trustworthy estimate of the comparative moral standing of any two contemporary peoples. It may be admitted that the form of human nature has with the modern conditions grown more manifold and complex. But, on the other hand, in answering the question I have just put, we have the difficulties not only of remoteness in time, but of extreme scantiness of information.

I shall assume that the mass of the children of Israel at large were trained mainly

by Mosaism, and little in comparison by the more highly spiritual tradition conserved and enshrined within it. Speaking of these, we may consider that the Old Testament gives us more than a sketch, if less than a picture, of their social and moral state. I am aware of only one other race, with respect to which we have any account possessing a tolerable fulness. That is the race of the Achaian Greeks, painted with marvelous force as well as fulness by Homer. The poet describes the manners of one generation ; the books of the Old Testament, say from Abraham to the Captivity, range over many ; but, numerous as these are, they present a considerable unity of color. I carefully reserve the case of that inner and elect circle among the Hebrews, to whom we owe the possession down to this day of inestimable spiritual treasures. But comparing, as well as I am able, ordinary or average life among them on the one side, and among the Greeks of Homer (whom I take to have lived long after Moses, but before the age of David) on the other, I cannot discern that these last were in a moral sense inferior.

I am sensible, however, that in such a proposition as has just been uttered there must be, to the general reader, some appearance of paradox ; and likewise that such an appearance will not be effectually removed by reference to the scriptural complaints of the stiff neck or the hard heart of the Israelites. I must therefore make further endeavors to get at the truth of the case before us.

I do not feel that even the patriarchal history is designed to convey to us the idea that the privileged race stood uniformly at a great moral elevation as compared with other and ordinary portions of mankind.

The subject is a painful one, and I shall not dilate upon its details. But it seems undeniable that in the history of the selected line we find, from time to time, the development of wickedness in its extreme form. Such are the sin of Onan (Gen. 38 : 8, 9), the incest of the daughters of Lot (Gen. 19 : 32), and the brutal insensibility of Ham, the son of Noah, to the claims of natural decency (Gen. 9 : 22). Nor are the women exempt, as we learn from the incest devised and effected by Tamar (Gen. 38 : 6-30). And the wife of Lot cast a yearning look on Sodom (Gen. 19 : 26). The first three cases, and the last, are not in the line of the ultimate succession, but Pharez, the son of Tamar, is the recorded ancestor of King David and his descendants (Matt. 1 : 3-5). Now, among the

Achaian Greeks of Homer we find a sensitive delicacy, altogether peculiar, as to all exposure of the person. There is nowhere any extreme form of sensual indulgence. Among the Boeotian immigrants from the East, that is from the Syrian coast, there occurred at an early stage of their history in the Peninsula, a case of incest;* but it was always regarded by tradition as involuntary, and, what is more, a curse clave on this account to the race, and brought about its early extinction.

While incest is thus regarded as a monstrous perversion of nature among the Greeks, there are in the Homeric poems, as I think, sufficiently clear indications that it was practiced without shame among the Phœnicians,† the coast-neighbors of Syria, and their partners in manners, if not also probably in race.

Let us now turn to two others among the great moral constituents of human character, and consider the case of humanity as against cruelty, and of truth as against fraud.

Let us take the two cases first of the deceit practiced by Jacob upon his brother Esau and his father Isaac; secondly, of the base and unnatural conduct of the sons of Jacob towards their brother Joseph. As there is nothing recorded in favor of the Homeric or Achaian Greeks which approaches in moral beauty to the forgiveness freely accorded by Joseph, so there is nothing recorded against them which so wickedly tramples down the laws of nature as the flagrant iniquities to which attention has just been called. The conduct of the suitors of Penelope in the *Odyssey*, and the actions of Paris, form the worst exhibitions of human nature which come before us in the Poems. Both there and in the Old Testament retribution follows guilt, but what I now speak of is the depths of guilt, not its treatment. There is nowhere in Homer a case, between relatives, of deceit, like that of Jacob, or of cruelty like that of his sons.

When we come to the Palestinian period, it would appear that the Israelites were subjected to a force and diversity of temptations, such as, perhaps, no people ever had to encounter. War stimulated their vindictive passions. Triumph everywhere waited on their arms. They were to esteem themselves the directly chosen ministers of God. They were likely to regard the heathen, among whom they came, with hatred and contempt. They passed from a life, wandering, uncertain, and ill supplied,

to settlement and abundance. The temples of seductive lust everywhere met their eyes, and the evil example, by which they were solicited in the mass and in detail, pretended to hallow itself by close association with religion. There is scarcely an evil passion that finds entrance into the human breast which was not powerfully stirred by the circumstances of the Israelitish conquest. We find in the sacred text indications of the severity of some of their temptations. Take, for instance, Deuteronomy 6: 10-16; and, again, in Deuteronomy 31: 20, it is written:

"For, when I shall have brought them into the land which I swear unto their fathers, that floweth with milk and honey; and they shall have eaten and filled themselves, and waxen fat; then will they turn unto other gods and serve them, and provoke me, and break my covenant."

The general indication seems to be a very great ethical superiority of the Hebrew line over the Asiatic nations in their neighborhood, as indeed it was from Asia that the extremes of corruption flowed into the Greek Peninsula in the earliest historic times. Yet the loveliest picture of womanhood in all the early sacred books is that of Ruth; and Ruth was of the children of Moab, who was the incestuous offspring of one of the daughters of Lot (Gen. 19: 36, 37).

Humanity, or mercy, is certainly not the strong point of the Achaian Greeks. With them, not only no sacredness, but little value, attached to human life; and the loss of it stirs no sympathy unless it be associated with beauty, valor, patriotism, or other esteemed characteristics. Yet here, again, the forms of evil are less extreme. We do not find, even in the stern, relentless vengeance of Odysseus on his enemies, or in the passionate wish of Achilles that nature would permit what it forbade, namely, to devour his hated foe, a form of cruelty and brutality so savage as is recorded in the case of the Levite with his wife and concubine at Gibeah, and of the war which followed it (Judg. 20, 21).

The temptations of lust were even more formidable than those of cruelty and revenge. According to the sacred text, this danger was foreseen from the first; and the very earliest Mosaic legislation (Exod. 22: 10), after that of the Commandments, begins to denounce a portion of the indescribable practices which were rife among the occupiers of the promised land. It was subsequently carried into further particulars, and we know that down the whole course of the historic period before the Captivity, the filthy idolatry not only en-

* Od. XI., 271-274.

† Od. X., 7, and, less flagrantly, VII., 64-68.

circled the chosen people, but at times so invaded it as to reduce to a remnant the true worshippers of God. Even pious monarchs were sometimes afraid to destroy its constituted and, in a perverse sense, consecrated emblems.

On the other hand, we must not view the case of the early Greeks in the spirit of optimism. War and its devastations were with them habitual and almost normal; property was little respected; cunning as well as skill was sometimes held in honor. Yet it remains a broad and indisputable truth that honor and truth, as well as valor, were prevailingly regarded, that family ties were very sacred, that the law of nature was simply and profoundly revered, and that the extreme forms of vice and sin, the widest and most hopeless departures from the law of God, are nowhere to be found in any of their forms.

Enough has perhaps been said to show that we cannot claim as a thing demonstrable a great moral superiority for the Hebrew line generally over the whole of the historically-known contemporary races. I nevertheless cannot but believe that there was an interior circle, known to us by its fruits in the Psalter and the prophetic books, of morality and sanctity altogether superior to what was to be found elsewhere, and due rather to the pre-Mosaic, than to the Mosaic, religion of the race. But it remains to answer with reverence the question, Why, if not for a distinctly superior morality, nor as a full religious provision for the whole wants of man, *why* was the race chosen as a race to receive the promises, to guard the oracles, and to fulfil the hopes, of the great Redemption?

The answer may, I believe, be conveyed in moderate compass. The design of the Almighty, as we everywhere find, was to prepare the human race, by a varied and a prolonged education, for the arrival of the great Redemption. The immediate purposes of the Abrahamic selection may have been to appoint, for the task of preserving in the world the fundamental bases of religion, a race which possessed qualifications for that end decisively surpassing those of all other races. We may easily indicate two of these fundamental bases. The first was the belief in one God. The second was the knowledge that the race had departed from his laws; without which knowledge how should they welcome a Deliverer whose object it was to bring them back? It may be stated with confidence, that among the dominant races of the world the belief in one God was speedily destroyed by polythe-

ism, and the idea of sin faded gradually but utterly away. It is audacious to say that what was wanted was a race so endowed with the qualities of masculine tenacity and persistency, as to hold over these all-important truths until that fulness of time, when, by and with them, the complete design of the Almighty would be revealed to the world? A long experience of trials beyond all example has proved since the Advent how the Jews, in this one essential quality, have surpassed every other people upon earth. A marvellous and glorious experience has shown how among their ancestors before the Advent were kept alive and in full vigor the doctrine of belief in one God, and the true idea of sin. These our Lord found ready to his hand, essential preconditions of his teaching. And in the exhibition of this great and unparalleled result of a most elaborate and peculiar discipline, we may perhaps recognize, sufficiently for the present purpose, the office and work of the Old Testament.

London, England.

UNIVERSALIST BELIEF.

WHY I AM A UNIVERSALIST.

BY PHINEAS T. BARNUM.

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I WAS educated in the strictest so-called "orthodox faith." When I was from ten to fourteen years of age, I attended prayer-meetings where I could almost feel the burning waves and smell the sulphureous fumes. I remember the shrieks and groans of suffering children and parents and even aged grandparents. I would return to my home and with the utmost sincerity ask God to take me out of the world if he would only save me from hell. I professed to love God, said I hoped I loved him as I heard my elders do. Necessarily before this seething sulphureous sea of flame my love must have been similar to the love a woman would feel to a tyrant who with a loaded pistol pointed at her heart bade her love him or die. I grew to know that love cannot be forced. We cannot love the unlovely. "We love him because he first loved us."

In speaking of my Universalist faith I shall not stop to defend those basal beliefs on which it rests in common with all other Christian doctrines. I shall assume, without giving my reasons, the being of God,

the authority of Jesus, the truth of the trend of Scripture, and the immortality of all souls. I shall speak chiefly on only those points which differentiate mine from other Christian sects. I can make no argument for a universe finally obedient which will have any force to one who denies the being of God. An argument for endless discord can be made which all atheists would accept; indeed, all modern arguments for that idea play into the hands of atheists. These arguments assert a God who either cannot, or will not, bring the creation of his hands to order; hence he is not God, not infinite. His name should begin with a small letter. The atheist accepts the argument, and, if there is an arch-fiend, he certainly laughs. No argument for a finally harmonious universe can be made save on the basis of Christian theism. I do not, indeed, insist that a man must accept my definition or conception of deity; but some conception which does not rob him of the necessary attributes of his being. He may say with Arnold "a power not ourselves which makes for righteousness." Very well; if only Arnold's God continues to make for righteousness, Universalism is assured. If, however, one is able to say with Jesus, "Our Father who art in heaven," the argument is still stronger. To him who believes neither of these ideas of God nor their equivalent I can make no argument which will avail.

I will say a word in regard to the use I make of the Bible, for that use which will have force with some will be wasted space to others. To those in sympathy with that brilliant rhetorician, Mr. Ingersoll, of my land, a word will weigh no more for being Scriptural, if indeed it be not entirely ruled out of court on that account. Others will not accept any word not Scriptural. I have only contempt for a fusillade of texts, or a culling out one here and one there regardless of contexts, or an exegesis which makes one text which is a statement of some old fighting Hebrew's conception of God as angry endlessly, outweigh fifty texts stating his better conception that "His mercy endureth forever." The preacher against absurd fashions in headgear who took for his text "Top not come down" (Matt. xxiv. 17), made a use of Scripture I can hardly endorse. So far as I have read I find no doctrine supported by the general trend of the whole Scriptures which is not also supported by reason and experience, and therefore to be believed. The word of God began to be heard by men and a record made of it even in much despised Genesis. Possibly we

have heard clearer words since, but that was, on the whole, a very good beginning. The bearing of his Word is progressive and culminative until, in the fullness of time, it was "made flesh and dwelt among us full of grace and truth." The New Testament system of religion is not true because Jesus said so; but Jesus said so because it is true. Its confirmation is not chiefly in inspiration and miracle, but in the deepest experience of the best souls in all ages. The Word of God to men did not cease when the New Testament canon closed. Still is the best thought of the best men in all lands, the ever-speaking word of God.

As Robinson of Leyden said, "The Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his Holy Word." Said Lowell in his "Cathedral," "I fear not Thy withdrawal; more I fear seeing, to know Thee not, hoodwinked with dreams of signs and wonders, while, unnoticed, Thou walking Thy garden still commun'st with men." I shall appeal with confidence to God's Word in the trend of Scripture, in Jesus and in the nature of man. That all may know definitely what a Universalist believes I will give our written official creed, for we present the anomaly of having a written creed we dare to preach and which fairly represents the principles we build on.

Our confession of faith is as follows:—

Art. I.—We believe that the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments contain a revelation of the character of God and of the duty, interest, and destination of mankind.

Art. II.—We believe there is one God, whose nature is love, revealed in one Lord Jesus Christ, by one Holy Spirit of Grace, who will finally restore the whole family of mankind to holiness and happiness.

Art. III.—We believe that holiness and true happiness are inseparably connected, and that believers ought to be careful to maintain order and practice good works; for these things are good and profitable unto men.

Not a few are prejudiced against the Universalists because they have seen only a distortion or caricature of their belief. Many attacks taken to be against us have really been against only a willful or ignorant parody of us. Dr. Talmage may be quoted as a representative of a class frequently declaiming about the incongruity of all saints and sinners alike going to heaven together. An honest glance at our written creed or our current literature will show any one that we know that "holiness and happiness are inseparably connected." The incongruity exists in conceiving of heaven as only

locality, and salvation as getting into a good place. It is rather absurd to suppose saints and sinners shut up all together within four jeweled walls and playing on harps, whether they like it or not. I have faint hopes that after another hundred years or so, it will begin to dawn on the minds of those to whom this idea is such a weight that nobody with any sense holds or ever did hold it. To the Universalist heaven in its essential nature is not locality, but moral and spiritual status, and salvation is not securing one and avoiding another place, but salvation is finding eternal life. Immortal life is merely endless existence after bodily death. All souls, saints and sinners, do go together into immortal life just as they were together in this life. Eternal life has primarily no reference to time nor place, but to quality. Jesus said, "This is life eternal, that they might know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou has sent." Immortal life is existence regardless of quality. Eternal life is right life, here, there, everywhere. Men may be locally together in this or in immortal life, and still be spiritually and morally separate. The murderer at death enters immortal life; "but ye know that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him" (1 John iii. 15). Why did John say "abiding in him," if eternal life is a place men go to? So long as a man harbors the spirit of murder or any other evil spirit he has not eternal life abiding in him, and locality has nothing to do with the matter. I believe that finally every created soul will be drawn, not forced, to choose to seek, and when he chooses to seek will be helped to find, eternal life. I have no knowledge of place nor time, I have the great life. I will condense into narrow space a few reasons for this hope.

1. I base this belief—for my belief and hope are one—on the attributes of God as admitted by all Christians. Infinite Wisdom knows the end from the beginning, and will not in the beginning create what will defeat the end. Infinite Power is able to control all things toward a desired end. Infinite Love, as expressed in the words, "Our Father," will do the best for its children. What shall we say of the attribute of justice? No attribute has been so belittled as this. We once heard that since man's sin was infinite, justice demanded infinite punishment; now it is changed to the statement, if men sin endlessly justice demands they be punished endlessly. Both these statements are an abortion, a caricature of justice. No finite man can commit

an infinite sin. If any man sin endlessly justice cannot be satisfied, but only endlessly thwarted. Justice demands obedience to just law. It is never satisfied with less. As God is a just God so nothing is ever settled until it is settled right. There are other attributes. "God is a consuming fire." His wrath and anger are spoken of. These attributes express the divine hand raised against sin. If the divine hand is raised against sin one must yield, and I don't believe it is God. God is a consuming fire, not a fire burning forever in empty rage. He consumes man as the refiner's fire does the ore, burning the dross and bringing forth the good, as gold tried by fire.

2. I base my hope on the office and character of Jesus Christ. I see in his life no clumsy mechanical device of vicarious atonement. He did not shed blood to appease an angry deity. The deity does not want blood: he wants obedience. The life and teachings and death of Jesus are the supreme appeal to all mankind, "Be ye reconciled to God." God never needed to be reconciled to them, save in some such sense as any loving father might feel a barrier between himself and a prodigal son. Blood cannot remove it. Only the son coming back penitent can. The character and purpose of Jesus are most comprehensively stated in the parables of "The lost sheep," "The lost piece of silver," "The prodigal son." The final declaration of his purpose he told when he declared, "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me." The completion of this purpose man's rebellion may delay but cannot disappoint nor annul.

3. I base my hope on the trend of Scripture. It is well known that a comparatively small portion of Scripture bears on this immortal life and the great end of our course. Conduct is three-fourths of life. This present life is the great pressing concern. A very large portion of the Old Testament dwells on righteousness and its earthly temporal rewards, or sin with its temporal punishments. The New Testament is a great appeal to men to build character, seek eternal life, and "now is the accepted time." A solemn reserve is thrown over the future life; the great emphasis is on the present time. This is precisely as it should be. Not a few threats of judgment and promises of joy have been stupidly and persistently thrust over there which belonged here.

Now and then, however, scattered through the Bible, its writers looked into the future, and spoke of the great consummation. There are enough such passages to give

every believer warrant for his hopes of immortal life.

Take, then, these passages which speak of the great end and consummation—on the point in question, of course, more others bear—and what is the trend of these Scriptures? Without an exception that I know of, in these passages is a great shout of triumph, a great song of joy; I can cite but one: "Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority and power. For he must reign, till he hath put all enemies under his feet. . . . And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all" (I Corinthians xv. 24-28).

4. I base my hope on the Word of God speaking in the best heart and conscience of the race—the Word heard in the best poems and songs, the best prayers and hopes, of humanity. The ages have been darkest when this hope was lowest. It cannot be successfully controverted that out of the six theological schools of the early Church four taught the doctrines of Universalism, only one annihilation of the wicked and one their endless punishment. To-day no preacher in his fiercest sermons approximates to such utterances as those of Jonathan Edwards. If he did he would not be tolerated a year. The Christian pulpit is silent on the doctrine of endless punishment, or else denies it, as Farrar, Beecher, Irving, and Thomas and a great multitude of greatest minds have.

I wish to contrast two utterances, and leave the reader to judge which is the noblest. One is this utterance of Mr. Talmage at Chautauqua. He said:

Nearly all the heterodox people I know of believe all are coming out at the same destiny without regard to faith and character, Nero and Wesley, Guitau and Garfield. I turn away from such a debauched heaven. Against that cauldron of beastliness I place the two destinies of the Bible forever and forever apart.

This is the surviving remnant of the idea once so vividly preached that the saints in heaven need the sight of hell to complete their joys. The other utterance I contrast to the above is Hawthorne's, in "Glimpses of English Poverty." He says of the wretched London poor:

How difficult to believe that anything so precious as a germ of immortal growth can have been plunged into this cesspool of vice! Oh, what a mystery! Slowly, slowly, as after groping at the bottom of a deep, noisome pool, my hope struggles

upward to the surface, bearing the half-drowned body of a child and bearing it aloft for its own life, and my own life, and all our lives. Unless these slime-clogged nostrils can be made capable of inhaling celestial air, I know not how the purest and most intellectual of us can reasonably expect ever to taste a breath of it. The whole question of eternity is staked there. If a single one of those helpless little ones be lost, the world is lost.

Which of these two sentiments is most like the Jesus of the people?

No Christian prays for endless sin and punishment. If God permits it, it must be good and right. Why not pray for it? All Christians pray for the salvation of sinners, and yet profess to believe it will never be. The first essential of prayer is that it be in faith. The Universalist Church is the only one that believes in success.

Having sketched the bases of my hope that all will seek and find eternal life, it remains to notice a few statements brought against the validity of these proofs.

1. It is objected that we cannot judge what infinite wisdom, love, etc., will do. Very true! Eye cannot see, nor heart feel. How, then, do my orthodox friends get their information of God's intention to endlessly damn us? While we do not presume to measure God's attributes we dare not limit them with mete and bound. I at least suppose them to be infinitely better than the best, instead of infinitely worse than the worst, of man's ways.

2. It is objected that God permits awful pain, misery, and injustice here, which it seems infinite love could not do. He may permit these endlessly. I answer, temporal evil admits of an explanation. It may co-exist with infinite love; but endless evil admits of no explanation. 'Tis a senseless, rayless, starless abyss.

3. "Many die and enter the immortal life who have never sought nor found eternal life, and death ends probation," says the objector.

As the word "probation" is not in the Bible, neither is the thing itself in its popular sense, the demand is made on us, "Show us a text which says man can repent after death."

Suppose a certain number of men should agree that no man has moral opportunity after 1890. I deny their belief. They say, "Show a text which says a man can repent after 1890." I reply, the burden of proof rests on you who have set up the external mechanical arbitrary and artificial date. The fact is that Scripture and reason declare that "now is the accepted time." Now is the time to live, to do, to be. No wise man defers it. It is as wise and as

safe to defer it a day after death as it is a day after any other date. It is neither wise nor safe to defer it at all. There is nothing in the event of death that fixes character and ends a soul's moral possibilities more than there is in the date 1890 or any other arbitrary date. Those who set dates, such as death, after which moral beings cease to be moral beings, must show their proofs. Rev. G. F. Wright, in his book, "The Relation of Death to Probation," cites six texts which he thinks prove that death ends probation. I do not believe that under a true exegesis one of these texts supports such a doctrine; but even admitting it, shall six texts outweigh all the rest of Scripture and reason?*

Against the six texts I place the single psalm which twenty-six times declares "his mercy endureth forever." Any of the multitude of texts which call on men to repent and come to life is a denial of probation. The call is not issued good for thirty days or until death, but good until used. The present life is not a probation, but a discipline. It is the initial step of a moral order whose progressive stages are to be endless. The principles of God's government are not suddenly changed at death or any other date. He is "Our Father," and "the same yesterday, to-day, and forever." The endless ages of immortal life are not given to sit on a flower-bed and sing and play harps, but for the endless development of immortal souls.

4. The form of objection changes. Formerly it was that God elected some to damnation and they could not help themselves. Now we are told he leaves all free to make their own choice, "God has made us so completely free we can go to heaven or hell just as we choose." "Sinners damn themselves." Millions choose evil; may they not always choose it? The reply is, that this is the sinner's will arrayed in battle against the divine will. One must ultimately yield. I expect it will not be God. God will not coerce the sinner's will by force. He faces it as a consuming fire, and the day comes when the sinner sinks down beaten and cries out, "God, I yield!" Terrible is God against sin; foolish the soul that contests against him. Montaigne defined a lie as "Courage toward God and weakness toward man." What sin is not this? The sinner is one who has courage to enter a contest of his will against God's will. My orthodox friends tremble for

God. I do not. I exhort them to "have faith in God."

5. The objector says the sinner cannot repent. He cannot will to repent. He has sinned until it is a habit. Habit has fixed his character. By the momentum of character the endless future is dominated. He does not will eternal life and by-and-by he cannot will it. The force of habit is indeed strong, but this argument overloads it tremendously. To say threescore years and ten give a character momentum for eternity is about like saying a child's toy pistol gives a Krupp gun projectile momentum to go round the world a million times. If a man cannot will to obey he cannot sin. He is not a responsible actor. If death does this, we are all alike unmanned. There can be neither heaven nor hell, not men, but things. How often are fixed habits broken and men lifted out of ruts by some stronger motive, some mightier appeal! A woman studies the piano until her fingers play by habit, but the cry of her first babe so fills her soul that the lesser habit is forgotten under the stress of the diviner appeal. A man by habit profane has many a time been awed and silenced by the presence of dignified and purer souls. In the immortal world a thousand influences and motives may lift out of habits. Says Dr. Miner: "The father's hand may be tenderly laid upon the head of his wayward child as no hand had ever before been laid upon it; and the sight of the holiest, the most paternal, and the most loving of beings may touch that child's heart as it had never before been touched."

Against my hope is quoted the Bible word "hell." The Universalist is characterized as one who does not believe in hell. We believe the Bible doctrine of hell. Sin in a soul is fitly symbolized by the words, Gehenna, Hades, Sheol and Tartarus. Not one of these words primarily means a place of torment after death. The word "hell" in its old English sense of "to cover" was a passable translation of these original words, but in its present orthodox sense is not a translation of one of them, but an unwarranted substitution.

What are we to say when these substantives are described by the adjectives "everlasting," "forever and forever," etc.? What is the Bible use of these adjectives? They are applied to God and immortal life: here we know they mean endless from the nature of the subject. They are applied to the rainbow, Levitical rights, Jewish possession of Canaan, hills and stars: here we know from the nature of the subject they

* To those who wish to read a full discussion of this doctrine, I recommend the above-named book, and as statement of the other side, "The Doctrine of Probation Examined," Dr. G. H. Emerson, Univ. Publishing House, Boston.

do not mean endless. These adjectives are therefore indefinite, and take their force from the nature of the subject to which they are applied. That eminent Bible scholar, Professor Tayler Lewis, said: "The preacher in contending with the Universalist would commit an error, and it may be suffer a failure in his argument, should he lay the whole stress of it on the etymological or historical significance of the words *aion* and *aionios*, and attempt to prove that of themselves they necessarily carry the meaning of endless duration" (Lange's Commentary on Ecclesiastes, p. 48). This is an honest concession from a great orthodox scholar of what my church has always contended for. On Sunday, November 11, 1877, in Westminster Abbey, the great preacher, Canon Farrar, said very impressively: "I ask you where would be the popular teachings about hell if we calmly and deliberately erased from our English Bibles the three words 'damnation,' 'hell,' and 'everlasting'? Yet I say unhesitatingly; I say, claiming the fullest right to speak with the authority of knowledge; I say with the calmest and most unflinching sense of responsibility; I say, standing here in the sight of God and my Saviour, and, it may be, of the angels and the spirits of the dead—that not one of these words ought to stand any longer in the English Bible."

Thus I sketch in merest outline my reasons for saying that none of the objections made are sufficient to undermine the bases on which I rest my hope that all will finally seek and find eternal life.

I recently met my old friend, Rev. C. A. Stoddard, editor of *The New York Observer*. I asked him if his journal had not, like the "orthodox" generally, become more liberal in its faith concerning the final destiny of man. He smilingly replied: "Friend Barnum, our orthodox families cheerfully meet and support you in your efforts to amuse and instruct our children, but we must draw the line there. We cannot endorse your theology." "Is it possible," I asked, "that the *Observer* still sticks to the old doctrine of endless suffering?" "The *Observer* don't budge an inch from its life-long creed and doctrines," he replied. "Surely," said I, "you must lose numerous subscribers who at this day of the 'new orthodoxy' cannot believe that there are childless mothers in the Paradise of God?" The reverend gentleman responded, "The places of such subscribers are readily filled by those who, like myself, loathe the thought of spending an eternity in the company of Judas." "But cannot Infinite

Power, Wisdom, and Goodness conquer, purify, and win even the betrayer of our Saviour, who on the cross prayed for the forgiveness of his murderers?" The religious editor replied, with a good-natured smile, "Judas would require considerable fixing up before he would be fit to come in close contact with the holy angels and saints in heaven." "True," I replied, "but will not you and I need some 'fixing up' for that state of perfect holiness without which no man can see God?" He admitted that such is the fact, but evidently he cannot as yet see a chance for Judas.

It may be added that the most eminent scholar of the Methodist Church, Dr. Adam Clarke, and others as well, have not been so hopeless as Mr. Stoddard even about the case of Judas, inexcusable and bad as it is. Dr. Clarke says: "There is room for hope in his death. The chief priests who instigated Judas were worse men than himself, and if mercy was extended to those, the wretched penitent traitor did not die out of the reach of the yearning of its bowels. And I contend, farther, that there is no positive evidence of the final damnation of Judas in the sacred text. I would not set up, knowingly, any plea against the claims of justice; and God forbid that a sinner should be found capable of pleading against the cries of mercy on behalf of a fellow-culprit. Reader, learn from thy Lord this lesson: 'Blessed are the merciful; for they shall obtain mercy.'"* Dr. Adam Clarke had no regrets at the thought that he might have to spend an eternity in the heaven of Judas.

CHRISTIAN UNITY.

BY PROFESSOR CHARLES A. BRIGGS, D.D.

From *The Christian Union*, New York, June 12, 1890.

THE only kind of Christian unity that is worth considering is organic unity, or church unity. It is possible to speak of Christian unity without thinking of organic unity, just as it is possible to talk about any subject without having any clear or definite idea about it. But just so soon as one looks at Christian unity and considers what there is in it, he sees clearly that he must think of organic church unity. There can be no unity of organisms of any kind without organic unity. The most perfect of all organisms, Christian men and women,

* See Dr. Clarke's Commentary, Acts I.

born of the Holy Spirit, and under the discipline of Jesus Christ, find their unity in the most perfect of organizations, the Church of the Redeemer.

We have been in the habit of thinking of Christian union in connection with conventions and associations whose purpose is good fellowship, friendliness, and co-operation in talk and work. All this is good so far as it goes. There is a temporary organization and there are permanent committees for certain purposes, and so long as these conventions last, and in the measure that these can do their work, there is Christian union. But the unity does not extend in the slightest degree beyond the time and the place and the measure of the organization that has been effected. These are superficial, transient, evanescent, and effervescent. There is union for a time or for a specific purpose, but there is no Christian unity as such. Christian unity is the organization of Christian life, energy, and work in one organic life and method. The ideal Christian unity is the organization of all the forces of Christianity in one holy, catholic Church.

Christian unity was often on the mind of our Lord. The Church, built on the rock against which the gates of Hades will not prevail, is one Church. The kingdom into whose gates the disciples are admitted, and whose king is Christ, is and can be but one kingdom.* Jesus Christ, the true vine, is the source of life and fruitfulness to all the branches. Without vital union and abiding communion with him there is no spiritual life; and all the branches are, through him, in organic union with one another.† The good Shepherd promised his sheep that "they shall become one flock, one shepherd."‡ And accordingly our Saviour prayed for his disciples: "That they may all be one; even as thou, Father, art in me and I in thee, that they also may be in us: that the world may believe that thou didst send me. And the glory which thou hast given me I have given unto them; that they may be one, even as we are one. I in them and thou in me, that they may be perfected in one."§

Our Saviour seldom employs the term church. He ordinarily employs the terms kingdom, flock, and vine, the familiar terms of the Old Testament prophets. These terms alike indicate, in their Old Testament usage, the unity of the people of God. They are one people, one congregation, one flock, one vine, one kingdom.

At the Reformation the Reformers made the distinction between the visible and the invisible Church, the real Church and the formal Church. Roman Catholics merge the invisible in the visible church, modern Protestants merge the visible in the invisible. Not so our fathers. In the seventeenth century three *jure divino* theories of church government were in line of battle—Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Congregational. All agreed that they must find their divine right in the Word of God. They differed in their interpretation of the same word and facts; what was this but insisting that their interpretations were divine? They all rejected the interpretation of an infallible pope and an infallible church, but insisted upon a *jure divino* for their interpretations of Scripture. Happily, these *jure divino* theories have for the most part disappeared, and, with the exception of a few stranded Presbyterians, and a small party of high and dry Episcopalians, and an occasional eccentric Congregationalist and Baptist, it is now agreed by Anglo-Catholic, as well as Puritan, that the Word of God presents a very different organization of the Church from any that is now to be seen in Christendom. The Anglo-Catholic bases his argument upon the primitive episcopacy of the churches of Asia in the first half of the second century, and makes the historical argument that it comes so close to the Apostle John that it is most reasonable to suppose that it was due to his apostolic authority. They press the historical argument with great power. It is an interesting feature of the situation that Presbyterian and Congregational dogmatists have abandoned the Puritan test of canonicity, the voice of the Spirit speaking in the Scripture to the believer, and maintain that the authority of the canon rests upon the historic evidence that the sacred writings were composed by apostolic men. They have thus involved themselves in the inconsistency of accepting the canon on account of its historic transmission from the hands of the Apostles, and yet they reject the historical argument for the transmission of the historical episcopacy from the Apostles' hands, and insist upon a New Testament warrant. It is just as easy, if not easier, to bring the historic episcopate into the realm of Apostolic influence as it is to prove by historical argument that all the books of the New Testament came from the hands of the Apostles.

Jure divino theories of church organization may therefore be dismissed as without Scriptural warrant, and we are free to con-

* Matt. xvi., 18-20.

† John xv., 1-8.

‡ John x., 16.

§ John xvii., 21-23.

sider the historic Church as *jure humano* in its external organization.

The essential elements of Christian unity are in the invisible Church. But this invisible organization must, from the nature of the case, express itself in visible organization.

As an invisible organization it has its center in Jesus Christ, the Saviour reigning in the heavenly Zion. It is chiefly composed of the countless millions of the departed saints of all ages. The invisible Church on earth is only a small portion of the body of Christ. Those saints who are on the earth are in the forms of time, place, and circumstance; they are not invisible, or at least ought not to be.

They are visible in the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. They are visible in their assembling for worship. They are visible in their adherence to the Bible. They are visible in their organization under the training of an ordained ministry. They are visible in the profession of faith in Jesus. There are therefore four marks of the visible Church: (1) Bible, (2) Creed, (3) Sacraments, (4) Ministry.

I do not deny that there may be true Christians who have not come into visibility. This may be due to the barriers at the doors of the churches, or to theories of religion. But, with few exceptions, Christians the world over are organized in some form of organization with these four external marks of visibility. These, then, are the four bases or principles of Christian unity.

1. It is a fact that all Christians accept the Bible. We cannot agree as to any theory of inspiration. Few except Presbyterians, and a diminishing number of these, will accept verbal inspiration, or the speculation as to the inerrancy of original documents of Scripture that are not in existence and are not likely ever to fall under the eye of men. We cannot agree upon the original authority upon which the canon rests. We cannot agree upon our interpretations of Scripture. But we can agree as to nine-tenths of all the books of the Bible, that they contain the divine word for our redemption and guidance. So far as this is a test, the Christian Church the world over is one. The only thing that any one church has to do is to waive its theories and agree to the common facts that cannot be shaken. The Church has one holy Scripture.

2. The creed of the Church gives Presbyterians the chief difficulty. Congregationalists have laid aside the Westminster

Confession. Baptists have no official creed, but are stout traditionalists. The American Episcopal Church has laid aside the Thirty-nine Articles. The Methodist Episcopal Church hold to but a portion of these articles. The Presbyterians are revising their creed. The revision movement will eventually go so far as to lay it on the shelf, keeping it as the best expression of the faith of the Puritan Reformation, but laying it aside as a party badge, and therefore unsuitable for the creed of Christ's Church. The House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church asks for reunion on the Nicene Creed. Many think the Apostles' Creed better still. Some of the later articles of the Apostles' Creed are not acceptable to all; but these would not be forced upon any doubter. A brief devotional creed after the model of the Apostles' Creed is a great need of the Church of our day. A short and simple devotional creed is an ideal in the pathway of Christian unity. The Church has one Apostles' Creed, one Nicene Creed, and it may aim at one Christian creed in place of the creeds that now serve to divide the churches of Christendom.

3. There are two sacraments—Baptism and the Lord's Supper. The Roman Catholics have several more, but these do not rank with the two fundamental sacraments. All agree to the fundamental importance of these two. There is great difference as to the methods of administration of these sacraments, and as to the theories of their meaning and efficacy, but as to the sacraments themselves there is concord. Why may not each speculator and theorizer and dogmatizer hold his own views with perfect freedom, and recognize the right of his neighbors to their private opinions about these sacraments? There is unity in the application of water in the name of the Holy Trinity by a minister of the Church, as a ceremony of initiation into the visible Church. This is essential; all else is formal, and, however important, is yet unessential.

There is unity in the bread and wine as the sacred emblems of the body and blood of our Lord to be set apart by prayer and to be eaten and drunk with faith and love of the Redeemer, who in some mysterious way grants his presence to the worthy communicant. There are different theories as to the mode of the Redeemer's presence, as to the relation of the Redeemer to the sacramental elements, and as to the ceremonies appropriate to the sacrament and the doctrines associated therewith. But all these, how-

ever important, are not essential. The communion in the supper of the Lord is a fact of Christian experience in all of the varied ceremonies and doctrines of the Christian Church. I am as willing to partake with a Lutheran as with a Zwinglian, and I am not disturbed because an Anglican kneeling beside me may have a different mental state and devotional attitude from me. This is formal and not material. We may share equally and alike in the same blessing.

4. There can be no church without a ministry. The Church is divided into different organizations with different theories of church government. The historical student sees plainly that church government has been assimilated in all countries to the civil government. All of the existing forms of church government are evolutions under the influence of civil government, which has modified the primitive apostolic type so that all that remains of it is buried, like the original Jerusalem, beneath the *débris* of centuries. Here, also, we have to distinguish between the essential and the formal. In the apostolic age, so far as we can determine from historic documents, there was no pope, no patriarch, no archbishop, no diocesan bishop, no pastor of a congregation, but in every city there was one single church, governed by a college of presbyters, who are also called bishops. Besides these local presbyters there were apostles, prophets, and evangelists of various kinds, who had divine inspiration and were the teachers and guides of the infant Church. Out of these colleges of presbyter-bishops, and possibly also out of these traveling inspired ministers and teachers, the historic ministry of the Church has been evolved, under the influence of the development of civil government and the institutions connected therewith. There were in the apostolic churches the germs of the three great types of government—that of the people, that of the aristocracy, and that of the monarch.

The type of civil government that prevailed in the Christian Church until the Reformation favored the development of the executive function of the Christian ministry in a monarchical form. Accordingly we see the bishop unfolding in several stages—parochial bishop, diocesan bishop, archbishop, patriarch, and at last the pope. The aristocratic type was retained in the Church in the subordinate ministers that constituted the presbyteries under episcopal control, but the legislative function of the presbytery remained undeveloped until the Reformation. It has received its develop-

ment chiefly in Presbyterian Churches. The popular type remained undeveloped until Congregationalism arose, and for the first time gave the Christian people their rights. Congregationalism was unfavorable to the executive function of the episcopate and the legislative function of the presbytery. Now that the three functions have been evolved from the primitive church government—and they are to be seen in their free expression in the great Churches of America—it is manifest that each of the types has its advantages and disadvantages, and that the best church government will be attained by comprehending them all in a higher church unity. They have all had their part in the sin of breaking the unity of the Christian Church. The time has come for repentance and reformation, and each denomination should study what sacrifices of unessential things it may make in order to the inestimable boon of Church unity and the attainment of the ideal of our Lord and his Apostles. The House of Bishops, in proposing the Historic Episcopate as one of the essential terms of Church unity, do not propose any theory of its origination or any doctrine concerning the episcopate, but simply the institution as the historic expression of the executive function of the Christian ministry.

As such the Episcopal Churches have it in better form than any other body. All other churches need the episcopacy for their highest efficiency. I do not see how it is possible to give visible expression to Church unity in any other way than in the unities of the executive function of the Historic Episcopate. It does not follow from this, however, that the House of Bishops would underrate the importance of the presbytery or of the congregations of Christian people. If the Presbyterian Churches propose the presbytery as an essential term of Church unity, I do not see that it will be at all inconsistent with the Historic Episcopacy.

The Episcopal Church has been tending in that direction in its conventions, as the Congregational Churches have in their associations. The problem of Church unity is to harmonize, in a higher unity, presbytery and episcopacy, by giving the presbytery a bishop of its own choice, and by giving the bishop a presbytery to sustain him and check him in his administration of the affairs of the Church. And so Congregationalism has something valuable to contribute to the reunited Church. It has battled for the rights of the Christian people, and has won them. These rights have in large measure found recognition in modern

Episcopacy and Presbyterianism. In the reunited Church these rights should be recognized, carefully guarded from encroachments, and conserved.

Thus, the three Churches have each of them unfolded valuable functions of Christian ministry, and each will have something of value to contribute for the common good. When the leaders of the Churches can be induced to lay aside personal ambition, pride of place, and bondage to traditions, they will be able to agree in Christian love upon a Church constitution that will harmonize all the Christian Churches of America, consolidate them, organize their powers, increase their efficiency, and make them invincible in evangelization of the masses of heathenism, and the semi-heathen of our cities, marshes, and mountains. Let every Christian man and woman make up his mind that Church unity is one of the chief problems of our times, and the solution of the problem will come upon us a glad surprise, and rejoice us by proving to be one of the simplest and most natural things in the world.

LEARNING TO WANT.

From *The Cumberland Presbyterian*, Nashville, Tenn., May 15, 1890.

PROFESSOR HENRY DRUMMOND, in his "Tropical Africa," says: "The African is often blamed for being lazy, but it is a misuse of words. He does not need to work; with so bountiful a nature round him it would be gratuitous to work. . . . This completeness, however, will be a sad drawback to his development. Already it is found difficult to create new wants; and when labor is required, and you have already paid your man a yard of calico and a string of beads, you have nothing in your possession to bribe him to another hand's turn. Nothing almost that you have would be of the slightest use to him." The hopelessness of African savagery and every other form of savagery grows in large part out of this slothful content. "Progress," says Bismarck, "would cease should men ever become satisfied. Content is only possible either with slavery, as in Africa, or where munificent nature does not ask men to work." "The first want of the Africans," said Livingstone, "is to teach them to want."

Did not Christ in the Sermon on the Mount say pretty much the same thing of all human beings, civilized and savage? The first step in the road to civilization or

salvation is to learn to want. "Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst . . . for they shall be filled." "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom." The first condition of effort and progress and salvation is hunger—to feel that we need and must have what we have not. The movement which brings beatitude, temporal or spiritual, gets its first impulse from discontent—dissatisfaction with poverty and sin and longing for better things and a higher destiny. Awakened dissatisfaction with what we have and what we are, kindled aspirations after things better and higher, are the root and spring of all progress, whether industrial or social or religious.

The first human want is to learn to want. Our worst danger is settling down satisfied with things as they are, getting becalmed in the Dead Sea of indolent or self-sufficient or hopeless content. We need to have our eyes opened to see better possibilities, to have our hearts stirred to longing for larger blessings. However great our gifts or high our attainments, something higher is still possible, and our greatest need is "to learn to want," that we may press ever upward and receive ever better blessings and graces and do better service.

Of course there is a happy contentment which we ought to cultivate, the resigned yet hopeful and joyous spirit which accepts hardships and burdens and presses forward in spite of them—nay, inspired and spurred on by them. And there is an unhappy, repining discontent which we ought to avoid. "It is right," says Sir James Mackintosh, "to be contented with what we have, but not with what we are." Let us rather say that it is not right to be contented with either what we have or what we are if our contentment makes us sit down in lazy self-satisfaction; nor is it right to be discontented with ourselves or our possessions in such a way as to make us unhappy and ill-natured and despondent. There is a divine discontent which yearns for a perfecter character and better treasures, and this is to be joined to the diviner contentment which accepts with cheerful patience and resolute will the disappointing and painful things of to-day, using them and "our dead selves" as stepping-stones to the higher things we look for to-morrow.

In the moral and spiritual realm our greatest want is to learn to want. To feel that you have attained perfection, to rest satisfied with past progress, to cease to labor and pray for better things—this is the beginning of the most hopeless apostasy—the

lapsing into a Pharisee. A publican or harlot, growing up never so slowly toward better things, is a more hopeful case than a professed saint gone prematurely to seed, withered into a fossil of imagined perfection. The office of the church and of the Holy Spirit is to awaken souls, in and out of the church, from their self-satisfaction, from their worldly or self-trusting security, and to teach them to want better things than earth yields or their own efforts can attain. God does not let us rest satisfied. By his providence, by the touch of his afflicting hand, by the quickening of the Holy Ghost, he shows us the poverty of this desert where we wander, and awakens longings for the good things in the better land.

Peter, when the Master found him, was toiling to catch fish. Perhaps his highest wish was success in his business, affluence at Capernaum. But Jesus led him to higher thoughts; and when the strong fisherman at last fell down and cried out, "Depart from me, I am a sinful man, O Lord," he had begun to see and long for moral purity and spiritual blessings; he was learning to want that which is above every earthly gift. So God is leading us; and it will help us to bear our trials and disappointments in what often seems the Dark Continent of earth if we ever remember that our journey through it is not for pleasure or ease, but to quicken and educate us, to employ and develop our strength so that we may more and more hunger and thirst after righteousness and be better and better fitted for the service and joy of the heavenly kingdom.

MODERN APOLOGETICS.

From *The Living Church* (Episcopalian), Chicago, May 24, 1890.

A CLERICAL correspondent, while expressing his "exceeding gratification" for certain Lenten editorials that duly appeared in these columns, takes friendly exception to the position assumed in one of these, "The Church's Lent," toward certain notorious assailants, adding: "You of course believe that the intellect of the Church must have something to do with controverting such men. . . . But do you not really say here, the contrary?" In reply we suggest that the argument in the editorial referred to in effect takes care of itself. It urges that the Church finds her chief strength and most triumphant vindication in the development of the spiritual life, in her treasury of holy living, in the *charismata*, or fruits of divine charity, which best authenticate her

teaching and authority among men. Besides the appeal was *ad clerum* and *ad fideles*. Possibly we might more aptly have put it that the "Church has, and can have, no controversy" (instead of "antagonism") etc.

A serious review of the ground confirms the practical soundness of our conclusions. It certainly seems to have been the evangelic method of dealing with gain-sayers and unbelievers. The Church of God is a supernatural society. It rests upon supernatural sanctions, teaches a faith and life in and of the supernatural; it is the sacramental Body of the incarnate Son of God in human life, and its inspiration and power lie in the presence and ministry of the Holy Ghost.

The supernatural and the things thereof are apprehended through faith, and that is the gift of God. Faith, love, and obedience alone open and point out the way to this holy of holies, here in this mortal life. The Church and her teachings, therefore, are unintelligible to the carnal-minded man, who in his blindness comprehends them not. Between these extremes there can be neither commerce, truce, nor antagonism, nor even controversy.

This explains the perpetual irrelevancy and impertinence of so-called, apologetic controversy. There is an eternal barrier that separates between the assailant and the assailed. The man of faith knows by an interior and spiritual evidence the verity of his faith and the things thereof, precisely as a little child responds to and recognizes mother-love and the joys of home, while the man who walks by natural sight only, with the owl and the bat, and the burrowing mole, mistakes the world of sense and matter as the finality, the all-in-all.

Therefore the Church wastes time, and weapons, and precious energies, when her children accept controversies with unbelievers and scoffers. Such controversies are always sterile and indeterminate. The often slain never acknowledge discomfiture; while the eternal things of the spiritual world and life remain beyond reach of profane hands. No controversy convinces or converts. The law of the assailant is forever, *Voluntas stat pro ratione*.

This is the history of apologetics for almost two thousand years. It has not pleased Almighty God to submit the issues of spiritual life and death to any such ordeal and tournament. Skeptics in Europe and America still champion heresies and falsities that have been exploded a thousand times. The ghosts of such controversies

survive and, like the spirits in Kaulbach's great cartoon of the "Hunnenschlacht," rise up in the air above the battle-field and continue the conflict.

The "intellect" of the Church has little to do in such a crisis. Her fruitful work lies in other directions. The Church is busy in imparting her faith to hungry souls, who ask at her hands the Bread of Life. The answer to agnosticism was formulated when the Apostles' Creed and the Creed of Nicæa were given to Christendom. The answer to the profanities and scoffings of the infidel is found in the lives and deaths of saints and martyrs of all time, and in the widening current of blessing and knowledge, and divine charity, that finds its perpetual witness in Christian civilization.

The disposition to accept the gauge of controversy seems to us but a snare and a weakness. The numberless "stories" of the Elsmere type are naked traps laid to catch the unwary. No stable soul is endangered, only the foolishly adventurous who hanker after the perilous exhilarations of temptation. It is the business and duty of the stewards and ministers of Christ to understand these hostile feints of the enemy and to expose their fallacies and falsities when occasion demands. But such "reading" should be as sharply contraband to the well-instructed laity as are obscene art and literature. Positive teaching of divine truth with a holy illustration and exemplification of it in the life, and thought, and work of the Church, are the evangelic methods of dealing with unbelief. And this doctrine of Christian warfare runs through all the New Testament Scriptures. We read that, when John's disciples inquired of Jesus, "Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another?" Jesus answered, and said unto them: "Go, shew John again those things which ye do hear and see; the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the Gospel preached to them." St. Matt. xi. 1-6.

When Nicodemus came to Jesus by night, let us bear in mind how the question: "How can a man be born when he is old?" was met by the Master. Simply by a reassertion of the eternal truth, not by a vindication or defence of it. Again, when the Jews strove among themselves, saying: "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?" the reply to skepticism and unbelief was a restatement and further unfolding of Eucharistic truth. A little further on, in the same connection, our Blessed Lord lays

down forever the great canon of belief: "My doctrine is not mine, but His that sent me. If any man will do His will he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God."

In the same spirit in his charge to the young Bishop Timothy, the Apostle Paul cautions him against controversies and participation in disputes, and profane and vain babblings, leaving also on record his own judgment concerning the oppositions of science falsely so-called. Sometimes it may be our duty to answer a fool according to his folly, but it seems very clear to us that the legitimate work and teaching of the Church is positive, evangelic, constructive.

REVISION IN ENGLAND.

From *The Herald and Presbyterian*, Cincinnati, May 28, 1890.

For several years, in the Presbyterian Church of England, the Synod has been engaged in the work of revising its Standards, and now the work has been completed. At the meeting of Synod, which convened in London, April 28, and adjourned May 2, the three documents, viz.: "the changes in the form of subscription, the declaratory statement, and the twenty-four articles of faith," were unanimously adopted. In presenting the report, the chairman, Rev. Dr. Dykes, said:

The committee had now arrived at a stage from which they were not likely to make any progress; they had brought the articles in the form which the house must conceive to be their final deliverance, and it was now for the Church to say "yea" or "nay" to the articles as they stood. Since the last Synod this question of the relation of our Presbyterian churches to the documents of the seventeenth century had moved by some important steps forward. Since the meetings in London twelve months ago two important Churches had taken action on the same lines on which they were now traveling. Those Churches were the Free Church of Scotland and the Church of the United States (North). He felt that their own Church had a certain prominence given them from the fact that they had been the pioneers of this movement. They had been forging ahead on the lines of the creed, whilst other Churches had been moving more slowly. Whether they had been rash in so moving was not for him to say, but, whether rash or otherwise, their action had been useful to Churches following behind. They had now before them for consideration all the three documents which the committee had produced—namely, the suggested changes in the formula itself; the suggested articles of the Declaratory Statement to accompany or explain the Confession, and the twenty-four articles of faith.

Thanks were rendered to God for this unanimity. The Confession was not revised by any alterations, but the declaratory

statements and the new creed declare the substance of the doctrine of the old Confession. To change the Westminster Confession in Great Britain would be to imperil union among British Presbyterians. The Westminster Confession, in England and Scotland, is a political document framed by authority of Parliament, and is the faith of the Established Church in Scotland. It cannot be safely changed by any Presbyterian Church of the realm, in view of the possibilities of disestablishment and the prospect of the union of all Presbyterians as a result. Our Church is free, and we ask no questions of John Bull or Brother Jonathan, when we want to revise our Standards. We do not need to adopt a declarative statement to get rid of certain sections, by enacting that they do not mean what they are widely understood to mean, but may be interpreted as meaning the very reverse, and we do not need to frame a new and brief creed, the adoption of which is all of the old creed, that we are bound to receive.

We rejoice with the English Presbyterian Church that their creed revision has been peacefully and harmoniously made. There was no little objection for a time, but it has all disappeared. So it was with us and so it will be, and when the work is finished, the Church will renew her strength, and will show new life and activity. The burdens and imperfections of our creed will be gone and all evangelical Christians will rejoice with us and be glad to bury their suspicions and competitions, and come up with us to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty.

THE WORK AMONG THE LEPERS AT MOLOKAI.

From *The Guardian* (Church of England), London, May 14, 1890.

LAST August the *Rev. Dr. Hyde*, a minister at Honolulu, wrote a letter in answer to the inquiries of a friend in America, protesting against Father Damien's being lauded as a most saintly philanthropist:—

"The simple truth is, he was a coarse, dirty man, headstrong, and bigoted. He was not sent to Molokai, but went there without orders, did not stay at the leper settlement (before he became one himself), but circulated freely over the whole island (less than half the island is devoted to the lepers), and he came often to Honolulu. He had no hand in the reforms and improvements inaugurated, which were the work of our board of health, as occasion required and means were provided. He was not a pure man in his relations with women,

and the leprosy of which he died should be attributed to his vices and carelessness."

Mr. R. L. Stevenson, during his recent voyage in the Pacific, spent a week at Molokai, and on these charges coming to his notice, he wrote an indignant "open letter" to Dr. Hyde, dated Sydney, February 25th, which is published in the *Scots Observer*. Mr. Stevenson observes that Dr. Hyde's letter may do service if it is the means of substituting a credible likeness for a wax abstraction, for hitherto Damien has been too much depicted with a conventional halo and conventional features. In drawing his own picture of Father Damien Mr. Stevenson begins by extracting three passages from his diary at Kalawao:—

(a) "Damien is dead and already somewhat ungratefully remembered in the field of his labours and sufferings. 'He was a good man, but very officious,' says one. Another tells me he had fallen (as other priests so easily do) into something of the ways and habits of thought of a Kanaka; but he had the wit to recognize the fact and the good sense to laugh at [over] it. A plain man it seems he was; I cannot find he was popular."

(b) "After Ragsdale's death [Ragsdale was a famous Luna, or overseer, of the unruly settlement] there followed a brief term of office by Father Damien, which served only to publish the weakness of that noble man. He was rough in his ways, and he had no control. Authority was relaxed; Damien's life was threatened, and he was soon eager to resign."

(c) "Of Damien I begin to have an idea. He seems to have been a man of the peasant class, certainly of the peasant type; shrewd, ignorant and bigoted, yet with an open mind and capable of receiving and digesting a reproof, if it were bluntly administered; superbly generous in the least thing as well as in the greatest, and as ready to give his last shirt (although not without human grumbling) as he had been to sacrifice his life; essentially indiscreet and officious, which made him a troublesome colleague; domineering in all his ways, which made him incurably unpopular with the Kanakas, but yet destitute of real authority, so that his boys laughed at him, and he must carry out his wishes by the means of bribes. He learned to have a mania for doctoring, and set up the Kanakas against the remedies of his regular rivals, perhaps (if anything matter at all in the treatment of such a disease) the worst thing that he did, and certainly the easiest. The best and worst of the man appear very plainly in his dealings with Mr. Chapman's money; he had originally laid it out [intended to lay it out] entirely for the benefit of Catholics, and even so not wisely; but after a long, plain talk he admitted his error fully and revised the list. The sad state of the boys' home is in part the result of his lack of control, in part of his own slovenly ways and false ideas of hygiene. Brother officials used to call it 'Damien's Chinatown.' 'Well,' they would say, 'your Chinatown keeps growing.' And he would laugh with perfect good-nature, and adhere to his errors with perfect obstinacy. So much I have gathered of truth about this plain, noble human brother as father of ours; his imperfections are the traits of his face, by which we know him for our fellow; his martyrdom and

his example nothing can lessen or annul ; and only a person here on the spot can properly appreciate their greatness."

These private passages, says Mr. Stevenson, are almost a list of the man's faults, for it was rather these that he was seeking ; the heroic profile of his life was already sufficiently known to the world :—

"I was besides a little suspicious of Catholic testimony, in no ill sense, but merely because Damien's admirers and disciples were the least likely to be critical. I know you will be more suspicious still ; and the facts set down above were one and all collected from the lips of Protestants who had opposed the Father in his life. Yet I am strangely deceived, or they build up the image of a man, with all his weaknesses, essentially heroic, and alive with rugged honesty, generosity, and mirth."

As to the affair of Mr. Chapman's money—Damien's intended wrong-doing :—

"I was struck by it, and set it fairly down ; but I was struck much more by the fact that he had the honesty of mind to be convinced. I may here tell you that it was a long business ; that one of his colleagues sat with him late into the night, multiplying arguments and accusations ; that the Father listened as usual with 'perfect good-nature and perfect obstinacy ;' but at the last, when he was persuaded—"Yes," said he, 'I am very much obliged to you ; you have done me a service ; it would have been a theft.' There are many (not Catholics merely) who require their heroes and saints to be infallible ; to these the story will be painful, not to the true lovers, patrons, and servants of mankind."

Mr. Stevenson then analyzes Dr. Hyde's letter phrase by phrase. As to the charge that he had no hand in the reforms, he observes :—

"Perhaps nowhere in the world can a man taste a more pleasurable sense of contrast than when he passes from Damien's 'Chinatown' at Kalawao to the beautiful Bishop Home at Kalaupapa. At this point, in my desire to make all fair for you, I will break my rule and adduce Catholic testimony. Here is a passage from my diary about my visit to the Chinatown, from which you will see how it is (even now) regarded by its own officials :—"We went round all the dormitories, refectories, &c.—dark and dingy enough, with a superficial cleanliness, which he [Mr. Dutton, the lay brother] did not seek to defend. "It is almost decent," said he ; "the Sisters will make that all right when we get them here." And yet I gather it was already better since Damien was dead, and far better than when he was there alone and had his own (not always excellent) way. To a mind not prejudiced by jealousy, all the reforms of the lazaretto, and even those which he most vigorously opposed, are properly the work of Damien. They are the evidence of his success ; they are what his heroism provoked from the reluctant and the careless. Many were before him in the field, Mr. Meyer, for instance, of whose faithful work we hear too little ; there have been many since ; and some had more worldly wisdom, though none had more devotion, than our saint. Before his day, even you will confess, they had effected little. It was his part, by

one striking act of martyrdom, to direct all men's eyes on that distressful country. At a blow, and with the price of his life, he made the place illustrious and public. And that, if you will consider largely, was the one reform needful, pregnant of all that should succeed. It brought money ; it brought (best individual addition of them all) the Sisters ; it brought supervision, for public opinion and public interest landed with the man at Kalawao. If ever any man brought reforms, and died to bring them, it was he. There is not a clean cup or towel in the Bishop-Home but dirty Damien washed it."

Of the last and foulest charge Mr. Stevenson says that he had heard it from a drunken loafer in a bar-room at Apia (where it was scouted), but that in Molokai and in Honolulu he never heard a word of it either from Father Damien's friends or his opponents.

Sister Rose Gertrude has written to the Rev. H. Chapman from Kalihi Oahu, Hawaiian Islands, March 11 :—

"I am not going to Molokai, at any rate at present. There is a new leper station here, and the President of the Board of Health says I shall be more useful here. There is no one, and there are twenty poor lepers under the care of Dr. Lutz. Besides this, there are a great many 'suspects,' and here there are children. The doctor says it would be a better work to teach these children and to comfort them in the newness of their grief. I am going to keep some of the presents for Kalihi, and send or take the rest to Molokai. I think this will meet with your approval. The Americans gave a lot of things too. Dr. Kimball says I may have some of my children for twenty years. I have a great deal to do, and my office to say, so I must end."

In another letter Sister Rose Gertrude says :—

"I have one patient dying, unless Our Lady save him, of pleuro-broncho-pneumonia, another with an internal complaint, some very bad surgical cases, and fifty ordinary dressings and dispensings three times a day. I make up my own medicines and salves for the most part, and have to wait on the doctor with the patients, so you will understand how busy I am. The patients are very well behaved. We have eight acres of ground, and they live in separate cottages all around. The president took me to Molokai. I kept some of my presents, and sent the rest on. I was very glad to have them the day the examiners came. Some of the 'suspects' were moved on to the leper side, and they cried so because they knew all hope was over. Some are very distressing to look at, and they get into a state of general ill-health, poor things. They feel the parting dreadfully, but they say they soon get used to it once at Molokai."

THE "PROGRESS" OF THE POPE'S KINGDOM IN ENGLAND.

From *The Church Times* (Church of England), London, May 23, 1890.

THE *Tablet* has published a "Jubilee number" in celebration of the fiftieth year

of its existence. "Our Golden Jubilee," it need hardly be said, consists of an ecstatic repetition of the familiar brag of the marvellous "progress" of Popery in England. That the Papal Internationalist Monarchy has gained ground in anti-Papal States, as in Prussia, and North America, where it has appeared as a novelty, is as little to be denied as that it has lost ground in the States where it has been best and longest known. No modern States are so Protestant, in the political sense of the word, as Italy and France; so also Spain and the South American Republics, find themselves driven at times to a war against the Vatican. The Church, as the late Mr. Maurice once said, is bound by her commission always to be Catholic; but the nations are obliged by their character and functions to be Protestant. The Papal Internationalist Monarchy offers itself to the private judgment of the individual as a Church; but it opposes itself everywhere to the national governments as an internationalist secular State or Empire, and not as a Church. It is one of "the Powers." It receives and sends ambassadors. Unless a national Government concedes this or that demand of the Papacy for its bishoprics, its religious orders, or its schools, the local episcopal and other functionaries of the great Vatican secular "Power" are directed to instruct every local subject of the Pope to vote adversely to the Government, and traitorously to pervert the institutions of his fatherland or his commune into tools for the "progress" of what the *Tablet* calls "Catholicism." A great deal of the "progress" in which the *Tablet* glories is the product of this inveterate Erastianism of the Vatican, of that preference of the secular to the spiritual arm by which it has just won its cowardly triumph over the Old Catholics in Bavaria. Even Bavaria, though it was long the Austria of the west, the servile political tool of the Vatican Internationalist Empire, has never accepted that fundamentally secular and political, but pretendedly religious, dogma of the universal episcopate and infallibility of any one whom the Cardinals may impose as Bishop upon the oppressed local Church of Rome. It refused the *placet*. The State refused to declare, at the command of the Pope-King, that every Catholic that denied his infallibility as judge of faith and morals—politics being a subdivision of morals—was by Bavarian law not a Catholic. But after the death of the greatest of the Bavarians, Dr. Von Döllinger, when the Government was in need of the Vaticanist vote in the Parliament to get its desired grant for a

costly expenditure on art, the Bavarian subjects of the Pope were instructed to refuse their votes unless the State would decree that the Old Catholics were no Catholics, and deprive them of all their rights in the churches. The Bavarian ministers of the State, after insisting for twenty years that Dr. Döllinger, Friedrich, and their colleagues in faith were Catholics, suddenly discovered a few weeks ago that they were not Catholics because they did not hold the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin to be an article of faith. It was by a decree, fundamentally Erastian, that the Old Catholics were ejected, by the Bavarian State, from the Bavarian churches, and that the Bavarian Vaticanists are now able to chronicle the wonderful "progress" of what the *Tablet* calls Catholicism in Bavaria.

The *Tablet*, however, adroitly masks the political behind the individual causes of "progress." Its glowing record deals almost wholly with the men and women who have found their way to the foot of the throne of the Pope-King, or rather Pope-Cæsar, by following out the Protestant principle of private judgment. The true value of such progress, apart from the restless political activity of the Vatican, may be fairly tested by comparing the *Tablet's* record with the similar jubilant record of a more modern, and much more glaringly successful, international religion. General Booth, like the Pope of Rome, does not recognize National Churches or parochial churches—or would recognize them only where their members are subject, body and soul, to his personal monarchy. The Salvation Army, like the Roman Papacy and the Turkish Sultanship, is a religious internationalist Cæsarism. As every English body who has been led by his private judgment to separate himself from the Church of the nation, or the Church of his parish, and submit to the Pope of Rome, becomes thereby the religious and the secular subject of an Italian, so every Hindoo, Swiss, French, or German body who is led by his private judgment to enlist in the ranks of the Salvation Army becomes thereby the religious (and will doubtless become in time the secular) subject of an Englishman. The Papacy has doubtless the advantage over the "Army" of a venerable antiquity, and the evolution of the history of Europe is inconceivable without it, a fact which accounts for all the learned and literary convertites, as well as half the romantic convertites, which occur in the *Tablet's* catalogue, and which accounts also for the absence in the catalogue of any such names as

those of Mr. Freeman, or Bishop Stubbs, or Arthur West Haddan, or other scientific historians of the first rank. All the stages of the evolution of the Papacy out of the Pagan Roman Cæsardom and the St. Peter Legend may be traced in Langen's *Geschichte*, the one exhaustive scientific history of the Roman Bishopric by a Catholic scholar, and a book which much needs to be Englished by a competent hand. But in the course of a few generations, if the Salvation Army should last so long, the evidence of all history justifies us in expecting that a crowd of glorifying legends will gather around the traditional figure of the founder of the new international religious monarchy, General Booth.

When we turn from the past to the present, however, and compare the so-called "Catholic advance" of the Pope in England with the Salvationist advance of the other international commander, the General, in England and all the world, the Pope has to be content with a very much lower place. What a very poor story is the glowing chronicle of the *Tablet* in comparison with the glowing chronicle of the *War Cry*! In the vulgar and imposing category of mere quantity the Pope lags far behind the General. In the spiritual category of quality, if the Kingdom of Jesus Christ be especially the Commonwealth of the Poor, the victories of the General are more stupendously brilliant in every way than the triumphs attributed by the *Tablet* to the last two Popes. The Pope's historiographer dwells with delight upon the aristocracy, gentility, learning, statesmanship, æstheticism, of the English prisoners taken captive by the Vatican. His catalogue reads like a rival list to that which the Nations' Apostle once exhibited to the Orthodox Church of Corinth—then, as now, a Church not subject to Rome—"how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called." None are more ready to do honour than we are to the devotion of so many Roman clergy and sisters, amongst these convertites, to the service of the poor. They have done, as Calvinists and Methodists have also done, much for the poor. But the Pope cannot boast in his *Tablet's* triumph-song, as the General can boast in his *War Cry*, that he has done almost everything for the poor by the poor. A few dexterous changes in the *Tablet's* court-chronicle chapter of "The Story of the Conversions" would convert it into a supplementary chapter of Thackeray's "Book of Snobs." The chronicler does not see that it is not a real triumph for a throne when causes and classes

which the King of Glory has rejected in His redeeming process of world-government, gather around it as their last despairing hope. It is by a natural instinct that the Bombas, when the King and Liberator of the Nations has disrowned them, fly to the Pope for consolation. "Jesus loves the aristocracy," said Pius IX. at a reception of noble pilgrims. The *Tablet* seems to indulge a pious wish that before long to be peer and to be a Papist will be one and the same, and that every snob will hereafter say of the Church of England—as that successively Covenanter and Papist convertite Charles II. once said of Presbyterianism, "It is not a religion for a gentleman."

The chapter recording the triumphs of the Pope in the "apostleship of the genteel" is followed by a chapter, apparently from a different pen, on the more recent flirtation of the Vaticanists with the Socialists. The writer has no hope of "the English bourgeoisie" as a recruiting ground for the Pope, although in America (as we have been told by a competent observer) it is amongst snobbish men and women, suddenly enriched by the worship of Mammon, that the Roman proselytiser angles most successfully with the bait of "antiquity," and conjures the ambitious members of a "new family" with the net of the "old religion." His casuistry is put to a severe test by his attempt to reconcile the recent courting of the "hungry Demos" with the emphatic declaration of Pius IX. that he "would never be reconciled with Liberalism and the new civilisation."

The singer of the second strophe in the *Tablet's* jubilant hymn holds much the same similar relation to the singer of the first strophe, as the Jesuit who wrote in favour of the claims of James of Scotland to succeed Elizabeth held to the other Jesuit who wrote in favour of the claims of Philip of Spain. The succession to the English crown was quite a secondary thing; the great thing was that the successor, whoever he might be, should be told that the Jesuits were so loyal to him that they had written in his favour. The Irish peasant Home Ruler has to be remembered by the Pope, as well as the aristocratic English owner of Irish lands. If the gain of the aristocracy has to be paid for by the loss of the democracy, the Pope will get a bad bargain. A great deal is explained, for those who will read between the lines, by the confession on page 765:—"While an earnest of the conversion of the nation at large seemed to be given in that of many of its leading spirits, the Popular Element, hitherto

wanting to (Roman) Catholicism in England"—and still wanting amongst those who alone really *are* England—"was supplied by the large Irish immigration started in 1846 under the impetus of famine and continued ever since. The proletariat of the great cities is now to a large extent Irish and Catholic." So, if we had Home Rule for England, this braggart song of triumph would prove to be a very small thing. It is not that the English have been turning Papists, but that Papists (urged by famine, Bismarck, Falk Laws, a French Republic, and many other foreign causes) have been thronging into England.

A catalogue of the "leading spirits" who have not strayed to the Vatican would greatly reduce the pretences of the *Tablet's* jubilant catalogue. There were two Archdeacons in the diocese of Chichester, Manning and Julius Hare. Manning was taken, but Hare was left. Who was the greater scholar, the deeper thinker, the profounder historian, the more permanent teacher, the more really scientific theologian of the two? Certainly not Manning. It is still true of these ultra-Protestant convertites, as Hare said of them in 1846, they "leave the Church because she does not straightway bow to their advice, and do as they bid her." What they called their "conversion" was often nothing else, as Hare said, but "an utterly lawless act of the most presumptuous self-will." Archdeacon Hare, like Archdeacon Manning, paid a visit to Rome; but he saw the real Rome where Manning would see only an imaginary Rome. "I saw the Pope," said Archdeacon Hare after witnessing a grand procession of the Pope-King, "apparently kneeling in prayer for mankind; but the legs which kneeled were artificial. He was in his chair. Was not that sight enough to counteract all the æsthetic impressions of the worship?" Faber, the gushing man, was taken: but Kingsley, the wholesome-minded, was left.

We have not space to pursue the contrast; but every well-instructed English Churchman will find no difficulty in compiling such a one for himself. The pathetic representation of Newman, Manning, and others renouncing their prospects of "fat bishoprics" by turning Papists is an argument to the groundlings. What fat bishopric did Pusey or Keble gain, who remained loyal? It would be more rational to say that Pusey "renounced his prospects" of being a Cardinal, or possibly of being the Pope, by obeying his conscience and keeping faithful to the English Church.

OUR RELIGIOUS LIFE.

BY HENRY DRUMMOND.

From *The Southern Churchman* (Episcopalian), Richmond, Va., May 22, 1890.

THERE is a more serious trouble in a Christian community than doubt. I suppose it is with you as with us of England, that the religious experience of nine tenths of our church-members is not at all a satisfactory thing. It is "A thing of shreds and patches." The sermon of to-day puts out the sermon of yesterday, and the book of to-morrow will put them both out. We have new views and experiences every day. Meanwhile, the religious life stands still. Are you sure you are on the right way of growing better? The object of the Christian life is to make men and women more like Christ. Are you getting any more like him? Have you attained? If so, it is well; but if not, it is worth while looking at nature to see if, in her simplicity and childlikeness, she may shed some light on why our life is so unsatisfactory, and how we can better it. Our religious life gets into an invalid condition just as our bodily life. We violate certain laws. Not one of you has come to this place in sickness, however slight, who has not brought it on by violating, generally unconsciously, some simple law. It is the same thing in religion. The great treatment that one gets here is to get into restored physical conditions. Then the health comes of itself. The religious life is in an invalid condition because we have not fulfilled the conditions of spiritual health. These conditions are even more simple than those of bodily health. There is nothing more simple than religion, nothing more simple than to have rest and peace and joy and faith and love. There is a great mystery made of this, but it is really the most simple thing in the world. It is in the reach of any one who goes about it in the right way.

The difficulty is, most of us are busy with effects instead of with causes. We pray for peace, love and faith. But these are all effects, produced by the fulfilment of certain causes. Before you pray for the effects, examine and ascertain their causes. The way to get the effect is not to pray for it but to fulfil its cause. Then, you cannot help getting it. Things don't come by magic in religion. We pray, and think that God will take these things down and fit them into some place in us that we have left vacant. This is impossible; God never does things in that way. Everything comes by cause and effect.

For illustration, take any gift of God—joy, for instance. Why did Christ speak this parable of the vine, in the fifteenth chapter of John? Did you ever notice why? After telling us, he gives us the reason. “These things have I spoken unto you that your joy might be full.” He wanted to produce an effect. The parable of the vine explains the cause of that effect. If any one will fulfil the cause, he will have the effect. The vine in the east is the symbol of joy—it is that “which makes glad the heart of man.” Christ tells us how to get this joy. It is by abiding in the vine. So when one has not joy in the future it is because he does not fulfil the condition. If you abide in Christ I don’t say that you may possibly get some joy; but I say you *must* get it, you cannot help it. You cannot get it by praying for it, but by fulfilling the condition. When you pray, pray that you may fulfil the condition. Every promise has a condition. In the most complacent way we claim the promise when we do not take the trouble to fulfil the condition. Whenever you find an *if* it means that there is a condition, and that it must be fulfilled before the effect can follow. This is pure religion and pure science, and you can never get past it. There is no chance in religion. Everything goes by cause and effect. There is no room for “perhaps.” You pray, and there is no “perhaps you will get it.” If you fulfil the condition, you cannot help getting it. It is a law of nature and God that the cause shall be followed by the effect.

I have told you how to get joy. Let us take up love. How are we to get it? If you look at the first epistle of John, in the Revised Version, you find, “We love, because he first loved us.” It is not as it is in the old version: “We love him,” but “we love” in general. We know what love means. Its origin is a question of cause and effect. Love comes not by prayer, but by the presentation of an object that is lovable. “We love because he first loved us.”

How shall we find rest? By reading books for the anxious? No. By praying for it? You may think that I am talking harshly. But you have been praying for rest all your life; have you got it? No. There is evidently something wrong. Try some other plan. Look into the causes. I take a single text as a help to illustrate my meaning and fix it in memory. Christ says, “Learn of me”—cause; and “Ye shall find rest”—effect. Thus you get rest.

Christ even specifies what he wishes us to learn. “Learn of me, for I am meek

and lowly of heart; and ye shall find rest.” How much of our restlessness is caused by not being meek and lowly in heart—by our being slighted, by our pride being wounded, by not getting our due? If we were meek, we should find rest in being meek. If lowly, rest in being lowly. Cause and effect would go together. This is how to get rest. Become meek and lowly. Don’t go to books for the anxious. Learn of Christ. Learn how Christ took things, saw things, and did things; and the same mind which was in him will become yours. Have him for your teacher, and you *must* learn and find rest.

I will now speak of peace. A single sentence will show the cause and effect. “Be careful for nothing, but in everything by prayer and supplication with thanks let your requests be made known unto God; and the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, shall keep your hearts and minds.”

Can faith ever come in this way? I know of no other way in which it can come. You pray for it, but does that strengthen your faith? I heard Mr. Moody once say in England: “If I had spent as much time in reading my Bible and in learning about Christ as I have in praying for faith, I should have a great deal more of it.” If he had been busy with the cause, instead of praying for the effect, he would have had a great deal more of it. How does faith come? As in common life. I am introduced to a gentleman I never met. I don’t trust him; he don’t trust me. We do not trust each other. If I spend an hour in conversation with him, and grow to esteem him, I shall begin to trust him, and the more I know him if he is at all trustworthy, the more I shall trust him. It is the same in religion. The way to trust God is to know God; and as you let your acquaintance ripen, your trust will grow. It is the same in the spiritual world as in the natural world.

There is no magic about religion, no chance. All these things come along the line of cause and effect. If we fulfil the condition upon which any of these things are to be given we shall have them to-morrow. I want you to get some such basis for Christian experience, and then you will have it, as certainly as the laws of nature are constant and invariable.

Some one asks, “How can we get religion in this way? How can we begin?” We must begin by getting to know personally—not by phrases or doctrines, but as a personal friend—our Elder Brother, the Lord

Jesus Christ. All these things rise from an acquaintance with him. If I but know him, joy comes, trust comes. Love comes—I cannot help loving him. Rest comes—I cannot help learning. Peace comes—I cannot look out for myself when I have him to look out for me. All springs from the relation of personal friendship to the best friend. But, you say, I reduce religion to a common friendship. There is nothing in this world so Divine as friendship, no force so active as the force of a friendship—another life playing upon your life constantly. A common friendship!—"God is love!"—that's friendship, there is nothing higher. Come to Christ, then stay there. All spiritual blessings come from that, by cause and effect. Just so would it be with a friend down here were he high enough. You must get to know Christ. Come out of the region of clouds. How do you get to know anybody? It generally begins with a few words of conversation. I might be introduced to a man here, and we talk together. When I sail for England, my acquaintance is on the steamer, and for a week or more we pace the deck together, in interchange of thought. That man becomes my friend. We meet frequently, correspond, a lifelong friendship is formed. So it is begun in religion. You get to know Christ as you get to know any friend. Try a few words of conversation. You have begun. You don't know him. But you have formed an acquaintance which Christ has been longing for.

All the time you have been growing up, and going to meetings, and reading books, Jesus has been over you in love. You have been busy with your own thoughts and books' thoughts, and men's thoughts, about religion and Christ, the great friend you have never noticed. Talk two or three sentences to him. Open the Book—perhaps he will talk back just one sentence; then do what he tells you. If you seek more of his friendship, do it, whatever it is. Then, cultivate the friendship. It will ripen in that way and in no other—by no magic, but in the way of cause and effect. In no other way can religion arise and develop in the heart.

I cannot promise that you will know very much about Christ in one night. But if you begin thus, you will be based on rational principles, and these effects will be produced in you, and cannot fail to be produced in you. All other methods of religious growth are based upon mystery, and have not the least effect. Get on that line,

and growth will be produced in you. I cannot promise that you will know everything at once, but you can begin at once. You will not see much for a few hours, or maybe longer. I saw a baby brought into the room to see its father. The child had not even learned to fix its eye upon its father, but looked slowly around the room until it found him. But the next time it just made one swift circuit and its eye was on the father. You will come to something like that. Cling to the principle just laid down, and you *must* come to that. The law of cause and effect cannot miscarry. That which is begun in the simplest possible way, will be perfected until you have learned it all.

The life I have described is life abundant. I wish I had been taught that in the Sunday-school. I was taught that "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son"—that if I believed in him I should escape perdition, get to heaven, be saved. That is not what the text says. My teacher never got past the first half of the verse, and he did me wrong by not emphasizing the other half. We shall have life—not a mere thing called peace, not a mere emotion or sentiment—but spiritual life, including all. That is the Gospel we have to proclaim—not a little *good*, but a more abundant *life*.

THE CONFESSIONS OF UNITARIANISM.

BY WILLIAM MATHEWS, LL.D.

From *The Standard* (Baptist), Chicago, June 5, 1890.

THE truth of the charge made against Unitarianism, that its theology is barren of inspiration and life-giving power, is indigantly denied by the mass of its advocates, who ascribe all such accusations to orthodox illiberality and prejudice. What reply will be made, if it be shown that the sharpest criticisms of Unitarianism by its enemies are surpassed in severity by the complaints made against it by its own champions? The highest Unitarian authority of the world is Rev. James Martineau, D.D., of London, and the following is his frank confession touching the huskiness of Unitarian theology, literature and philosophy, as food for souls: "I am constrained to say that neither my intellectual preference nor my moral admiration goes heartily with the Unitarian heroes, sects or productions of any age. Ebionites, Arians, Socinians, all seem to me to contrast unfavorably with

their opponents. I am conscious that my deepest obligations as a learner from others are in almost every department to writers not of my own creed. In philosophy I have had to unlearn most that I had imbibed from my early text-books, and the authors in chief favor with them. In Biblical interpretation I derive from Calvin and Whitby the help that fails me in Crellius and Belsham. In devotional literature and religious thought, I find nothing of ours that does not pale before Augustine and Pascal. And in the poetry of the church, it is the Latin or German hymns, or the lines of Charles Wesley or Keble, that fasten on my memory and heart, and all else feel poor and cold. I cannot help this."

Such is the honest, ingenuous confession of James Martineau, one of the clearest-headed and profoundest philosophical writers in the Unitarian church. Now hear Theodore Parker, the most powerful champion of "liberalism" on this side of the Atlantic. Speaking of the Unitarian ministers of his day, he says: "To me their preaching seemed too much to relate to outward things, not enough to inward pious life; *their prayers felt cold*. In general they had no theory which justified a more emotional experience of religion. Their philosophy, with many excellences, was sure of no great spiritual truth. *To their metaphysics eternal life was only probable*. Nay, in their chief periodical, when it represented the opinions of the leaders of the sect, one of their most powerful writers declared the existence of God was not a certainty of metaphysical demonstration, not even a fact of consciousness. Surely, a party with no better philosophy, and yet rejecting instinct for a guide, breaking with supernatural tradition at the Trinity, its most important link, could not produce a deep and continuous action of the religious element in the mass of its members, when left individually free; nor, when organized as a sect, with the discipline of a corporation, could it continue to advance, or even to hold its own, and live long on its 'Statement of Reasons for not Believing in the Trinity.'

Let us listen next to the New York *Christian Inquirer*, the leading organ, in its day, of Unitarianism in the United States. "The chief defect of both Universalists and Unitarians," it said some years ago, "is want of religion. We do not shrink from making this confession. We know that there are thousands of estimable, devout people connected with our churches. We can never forget the rare piety of Henry

Ware and Henry Bacon; but *piety is not the characteristic of liberal Christians*. . . . Liberal Christianity is generally regarded as an idea, a criticism, a respectability, *anything and everything but a religion*." People feel that, with all its merits, it lacks some life-giving, soul-inspiring property or power. It has well-nigh stranded on the dry sands of ethical criticism, and will go to pieces there, as it deserves, unless it pushes off into deep religious sentiments, and catches the breath of God in its sails. *The future of liberal Christianity depends upon whether it can pray*. If it is not a piety, as well as a philosophy, it will perish." We suspect that when Unitarianism can pray, in the highest sense of the word, it will no longer have a *raison d'être*.

In the *Unitarian Review* for November, 1883, there is a frank and vigorous article by Roland A. Wood, on "Some Absent Spokes of the Unitarian Wheel." The first of these absent spokes, the writer declares, is the spoke of *faith*. "If we could get on without religious faith, we should flourish." By this he means not speculative faith, but emotive. Not being emotive, the faith of the Unitarians, he says, cannot bear them up into the region of inspiration, enthusiasm, and self-sacrifice. "Our self-consciousness checks our devotion, our sense of the ridiculous forbids enthusiasm." Of Unitarian public worship, he says: "It has remained almost ascetic in its austerity, so much so that dreariness of worship is noted by John Henry Newman as a special token of Socinianism. To outsiders, we are not merely faithless,—we are frigid. And to one another, we do not seem all aglow. There is about us no delicate mystery, no subtle glamour, no romance of symbol, no ceremonial charm, no poetry of worship. The young we cannot fascinate, the feeble have no support, the sorrowing no solace; the strong, active, prosaic natures come to us, and get the minimum of spiritual nourishment, which they consider enough."

Some years ago the London *Prospective Review*, a Unitarian periodical, asked the question, "Why is it that Unitarians feel no call to send the gospel to the heathen?" Confessing its inability to answer the question, it added: "This we know, that a contracted sphere of duties implies a languid centre,—narrow sympathies,—a cold, unenterprising heart; and that a church that has not faith enough to set its heart, and stake its fortunes on great deeds of love, will never provide a religion for human na-

ture." Any such church, the writer adds, "must perish, and deserves to perish. . . . It dies because it does not ennoble men's lives, nor employ their energies, nor feed the hunger and thirst of men's souls."

Thus much for the spirituality and inspiration of Unitarianism. The article in the *Christian Inquirer* from which we have quoted was deemed of sufficient importance to be republished in the same paper a few years after its first appearance. Let us next see what representative Unitarians have to say of the adaptation of the cardinal doctrines of orthodoxy to the needs and cravings of the human heart.

Hear the *Christian Examiner*, in its day the ablest and most scholarly Unitarian periodical in the world. Some years ago, in speaking of the doctrine of the Trinity, it said: "Again and again its defenses have been battered down, and the doctrine itself logically demolished, yet somehow it has survived all its destructions. It is one of the oldest doctrines of the church. Nineteenths of the strongest and best Christians that ever lived have believed it. . . . All past experience shows that to attack the Trinity,—or, what is now becoming the chief point in the doctrine, the deity of Christ,—on its logical side, is utterly vain. It is clung to in the face of the clearest demonstrations of its untruth. *It somehow feeds the soul, gives it fullness of the Divine nature*; and what avails it to prove by argument that the food is dust and ashes, when millions of beings are using it every day, and *find it gives them grandest health and strength?*" Again, listen to T. Starr King, one of the most eloquent, candid, and popular of all the champions of Socinianism in this latter half of the nineteenth century. In a glowing passage on the doctrine of an expiatory atonement, he says: "It is ennobled by the holiest memories, as it has been consecrated by the loftiest talent of Christendom. It fired the fierce eloquence of Tertullian in the early church, and gushed in honeyed periods from the lips of Chrysostom; it enlisted the life-long zeal of Athanasius to keep it pure; the sublimity of it fired every power and commanded all the resources of the mighty soul of Augustine; the learning of Jerome and the energy of Ambrose were committed to its defense; it was the text for the subtle eye and analytic thought of Aquinas; it was the pillar of Luther's soul, toiling for man; it was shaven into intellectual proportions and systematic symmetry by the iron logic of Calvin; it inspired the beautiful humility of Fénelon, fostered the

devotion and self-sacrifice of Oberlin; flowed like molten metal into the rigid forms of Edwards' intellect, and kindled the deep and steady rapture of Wesley's heart. . . . All the great enterprises of Christian history have been born from the influence, immediate or remote, which this vicarious theory of redemption has exercised upon the mind and heart of humanity."

Such is Unitarianism, and such are the evangelical doctrines, by the confession of the former's recognized exponents and most eloquent apologists. Had the passages we have quoted from the *Christian Inquirer* and the *Liberal Christian* appeared among the editorials of an orthodox journal, they would have been denounced as gross libels. The *Inquirer* states only the simple truth, when it declares that the stream of religious life in its sect has been most elegantly slender. The charge so often made against Unitarianism is fatally true; it is arid as Sahara,—cold as the Polar snows. It is a religion of negations, and the soul can no more feed on negation than the lungs can breathe in an exhausted receiver. Its æsthetics and fine morals are excellent in themselves, but are poor substitutes for religious truth, and can never satisfy the anxieties of those that feel their need of reconciliation, justification, and pardon through "the one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus." "Forced by its position among the sects," as Edwin P. Whipple, an avowed Unitarian, once declared, "to deny rather than affirm,"—adopting as its chief mission antagonism to orthodoxy,—it has been forever on its guard lest it should imitate or borrow from orthodoxy, and has starved. "Doctor," said King James I. to a Puritan divine, "do you go barefoot, because the papists wear shoes and stockings?"

Unitarianism is respectable, it is moral, intellectual, scholarly and skilled in fine writing; but it has no enthusiasm, no magnetism, no drawing-power. It clothes the naked, feeds the hungry, provides abundantly for the wants of the body; but in providing for the wants of the soul, the spiritual nature, it miserably fails. Its humanitarianism has no regenerating power. Because, while it "believes in God," it fails to "believe also in Christ," it is, as another has said, an anchor without flukes, a half-formed arch, a bridge that half spans the stream. Unitarianism sends no missionaries to the pagans; it has neither Loyolas nor Riddleys, neither Savonarolas nor Judsons; it can boast of no saints or martyrs. In the religious sphere its grand ambition has been to avoid the appearance of fanaticism and

absurdity. You cannot be drowned, if you never go near the water ; you will not break your neck in a steeple-chase if you never mount a horse ; you will never be overheated if you keep always in the current of a north-easter ; and if you keep your mouth shut always, it is positively certain that you will never say a foolish thing, nor die of indigestion. Such has been the logic and the policy of Unitarianism. While other sects have dotted and belted the world with their missionary stations, seeking "to preach the gospel to every creature," this has been content to avoid extravagances and undue excitement—in short, "to dwell in decencies forever." To avoid fever, it has sat in an ice-house.

In view of these facts, and considering that even the quietest manifestations of the religious life have a foolish and fanatical aspect to the worldly and even to the philosophic eye, is it strange that Unitarianism, by its ridiculous fear of the ridiculous and its fanatical fear of the fanatical, has fixed a great gulf between itself and the mysterious revelations, the divine inspirations, and the ineffable raptures, that characterize the religious life ? Is it strange, as a writer in an English Unitarian paper thinks it is, "that a church so rich in mind, heart, and purse, should remain from generation to generation the smallest, weakest, and frailest of the sects of Christendom ;" that its leading organ, after an existence of thirty years, under the names of *The Christian Inquirer*, *The Liberal Christian*, *The Inquirer*, should die by atrophy ; and that the able and scholarly *Unitarian Review* should be "more honored and praised than subscribed for," as a council of Unitarian churches some years ago complained ? Is it strange that, as Edwin P. Whipple complained in his paper on T. Starr King, "Unitarians, as a body, are commonly, scandalously indifferent to the works produced by their most eminent representatives in the theological world ;" that in his intercourse with intelligent laymen he hardly found one who had ever heard that Dr. Hedge's "Ways of the Spirit" (which he characterizes as "one of the most profound books that have lately appeared from the American press") had even been published ?

Is it strange that, as Mr. Wood, already quoted, says in the *Unitarian Review* : "It is a notorious fact that many, *hunger-driven, leave the Unitarian fold, that they may be fed*" ? Is it strange that, as the report of the council above-mentioned bewails, "Unitarians often run away, and from no change of opinions, but in apparent indifference to

them, from Unitarian churches to Episcopal and other orthodox churches, to find, as they represent, a more worshipful climate, heartier singing, a livelier participation in the service, a greater interest in the children and in the young" ? Is it strange that Unitarianism in London, as Moncure D. Conway recently asserted, is dying, and that he abandoned his pulpit there in disgust ; that in the city of New York, where there were two Unitarian churches seventy years ago, there are to-day, though the population of that city has multiplied more than tenfold, but two Unitarian churches still ; that in New England, the head-center of Socinianism, the Unitarian body, according to a recent editorial in the *Boston Daily Herald*, "is to-day numerically not more than half so large as it was twenty-five years ago" ? Can we wonder that an Osgood and a Huntington left the freezing atmosphere of such a sect for a sunnier and more genial clime, and that a Martineau* found in his better days more nutriment in the literature of Catholicism, with all its mummeries and superstitions, than in the dry bones of a Christless Christianity ? And finally, can we be astonished that, as Mr. Wood asserts, Unitarians, when he wrote, were seriously contemplating and discussing the advantages of a denominational decease ?

THE MINISTRY AND WELL-TO-DO FAMILIES.

From *The Christian Intelligencer* (Reformed Dutch), New York, June 4, 1890.

At a meeting of ministers recently the question, "Why Do so Few of the Sons of Well-to-Do Families Enter the Ministry ?" was discussed. It is a matter of present importance. By well-to-do families are meant not only families of wealth, but those who are able to meet all the expense of maintaining a son during a theological course. Neither is the question intended to suggest even that families not able to bear such expense are not respectable, or that the majority of the young men now in theological seminaries have not come from respectable families. They do belong to such households. Respectability is not to be measured among Christians or sensible people by the amount of money this or that family is able to spend. Households highly esteemed for their intelligence and Christian character often cannot furnish all the

* Since this paper was written, Dr. Martineau has published a work on "The Seat of Authority in Religion," in which he appears to have renounced all faith in Christianity.

means a son needs to carry him through a collegiate and seminary career.

It is also necessary to say that a young man who gives himself to the service of the Church, gives more than those who contribute to maintain him during his life as a student. Such young men are called "beneficiaries," but often the persons commonly regarded as his benefactors are the real beneficiaries. They receive tenfold, twentyfold, not infrequently a hundredfold more than they give. Where would the Church be to-day had it had no beneficiaries, so called?

But it is certain, well-to-do families do not feel that they are under obligations to devote their sons to the ministry. The number of such students in the seminaries has steadily declined, especially during the past fifteen or twenty years. The fact that less than one-fourth of the young men now in the theological seminaries have taken a college course, indicates that the candidates for the ministry have not come from such homes as are under consideration. Such families, however, cannot absolve themselves from the duty of supplying the Church and the world with heralds of the Cross. Their obligation and responsibility is precisely that of all other Christian homes. The command, "Go preach the Gospel," is addressed to them by our Lord and Saviour as it is to all other households which profess allegiance to and receive salvation from Him. The oracles of God are entrusted to them to be declared to others in the same measure that they are committed to others. They are bound to consider whether the Lord and Saviour, the Church and the world, are not in need of their sons in the pulpit and in the pastor's work. It is their duty, is a part of their Christian obligations, and an important part.

There has been a great change. It was a common occurrence within the memory of many now living, for Christian parents to consecrate their sons to the Lord's service as preachers of the Gospel. Mothers devoted their sons from birth to this form of Christian duty. Parents importunately besought the Hearer of Prayer that He would make their sons ministers. The example of Hannah in giving Samuel to the Lord was often spoken of. Who hears it spoken of in these days?

Christian families then were burdened, as they are not now, with the depravity of men and with the fact that sinful souls are lost souls. The motive of the Church has changed, and without good reason. The men and women who press upon the Church

in tens of thousands are not holy; and without holiness no man shall see the Lord. Whatever may be the form of appeal preferred, the end sought is the same—a trust in God, love for Him, resulting in obedience to Him, exhibited in a godly life. And if men do not learn to love and serve God it would be better for them if they had not been born. These great essential facts of revelation, which commend themselves to every man's intelligence and conscience, ought to rest upon the heart of the Church. Preachers are needed to win men to holiness, and no class in the Church is exempt, or ought to be, from the obligation to furnish the preachers.

We are bent on making money. Wealth is worshipped. Materialism is one of the repulsive characteristics of the times. Young men engage in pursuits that may lead to affluence. The family is dominated by the desire that the young men of the household shall win distinction and a fortune. Conscience is cajoled and quieted by the promise that, as an income is acquired, gifts shall be made to support the sons of some other families in the theological school. The attractions of other pursuits, the temporal honors and emoluments they may yield, are not resisted, but are entertained and held up before the lads and young men of the house as eminently worthy of their attention. The life of the family does not declare in its daily talk and demeanor, in its spiritual, religious exercises that the demands of the ministry are regarded as an obligation to be discharged. The family prefers that the son shall enter some other profession or pursuit, and that preference gives tone to its treatment of the son, and gives a chief element to the moral atmosphere in which he is bred.

Christian people also endeavor to maintain mental composure by assuring themselves that a young man can do the Lord's work effectively and on a large scale without becoming a minister. He can be a Sabbath-school teacher, become a Sabbath-school superintendent, can make it his business to strive to win his acquaintances, his clients, his customers, to faith in Christ, and so be a useful Christian, and win many souls. But the Sabbath-school and all the forms of Christian activity depend upon the organized Church; and what is a Church without a minister? How long would it live without the presence of a preacher and pastor? How long would a congregation be held within the walls of the meeting-house, if there should not be an acceptable preacher in the pulpit?

The notion is also created by the success of evangelists that a theological education is not necessary, that a man can declare all the words of this life with power without the instruction of the schools. Is it not true, however, that reputable and really useful evangelists depend upon the churches, and draw their audiences mainly from the churches and Sabbath-schools? Do not experienced and reputable evangelists require as a necessary condition that they shall have the support of the pastors and churches of the locality in which they undertake a special work? Besides this, how many of the evangelists would maintain themselves as settled pastors? Some would, the majority would not. God's work in this world depends upon the established churches, held together, carried forward, held up, strengthened, encouraged, led by the settled educated preacher and pastor. The Church of God and the world need educated Christian ministers. No substitute for them has been found. The office has been originated and maintained by God, and blessed of Him. The triumphs of the truth, of Christianity, have been won under the leadership of educated ministers. The line is a splendid one. What it has done and won for the world is unspeakable. The names of the men who have been the leaders of the Church, the Augustines, the Luthers, the Calvins, the Wesleys, are immortal. It is an honor to belong to such a line of benefactors of the world, a higher and more lasting honor than to secure much of that which the world praises. They that turn many to righteousness shall shine as the stars and forever in the firmament of the better and heavenly country.

The treatment to which ministers in these days are often subjected repels men, no doubt, from this highest form of Christian service. A merchant, or lawyer, or physician, or mechanic makes his residence in a town and remains there, grows gray there, accumulating friends, patrons, influence, property, as long as he lives. But the stay of the minister is three, or five, or ten years, and then he is sometimes driven out, hurled out, to find another charge, encumbered by the fact that he was discharged from his last settlement. When he passes the dead line of fifty he is too old, behind the time, and a younger man is desired; and he seeks another pastorate, to hear week after week that, he is too old, would soon become a burden upon the hands of a congregation, and that, although his preaching is edifying and interesting, his prayers uplifting, it is better to hear another candidate not so old. Chris-

tian families hesitate to submit a son to such an ordeal. Young men hesitate and then refuse to expose themselves to such treatment, and turn away to other pursuits in which every year adds to their influence and comfort and enjoyment, and in which gray hairs are held in honor. But Christian families and young men are to put these indignities under their feet. The Church and the world must have educated preachers and pastors. It is a tremendous mistake to fill theological seminaries with students more than three-fourths of whom have not had a collegiate education. The Church must not let down its requirements. It must maintain the standard. This has been God's plan from the beginning to this hour. The revival of learning preceded and led to the Reformation. That great religious movement began in the universities. The Methodist Church was born in an English university. Down through the history of the Christian Church God has revived, reformed, and advanced His work by filling educated men with His Spirit. No matter what the treatment doled out to them may be, Christian families are to devote their sons to the work of ambassadors of God, and to educate them for it.

But, alas! these obligations are not felt by well-to-do families to-day. How can they be made to feel them?

PARAGRAPHIC.

Nor unfrequently pastors are annoyed by the congregation falling into the habit of looking around to identify the late comers. The following novel remedy was tried by an English clergyman. Said he: "Brethren, I regret to see that your attention is called from your religious duties by your desire to see who comes in behind you. I propose henceforth to save you the trouble by naming such persons as they enter, and I trust the service will then proceed without interruption." He began his discourse: "Dearly beloved," but paused to interpolate: "Farmer Stubbins, with his wife and daughter." Farmer Stubbins looked surprised, but the minister, with perfect gravity, resumed his exhortation. Presently he again paused: "Sam Curtis and William Diggle." The abashed congregation kept their eyes studiously to the front.

The service proceeded in the most orderly manner, the parson interrupting himself now and then to name some new-comer. But at last he said, with the same gravity: "Mrs. Symons, of the Red Lion, in a new bonnet." In a moment he felt his mistake, but it was too late, every head in the congregation had turned.—*Christian Herald, Detroit.*

THE Pope's "Peter's penny" during last year amounted to \$1,600,000. The Romish Church in the United States contributed \$360,000 toward it. Besides this regular source of income the poor Pope received bequests of \$800,000.—*Christian Intelligencer, New York.*

IX.

AGNOSTICISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

BY PROFESSOR THOMAS H. HUXLEY.

(Continued from the June number, p. 183.)

defined it to be. "Faith," said this unconscious plagiarist of Tertullian, "is the power of saying you believe things which are incredible."

Now I, and many other agnostics, believe that faith, in this sense, is an abomination; and though we do not indulge in the luxury of self-righteousness so far as to call those who are not of our way of thinking hard names, we do feel that the disagreement between ourselves and those who hold this doctrine is even more moral than intellectual. It is desirable there should be an end of any mistakes on this topic. If our clerical opponents were clearly aware of the real state of the case, there would be an end of the curious delusion, which often appears between the lines of their writings, that those whom they are so fond of calling "infidels" are people who not only ought to be, but in their hearts are, ashamed of themselves. It would be discourteous to do more than hint the antipodal opposition of this pleasant dream of theirs to facts.

The clerics and their lay allies commonly tell us that, if we refuse to admit that there is good ground for expressing definite convictions about certain topics, the bonds of human society will dissolve and mankind lapse into savagery. There are several answers to this assertion. One is, that the bonds of human society were formed without the aid of their theology, and in the opinion of not a few competent judges have been weakened rather than strengthened by a good deal of it. Greek science, Greek art, the ethics of old Israel, the social organization of old Rome, contrived to come into being without the help of any one who believed in a single distinctive article of the simplest of the Christian creeds. The science, the art, the jurisprudence, the chief political and social theories of the modern world have grown out of those of Greece and Rome—not by favor of, but in the teeth of, the fundamental teachings of early Christianity, to which science, art, and any serious occupation with the things of this world were alike despicable.

Again, all that is best in the ethics of the modern world, in so far as it has not grown out of Greek thought or barbarian manhood, is the direct development of the ethics of old Israel. There is no code of legisla-

tion, ancient or modern, at once so just and so merciful, so tender to the weak and poor, as the Jewish law; and if the Gospels are to be trusted, Jesus of Nazareth himself declared that he taught nothing but that which lay implicitly, or explicitly, in the religious and ethical system of his people.

And the scribe said unto him, Of a truth, Teacher, thou hast well said that he is one; and there is none other but he: and to love him with all the heart, and with all the understanding, and with all the strength, and to love his neighbor as himself, is much more than all whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices. (Mark xii, 32, 33.)

Here is the briefest of summaries of the teaching of the prophets of Israel of the eighth century; does the Teacher, whose doctrine is thus set forth in his presence, repudiate the exposition? Nay, we are told, on the contrary, that Jesus saw that he "answered discreetly," and replied, "Thou art not far from the kingdom of God."

So that I think that even if the creeds, from the so-called "Apostles" to the so-called "Athanasian," were swept into oblivion; and even if the human race should arrive at the conclusion that whether a bishop washes a cup or leaves it unwashed, is not a matter of the least consequence, it will get on very well. The causes which have led to the development of morality in mankind, which have guided or impelled us all the way from the savage to the civilized state, will not cease to operate because a number of ecclesiastical hypotheses turn out to be baseless. And, even if the absurd notion that morality is more the child of speculation than of practical necessity and inherited instinct, had any foundation; if all the world is going to thieve, murder, and otherwise misconduct itself as soon as it discovers that certain portions of ancient history are mythical, what is the relevance of such arguments to any one who holds by the agnostic principle?

Surely the attempt to cast out Beelzebub by the aid of Beelzebub is a hopeful procedure as compared to that of preserving morality by the aid of immorality. For I suppose it is admitted that an agnostic may be perfectly sincere, may be competent, and may have studied the question at issue with as much care as his clerical opponents. But, if the agnostic really believes what he says, the "dreadful consequence" arguer (consistently I admit with his own principles) virtually asks him to abstain from telling the truth, or to say what he believes to be untrue, because of the supposed injurious consequences to morality. "Beloved brethren, that we may be spotlessly moral, before

all things let us lie," is the sum total of many an exhortation addressed to the "infidel." Now, as I have already pointed out, we can not oblige our exhorters. We leave the practical application of the convenient doctrines of "reserve" and "non-natural interpretation" to those who invented them.

I trust that I have now made amends for my ambiguity, or want of fullness, in any previous exposition of that which I hold to be the essence of the agnostic doctrine. Henceforward, I might hope to hear no more of the assertion that we are necessarily materialists, idealists, atheists, theists, or any other *ists*, if experience had led me to think that the proved falsity of a statement was any guarantee against its repetition. And those who appreciate the nature of our position will see, at once, that when ecclesiasticism declares that we ought to believe this, that, and the other, and are very wicked if we don't, it is impossible for us to give any answer but this: We have not the slightest objection to believe anything you like, if you will give us good grounds for belief; but, if you can not, we must respectfully refuse, even if that refusal should wreck morality and insure our own damnation several times over. We are quite content to leave that to the decision of the future. The course of the past has impressed us with the firm conviction that no good ever comes of falsehood, and we feel warranted in refusing even to experiment in that direction.

In the course of the present discussion it has been asserted that the "Sermon on the Mount" and the "Lord's Prayer" furnish a summary and condensed view of the essentials of the teaching of Jesus of Nazareth, set forth by himself. Now this supposed *Summa* of Nazarene theology distinctly affirms the existence of a spiritual world, of a heaven, and of a hell of fire; it teaches the fatherhood of God and the malignity of the devil; it declares the superintending providence of the former and our need of deliverance from the machinations of the latter; it affirms the fact of demoniac possession and the power of casting out devils by the faithful. And, from these premises, the conclusion is drawn that those agnostics who deny that there is any evidence of such a character as to justify certainty, respecting the existence and the nature of the spiritual world, contradict the express declarations of Jesus. I have replied to this argumentation by showing that there is strong reason to doubt the historical accuracy of the attribution to Jesus of either

the "Sermon on the Mount" or the "Lord's Prayer"; and, therefore, that the conclusion in question is not warranted, at any rate on the grounds set forth.

But, whether the Gospels contain trustworthy statements about this and other alleged historical facts or not, it is quite certain that from them, taken together with the other books of the New Testament, we may collect a pretty complete exposition of that theory of the spiritual world which was held by both Nazarenes and Christians; and which was undoubtedly supposed by them to be fully sanctioned by Jesus, though it is just as clear that they did not imagine it contained any revelation by him of something heretofore unknown. If the pneumatological doctrine which pervades the whole New Testament is nowhere systematically stated, it is everywhere assumed. The writers of the Gospels and of the Acts take it for granted, as a matter of common knowledge; and it is easy to gather from these sources a series of propositions, which only need arrangement to form a complete system.

In this system, man is considered to be a duality formed of a spiritual element, the soul; and a corporeal* element, the body. And this duality is repeated in the universe, which consists of a corporeal world embraced and interpenetrated by a spiritual world. The former consists of the earth, as its principal and central constituent, with the subsidiary sun, planets, and stars. Above the earth is the air, and below it the watery abyss. Whether the heaven, which is conceived to be above the air, and the hell in, or below, the subterranean deeps, are to be taken as corporeal or incorporeal is not clear.

However this may be, the heaven and the air, the earth and the abyss, are peopled by innumerable beings analogous in nature to the spiritual element in man, and these spirits are of two kinds, good and bad. The chief of the good spirits, infinitely superior to all the others, and their Creator as well as the creator of the corporeal world and of the bad spirits, is God. His residence is heaven, where he is surrounded by the ordered hosts of good spirits; his angels, or messengers, and the executors of his will throughout the universe.

On the other hand, the chief of the bad spirits is Satan—the devil *par excellence*. He and his company of demons are free to

* It is by no means to be assumed that "spiritual" and "corporeal" are exact equivalents of "immaterial" and "material" in the minds of ancient speculators on these topics.

roam through all parts of the universe, except heaven. These bad spirits are far superior to man in power and subtlety, and their whole energies are devoted to bringing physical and moral evils upon him, and to thwarting, so far as their power goes, the benevolent intentions of the Supreme Being. In fact, the souls and bodies of men form both the theatre and the prize of an incessant warfare between the good and the evil spirits—the powers of light and the powers of darkness. By leading Eve astray, Satan brought sin and death upon mankind. As the gods of the heathen, the demons are the founders and maintainers of idolatry; as the “powers of the air,” they afflict mankind with pestilence and famine; as “unclean spirits,” they cause disease of mind and body.

The significance of the appearance of Jesus, as the Messiah or Christ, is the reversal of the satanic work, by putting an end to both sin and death. He announces that the kingdom of God is at hand, when the “prince of this world” shall be finally “cast out” (John xii, 31) from the cosmos, as Jesus, during his earthly career, cast him out from individuals. Then will Satan and all his devilry, along with the wicked whom they have seduced to their destruction, be hurled into the abyss of unquenchable fire—there to endure continual torture, without a hope of winning pardon from the merciful God, their Father; or of moving the glorified Messiah to one more act of pitiful intercession; or even of interrupting, by a momentary sympathy with their wretchedness, the harmonious psalmody of their brother angels and men, eternally lapped in bliss unspeakable.

The strictest Protestant, who refuses to admit the existence of any source of divine truth, except the Bible, will not deny that every point of the pneumatological theory here set forth has ample scriptural warranty: the Gospels, the Acts, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse assert the existence of the devil and his demons and hell, as plainly as they do that of God and his angels and heaven. It is plain that the Messianic and the satanic conceptions of the writers of these books are the obverse and the reverse of the same intellectual coinage. If we turn from Scripture to the traditions of the fathers and the confessions of the churches, it will appear that in this one particular, at any rate, time has brought about no important deviation from primitive belief. From Justin onward, it may often be a fair question whether God, or the devil, occupies a larger share of the attention of the fathers. It is the devil

who instigates the Roman authorities to persecute; the gods and goddesses of paganism are devils, and idolatry itself is an invention of Satan; if a saint falls away from grace, it is by the seduction of the demon; if a heresy arises, the devil has suggested it; and some of the fathers* go so far as to challenge the pagans to a sort of exorcising match, by way of testing the truth of Christianity. Mediæval Christianity is at one with patristic, on this head. The masses, the clergy, the theologians, and the philosophers alike, live and move and have their being in a world full of demons, in which sorcery and possession are every-day occurrences. Nor did the Reformation make any difference. Whatever else Luther assailed, he left the traditional demonology untouched; nor could any one have entertained a more hearty and uncompromising belief in the devil, than he and, at a later period, the Calvinistic fanatics of New England did. Finally, in these last years of the nineteenth century, the demonological hypotheses of the first century are, explicitly or implicitly, held and occasionally acted upon, by the immense majority of Christians of all confessions.

Only here and there has the progress of scientific thought, outside the ecclesiastical world, so far affected Christians that they and their teachers fight shy of the demonology of their creed. They are fain to conceal their real disbelief in one half of Christian doctrine by judicious silence about it; or by flight to those refuges for the logically destitute, accommodation or allegory. But the faithful who fly to allegory in order to escape absurdity resemble nothing so much as the sheep in the fable who—to save their lives—jumped into the pit. The allegory pit is too commodious, is ready to swallow up so much more than one wants to put into it. If the story of the temptation is an allegory; if the early recognition of Jesus as the Son of God by the demons is an allegory; if the plain declaration of the writer of the first Epistle of John (iii, 8), “To this end was the Son of God manifested that he might destroy the works of the devil,” is allegorical, then the Pauline version of the fall may be allegorical, and still more the words of consecration of the Eucharist, or the promise of the second coming; in fact, there is not a dogma of ecclesiastical Christianity the scriptural basis of which

* Tertullian (“Apolog. adv. Gentes,” cap. xxiii) thus challenges the Roman authorities: let them bring a possessed person into the presence of a Christian before their tribunal; and, if the demon does not confess himself to be such, on the order of the Christian, let the Christian be executed out of hand.

may not be whittled away by a similar process.

As to accommodation, let any honest man who can read the New Testament ask himself whether Jesus and his immediate friends and disciples can be dishonored more grossly than by the supposition that they said and did that which is attributed to them ; while, in reality, they disbelieved in Satan and his demons, in possession and in exorcism ? *

An eminent theologian has justly observed that we have no right to look at the propositions of the Christian faith with one eye open and the other shut. ("Tract 85," p. 29.) It really is not permissible to see with one eye, that Jesus is affirmed to declare the personality and the fatherhood of God, his loving providence, and his accessibility to prayer, and to shut the other to the no less definite teaching ascribed to Jesus in regard to the personality and the misanthropy of the devil, his malignant watchfulness, and his subjection to exorcistic formulæ and rites. Jesus is made to say that the devil "was a murderer from the beginning" (John viii, 44) by the same authority as that upon which we depend for his asserted declaration that "God is a spirit" (John iv, 24).

To those who admit the authority of the famous Vincentian dictum that the doctrine which has been held "always, everywhere, and by all" is to be received as authoritative, the demonology must possess a higher sanction than any other Christian dogma, except, perhaps, those of the resurrection and of the Messiahship of Jesus ; for it would be difficult to name any other points of doctrine on which the Nazarene does not differ from the Christian, and the different historical stages and contemporary subdivisions of Christianity from one another. And, if the demonology is accepted, there can be no reason for rejecting all those miracles in which demons play apart. The Gadarene story fits into the general scheme of Christianity, and the evidence for "Legion" and their doings is just as good as any other in the New Testament for the doctrine which the story illustrates.

It was with the purpose of bringing this great fact into prominence, of getting people to open both their eyes when they look at ecclesiasticism, that I devoted so much space to that miraculous story which happens to be one of the best types of its class. And I could not wish for a better justification of the course I have adopted than the fact that my heroically consistent adversary

has declared his implicit belief in the Gadarene story and (by necessary consequence) in the Christian demonology as a whole. It must be obvious, by this time, that, if the account of the spiritual world given in the New Testament, professedly on the authority of Jesus, is true, then the demonological half of that account must be just as true as the other half. And, therefore, those who question the demonology, or try to explain it away, deny the truth of what Jesus said, and are, in ecclesiastical terminology, "infidels" just as much as those who deny the spirituality of God. This is as plain as anything can well be, and the dilemma for my opponent was either to assert that the Gadarene pig-bedevilment actually occurred, or to write himself down an "infidel." As was to be expected, he chose the former alternative ; and I may express my great satisfaction at finding that there is one spot of common ground on which both he and I stand. So far as I can judge, we are agreed to state one of the broad issues between the consequences of agnostic principles (as I draw them), and the consequences of ecclesiastical dogmatism (as he accepts it), as follows :

Ecclesiasticism says : The demonology of the Gospels is an essential part of that account of that spiritual world, the truth of which it declares to be certified by Jesus.

Agnosticism (*me judice*) says : There is no good evidence of the existence of a demonic spiritual world, and much reason for doubting it.

Hereupon the ecclesiastic may observe : Your doubt means that you disbelieve Jesus ; therefore you are an "infidel" instead of an "agnostic." To which the agnostic may reply : No ; for two reasons : first, because your evidence that Jesus said what you say he said is worth very little ; and, secondly, because a man may be an agnostic in the sense of admitting he has no positive knowledge ; and yet consider that he has more or less probable ground for accepting any given hypothesis about the spiritual world. Just as a man may frankly declare that he has no means of knowing whether the planets generally are inhabited or not, and yet may think one of the two possible hypotheses more likely than the other, so he may admit that he has no means of knowing anything about the spiritual world, and yet may think one or other of the current views on the subject, to some extent, probable.

The second answer is so obviously valid that it needs no discussion. I draw attention to it simply in justice to those agnostics, who may attach greater value than I do

* See the expression of orthodox opinion upon the "accommodation" subterfuge, already cited, p. 20.

to any sort of pneumatological speculations, and not because I wish to escape the responsibility of declaring that, whether Jesus sanctioned the demonological part of Christianity or not, I unhesitatingly reject it. The first answer, on the other hand, opens up the whole question of the claim of the biblical and other sources, from which hypotheses concerning the spiritual world are derived, to be regarded as unimpeachable historical evidence as to matters of fact.

Now, in respect of the trustworthiness of the Gospel narratives, I was anxious to get rid of the common assumption that the determination of the authorship and of the dates of these works is a matter of fundamental importance. That assumption is based upon the notion that what contemporary witnesses say must be true, or, at least, has always a *prima facie* claim to be so regarded; so that if the writers of any of the Gospels were contemporaries of the events (and still more if they were in the position of eye-witnesses) the miracles they narrate must be historically true, and, consequently, the demonology which they involve must be accepted. But the story of the "Translation of the Blessed Martyrs Marcellinus and Petrus," and the other considerations (to which endless additions might have been made from the fathers and the mediæval writers) set forth in this review for March last, yield, in my judgment, satisfactory proof that, where the miraculous is concerned, neither considerable intellectual ability, nor undoubted honesty, nor knowledge of the world, nor proved faithfulness as civil historians, nor profound piety, on the part of eye-witnesses and contemporaries, affords any guarantee of the objective truth of their statements, when we know that a firm belief in the miraculous was ingrained in their minds, and was the pre-supposition of their observations and reasonings.

Therefore, although it be, as I believe, demonstrable that we have no real knowledge of the authorship, or of the date of composition of the Gospels, as they have come down to us, and that nothing better than more or less probable guesses can be arrived at on that subject, I have not cared to expend any space on the question. It will be admitted, I suppose, that the authors of the works attributed to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, whoever they may be, are personages whose capacity and judgment in the narration of ordinary events are not quite so well certified as those of Eginhard; and we have seen what the value of Eginhard's evidence is when the miraculous is in question.

I have been careful to explain that the arguments which I have used in the course of this discussion are not new; that they are historical, and have nothing to do with what is commonly called science; and that they are all, to the best of my belief, to be found in the works of theologians of repute.

The position which I have taken up, that the evidence in favor of such miracles as those recorded by Eginhard, and consequently of mediæval demonology, is quite as good as that in favor of such miracles as the Gadarene, and consequently of Nazarene demonology, is none of my discovery. Its strength was, wittingly or unwittingly, suggested a century and a half ago by a theological scholar of eminence; and it has been, if not exactly occupied, yet so fortified with bastions and redoubts by a living ecclesiastical Vauban, that, in my judgment, it has been rendered impregnable. In the early part of the last century, the ecclesiastical mind in this country was much exercised by the question, not exactly of miracles, the occurrence of which in biblical times was axiomatic, but by the problem, When did miracles cease? Anglican divines were quite sure that no miracles had happened in their day, nor for some time past; they were equally sure that they happened sixteen or seventeen centuries earlier. And it was a vital question for them to determine at what point of time, between this *terminus a quo* and that *terminus ad quem*, miracles came to an end.

The Anglicans and the Romanists agreed in the assumption that the possession of the gift of miracle-working was *prima facie* evidence of the soundness of the faith of the miracle-workers. The supposition that miraculous powers might be wielded by heretics (though it might be supported by high authority) led to consequences too frightful to be entertained by people who were busied in building their dogmatic house on the sands of early church history. If, as the Romanists maintained, an unbroken series of genuine miracles adorned the records of their Church, throughout the whole of its existence, no Anglican could lightly venture to accuse them of doctrinal corruption. Hence, the Anglicans, who indulged in such accusations, were bound to prove the modern, the mediæval Roman, and the later patristic miracles false; and to shut off the wonder-working power from the Church at the exact point of time when Anglican doctrine ceased and Roman doctrine began. With a little adjustment—a squeeze here and a pull there—the Christianity of the first three or four centuries might be made to fit, or seem to

fit, pretty well into the Anglican scheme. So the miracles, from Justin, say, to Jerome, might be recognized; while, in later times, the Church having become "corrupt"—that is to say, having pursued one and the same line of development further than was pleasing to Anglicans—its alleged miracles must needs be shams and impostures.

Under these circumstances, it may be imagined that the establishment of a scientific frontier, between the earlier realm of supposed fact and the later of asserted delusion, had its difficulties; and torrents of theological special pleading about the subject flowed from clerical pens; until that learned and acute Anglican divine, Conyers Middleton, in his "*Free Inquiry*," tore the sophistical web they had laboriously woven to pieces, and demonstrated that the miracles of the patristic age, early and late, must stand or fall together, inasmuch as the evidence for the later is just as good as the evidence for the earlier wonders. If the one set are certified by contemporaneous witnesses of high repute, so are the other; and, in point of probability, there is not a pin to choose between the two. That is the solid and irrefragable result of Middleton's contribution to the subject. But the Free Inquirer's freedom had its limits; and he draws a sharp line of demarkation between the patristic and the New Testament miracles—on the professed ground that the accounts of the latter, being inspired, are out of the reach of criticism.

A century later, the question was taken up by another divine, Middleton's equal in learning and acuteness, and far his superior in subtlety and dialectic skill; who, though an Anglican, scorned the name of Protestant; and, while yet a Churchman, made it his business to parade, with infinite skill, the utter hollowness of the arguments of those of his brother Churchmen who dreamed that they could be both Anglicans and Protestants. The argument of the "*Essay on the Miracles recorded in the Ecclesiastical History of the Early Ages*,"* by the present Roman cardinal, but then Anglican doctor, John Henry Newman, is compendiously stated by himself in the following passage:

If the miracles of church history can not be defended by the arguments of Leslie, Lyttleton, Paley, or Douglas, how many of the Scripture miracles satisfy their conditions? (p. cvii).

And, although the answer is not given in so many words, little doubt is left on the mind of the reader that in the mind of the writer it is: None. In fact, this conclusion is one which can not be resisted, if the argument in favor of the Scripture miracles is based upon that which laymen, whether lawyers, or men of science, or historians, or ordinary men of affairs call evidence. But there is something really impressive in the magnificent contempt with which, at times, Dr. Newman sweeps aside alike those who offer and those who demand such evidence.

Some infidel authors advise us to accept no miracles which would not have a verdict in their favor in a court of justice; that is, they employ against Scripture a weapon which Protestants would confine to attacks upon the Church, as if moral and religious questions required legal proofs, and evidence were the test of truth* (p. cvii).

"As if evidence were the test of truth"!—although the truth in question is the occurrence or non-occurrence of certain phenomena at a certain time and in a certain place. This sudden revelation of the great gulf fixed between the ecclesiastical and the scientific mind is enough to take away the breath of any one unfamiliar with the clerical organon. As if, one may retort, the assumption that miracles may, or have, served a moral or a religious end in any way alters the fact that they profess to be historical events, things that actually happened; and, as such, must needs be exactly those subjects about which evidence is appropriate and legal proofs (which are such merely because they afford adequate evidence) may be justly demanded. The Gadarene miracle either happened, or it did not. Whether the Gadarene "question" is moral or religious, or not, has nothing to do with the fact that it is a purely historical question whether the demons said what they are declared to have said, and the devil-possessed pigs did or did not rush over the cliffs of the Lake of Gennesareth on a certain day of a certain year, after A. D. 26 and before A. D. 36; for, vague and uncertain as New Testament chronology is, I suppose it may be assumed that the event in question, if it happened at all, took place during the procuratorship of Pilate. If that is not a matter about which evidence ought to be required, and not only legal but strict scientific proof demanded by sane men who are asked to believe the story—what is? Is a reasonable being to be seriously asked to credit statements which, to

* I quote the first edition (1843). A second edition appeared in 1870. Tract 85 of the "*Tracts for the Times*" should be read with this "*Essay*." If I were called upon to compile a primer of "infidelity," I think I should save myself trouble by making a selection from these works, and from the "*Essay on Development*" by the same author.

* Yet, when it suits his purpose, as in the introduction to the "*Essay on Development*," Dr. Newman can demand strict evidence in religious questions as sharply as any "infidel author"; and he can even profess to yield to its force ("*Essays on Miracles*," 1870, note, p. 391).

put the case gently, are not exactly probable, and on the acceptance or rejection of which his whole view of life may depend, without asking for as much "legal" proof as would send an alleged pickpocket to jail, or as would suffice to prove the validity of a disputed will?

"Infidel authors" (if, as I am assured, I may answer for them) will decline to waste time on mere darkenings of counsel of this sort; but to those Anglicans who accept his premises, Dr. Newman is a truly formidable antagonist. What, indeed, are they to reply when he puts the very pertinent question:

"whether persons who, not merely question, but prejudge the ecclesiastical miracles on the ground of their want of resemblance, whatever that be, to those contained in Scripture—as if the Almighty could not do in the Christian church what he had not already done at the time of its foundation, or under the Mosaic covenant—whether such reasoners are not siding with the skeptic,"

and

"whether it is not a happy inconsistency by which they continue to believe the Scriptures while they reject the Church" * (p. liii).

Again, I invite Anglican orthodoxy to consider this passage:

the narrative of the combats of St. Antony with evil spirits is a development rather than a contradiction of revelation, viz., of such texts as speak of Satan being cast out by prayer and fasting. To be shocked, then, at the miracles of ecclesiastical history, or to ridicule them for their strangeness, is no part of a scriptural philosophy (p. liii-iv).

Further on, Dr. Newman declares that it has been admitted

that a distinct line can be drawn in point of character and circumstance between the miracles of Scripture and of church history; but this is by no means the case (p. lv). . . . Specimens are not wanting in the history of the Church of miracles as awful in their character and as momentous in their effects as those which are recorded in Scripture. The fire interrupting the rebuilding of the Jewish Temple, and the death of Arius, are instances in ecclesiastical history of such solemn events. On the other hand, difficult instances in the Scripture history are such as these: the serpent in Eden, the ark, Jacob's vision for the multiplication of his cattle, the speaking of Balaam's ass, the axe swimming at Elisha's word, the miracle on the swine, and various instances of prayers or prophecies, in which, as in that of Noah's blessing and curse, words which seem the result of private feeling are expressly or virtually ascribed to a divine suggestion (p. lvi).

Who is to gainsay our ecclesiastical authority here? "Infidel authors" might be accused of a wish to ridicule the Scripture

miracles by putting them on a level with the remarkable story about the fire which stopped the rebuilding of the Temple, or that about the death of Arius—but Dr. Newman is above suspicion. The pity is that his list of what he delicately terms "difficult" instances is so short. Why omit the manufacture of Eve out of Adam's rib, on the strict historical accuracy of which the chief argument of the defenders of an iniquitous portion of our present marriage law depends? Why leave out the account of the "Bene Elohim" and their gallantries, on which a large part of the worst practices of the mediæval inquisitors into witchcraft was based? Why forget the angel who wrestled with Jacob, and, as the account suggests, somewhat overstepped the bounds of fair play at the end of the struggle? Surely we must agree with Dr. Newman that, if all these camels have gone down, it savors of affectation to strain at such gnats as the sudden ailment of Arius in the midst of his deadly, if prayerful,* enemies; and the fiery explosion which stopped the Julian building operations. Though the words of the "Conclusion" of the "Essay on Miracles" may, perhaps, be quoted against me, I may express my satisfaction at finding myself in substantial accordance with a theologian above all suspicion of heterodoxy. With all my heart, I can declare my belief that there is just as good reason for believing in the miraculous slaying of the man who fell short of the Athanasian power of affirming contradictories, with respect to the nature of the Godhead, as there is for believing in the stories of the serpent and the ark told in Genesis, the speaking of Balaam's ass in Numbers, or the floating of the axe, at Elisha's order, in the second book of Kings.

It is one of the peculiarities of a really sound argument that it is susceptible of the fullest development; and that it sometimes leads to conclusions unexpected by those who employ it. To my mind it is impossible to refuse to follow Dr. Newman when he extends his reasoning from the miracles of the patristic and mediæval ages backward

* Compare "Tract 85," p. 110: "I am persuaded that were men but consistent who oppose the Church doctrines as being unscriptural, they would vindicate the Jews for rejecting the gospel."

* According to Dr. Newman, "This prayer [that of Bishop Alexander, who begged God to 'take Arius away'] is said to have been offered about 3 P.M. on the Saturday; that same evening Arius was in the great square of Constantine, when he was suddenly seized with indisposition" (p. clix). The "infidel" Gibbon seems to have dared to suggest that "an option between poison and miracle" is presented by this case; and it must be admitted, that if the bishop had been within reach of a modern police magistrate, things might have gone hardly with him. Modern "infidels," possessed of a slight knowledge of chemistry, are not unlikely, with no less audacity, to suggest an "option between fire-damp and miracle" in seeking for the cause of the fiery outburst at Jerusalem.

in time as far as miracles are recorded. But, if the rules of logic are valid, I feel compelled to extend the argument forward to the alleged Roman miracles of the present day, which Dr. Newman might not have admitted, but which Cardinal Newman may hardly reject. Beyond question, there is as good, or perhaps better, evidence for the miracles worked by our Lady of Lourdes, as there is for the floating of Elisha's axe or the speaking of Balaam's ass. But we must go still further; there is a modern system of thaumaturgy and demonology which is just as well certified as the ancient.* Veracious, excellent, sometimes learned and acute persons, even philosophers of no mean pretension, testify to the "levitation" of bodies much heavier than Elisha's axe; to the existence of "spirits" who, to the mere tactile sense, have been indistinguishable from flesh and blood, and occasionally have wrestled with all the vigor of Jacob's opponent; yet, further, to the speech, in the language of raps, of spiritual beings, whose discourses, in point of coherence and value, are far inferior to that of Balaam's humble but sagacious steed. I have not the smallest doubt that, if these were persecuting times, there is many a worthy "spiritualist" who would cheerfully go to the stake in support of his pneumatological faith, and furnish evidence, after Paley's own heart, in proof of the truth of his doctrines. Not a few modern divines, doubtless struck by the impossibility of refusing the spiritualist evidence, if the ecclesiastical evidence is accepted, and deprived of any *a priori* objection by their implicit belief in Christian demonology, show themselves ready to take poor Sludge seriously, and to believe that he is possessed by other devils than those of need, greed, and vainglory.

Under these circumstances, it was to be expected, though it is none the less interesting to note the fact, that the arguments of the latest school of "spiritualists" present

a wonderful family likeness to those which adorn the subtle disquisitions of the advocate of ecclesiastical miracles of forty years ago. It is unfortunate for the "spiritualists" that, over and over again, celebrated and trusted media, who really, in some respects, call to mind the Montanist* and gnostic seers of the second century, are either proved in courts of law to be fraudulent impostors; or, in sheer weariness, as it would seem, of the honest dupes who swear by them, spontaneously confess their long-continued iniquities, as the Fox women did the other day in New York.† But whenever a catastrophe of this kind takes place, the believers are nowise dismayed by it. They freely admit that not only the media, but the spirits whom they summon, are sadly apt to lose sight of the elementary principles of right and wrong; and they triumphantly ask: How does the occurrence of occasional impostures disprove the genuine manifestations (that is to say, all those which have not yet been proved to be impostures or delusions)? And, in this, they unconsciously plagiarize from the churchman, who just as freely admits that many ecclesiastical miracles may have been forged; and asks, with the same calm contempt, not only of legal proofs, but of common-sense probability, Why does it follow that none are to be supposed genuine? I must say, however, that the spiritualists, so far as I know, do not venture to outrage right reason so boldly as the ecclesiastics. They do not sneer at "evidence"; nor repudiate the requirement of legal proofs. In fact, there can be no doubt that the spiritualists produce better evidence for their manifestations than can be shown either for the miraculous death of Arius, or for the invention of the cross.‡

From the "levitation" of the axe at one end of a period of near three thousand years to the "levitation" of Sludge & Co. at the other end, there is a complete continuity of the miraculous with every gradation from

* A writer in a spiritualist journal takes me roundly to task for venturing to doubt the historical and literal truth of the Gadarene story. The following passage in his letter is worth quotation: "Now to the materialistic and scientific mind, to the uninitiated in spiritual verticles, certainly this story of the Gadarene or Gergesene swine presents insurmountable difficulties; it seems grotesque and nonsensical. To the experienced, trained, and cultivated Spiritualist this miracle is, as I am prepared to show, one of the most instructive, the most profoundly useful, and the most beneficent which Jesus ever wrought in the whole course of his pilgrimage of redemption on earth." Just so. And the first page of this same journal presents the following advertisement, among others of the same kidney:

"TO WEALTHY SPIRITUALISTS.—A lady medium of tried power wishes to meet with an elderly gentleman who would be willing to give her a comfortable home and maintenance in exchange for her spiritualistic services, as her guides consider her health is too delicate for public sittings: London preferred.—Address 'Mary,' office of 'Light.'"

Are we going back to the days of the Judges, when wealthy Micah set up his private ephod, teraphim, and Levite?

* Consider Tertullian's "sister" ("hodie apud nos"), who conversed with angels, saw and heard mysteries, knew men's thoughts, and prescribed medicine for their bodies ("De Anima," cap. 9). Tertullian tells us that this woman saw the soul as corporeal, and described its color and shape. The "Infidel" will probably be unable to refrain from insulting the memory of the ecstatic saint by the remark that Tertullian's known views about the corporeality of the soul may have had something to do with the remarkable perceptive powers of the Montanist medium, in whose revelations of the spiritual world he took such profound interest.

† See the New York "World" for Sunday, October 21, 1888; and the "Report of the Seybert Commission," Philadelphia, 1887.

‡ Dr. Newman's observation that the miraculous multiplication of the pieces of the true cross (with which "the whole world is filled," according to Cyril of Jerusalem; and of which some say there are enough extant to build a man-of-war) is no more wonderful than that of the loaves and fishes, is one that I do not see my way to contradict. See "Essay on Miracles," second edition, p. 163.

the childish to the stupendous, from the gratification of a caprice to the illustration of sublime truth. There is no drawing a line in the series that might be set out of plausibly attested cases of spiritual intervention. If one is true, all may be true; if one is false, all may be false.

This is, to my mind, the inevitable result of that method of reasoning which is applied to the confutation of Protestantism, with so much success, by one of the acutest and subtlest disputants who have ever championed ecclesiasticism—and one can not put his claims to acuteness and subtlety higher.

... the Christianity of history is not Protestantism. If ever there were a safe truth it is this. . . . "To be deep in history is to cease to be a Protestant."*

I have not a shadow of doubt that these anti-Protestant epigrams are profoundly true. But I have as little that, in the same sense, the "Christianity of history is not" Romanism; and that to be deeper in history is to cease to be a Romanist. The reasons which compel my doubts about the compatibility of the Roman doctrine, or any other form of Catholicism, with history, arise out of exactly the same line of argument as that adopted by Dr. Newman in the famous essay which I have just cited. If, with one hand, Dr. Newman has destroyed Protestantism, he has annihilated Romanism with the other; and the total result of his ambidextral efforts is to shake Christianity to its foundations. Nor was any one better aware that this must be the inevitable result of his arguments—if the world should refuse to accept Roman doctrines and Roman miracles—than the writer of "Tract 85."

Dr. Newman made his choice and passed over to the Roman Church half a century ago. Some of those who were essentially in harmony with his views preceded, and many followed him. But many remained; and, as the quondam Puseyite and present Ritualistic party, they are continuing that work of sapping and mining the Protestantism of the Anglican Church which he and his friends so ably commenced. At the present time they have no little claim to be considered victorious all along the line. I am old enough to recollect the small beginnings of the Tractarian party; and I am amazed when I consider the present position of their heirs. Their little leaven has leavened, if not the whole, yet a very large, lump of the Anglican Church; which is now pretty much of a preparatory school for Papistry. So that it really behooves Eng-

lishmen (who, as I have been informed by high authority, are all, legally, members of the state Church, if they profess to belong to no other sect) to wake up to what that powerful organization is about, and whither it is tending. On this point, the writings of Dr. Newman, while he still remained within the Anglican fold, are a vast store of the best and the most authoritative information. His doctrines on ecclesiastical miracles and on development are the cornerstones of the Tractarian fabric. He believed that his arguments led either Rome-ward, or to what ecclesiastics call "infidelity," and I call agnosticism. I believe that he was quite right in this conviction; but while he chooses the one alternative, I choose the other; as he rejects Protestantism on the ground of its incompatibility with history, so, *a fortiori*, I conceive that Romanism ought to be rejected, and that an impartial consideration of the evidence must refuse the authority of Jesus to anything more than the Nazarenism of James and Peter and John. And let it not be supposed that this is a mere "infidel" perversion of the facts. No one has more openly and clearly admitted the possibility that they may be fairly interpreted in this way than Dr. Newman. If, he says, there are texts which seem to show that Jesus contemplated the evangelization of the heathen:

... Did not the apostles hear our Lord? and what was *their* impression from what they heard? Is it not certain that the apostles did not gather this truth from his teaching? ("Tract 85," p. 63.)

He said, "Preach the gospel to every creature." These words *need* have only meant "Bring all men to Christianity through Judaism." Make them Jews, that they may enjoy Christ's privileges which are lodged in Judaism; teach them those rites and ceremonies, circumcision and the like, which hitherto have been dead ordinances, and now are living; and so the apostles seem to have understood them (*Ibid.*, p. 65).

So far as Nazarenism differentiated itself from contemporary orthodox Judaism, it seems to have tended toward a revival of the ethical and religious spirit of the prophetic age, accompanied by the belief in Jesus as the Messiah, and by various accretions which had grown round Judaism subsequently to the exile. To these belong the doctrines of the resurrection, of the last judgment, of heaven and hell; of the hierarchy of good angels; of Satan and the hierarchy of evil spirits. And there is very strong ground for believing that all these doctrines, at least in the shapes in which they were held by the post-exilic Jews, were derived from Persian and Babylonian*

* "An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine," by J. H. Newman, D.D., pp. 7 and 8. (1878.)

* Dr. Newman faces this question with his customary ability. "Now, I own, I am not at all solicitous to deny that

sources, and are essentially of heathen origin.

How far Jesus positively sanctioned all these indrainings of circumjacent paganism into Judaism; how far any one has a right to say that the refusal to accept one or other of these doctrines as ascertained verities comes to the same thing as contradicting Jesus, it appears to me not easy to say. But it is hardly less difficult to conceive that he could have distinctly negated any of them; and, more especially, that demonology which has been accepted by the Christian churches in every age and under all their mutual antagonisms. But, I repeat my conviction that, whether Jesus sanctioned the demonology of his time and nation or not, it is doomed. The future of Christianity as a dogmatic system and apart from the old Israelitish ethics which it has appropriated and developed, lies in the answer which mankind will eventually give to the question whether they are prepared to believe such stories as the Gadarene and the pneumatological hypotheses which go with it, or not. My belief is they will decline to do anything of the sort, whenever and wherever their minds have been disciplined by science. And that discipline must and will at once follow and lead the footsteps of advancing civilization.

The preceding pages were written before I became acquainted with the contents of the May number of this review, wherein I discover many things which are decidedly not to my advantage. It would appear that "evasion" is my chief resource, "incapacity for strict argument" and "rotteness of ratiocination" my main mental characteristics, and that it is "barely credible" that a statement which I profess to make of my own knowledge is true. All which things I notice, merely to illustrate the great truth, forced on me by long experience, that it is only from those who enjoy the blessing of a firm hold of the Christian faith that such manifestations of meekness, patience, and charity are to be expected.

I had imagined that no one who had read my preceding papers could entertain a doubt as to my position in respect of the main issue as it has been stated and restated by my opponent:

an agnosticism which knows nothing of the relation of man to God must not only refuse belief to our

this doctrine of an apostate angel and his hosts was gained from Babylon: it might still be divine nevertheless. God who made the prophet's ass speak, and thereby instructed the prophet, might instruct his church by means of heathen Babylon" ("Tract 85," p. 83.) There seems to be no end to the apologetic burden that Balaam's ass can carry.

Lord's most undoubted teaching, but must deny the reality of the spiritual convictions in which he lived and died.*

That is said to be "the simple question which is at issue between us," and the three testimonies to that teaching and those convictions selected are the Sermon on the Mount, the Lord's Prayer, and the Story of the Passion.

My answer, reduced to its briefest form, has been: In the first place, the evidence is such that the exact nature of the teachings and the convictions of Jesus is extremely uncertain, so that what ecclesiastics are pleased to call a denial of them may be nothing of the kind. And, in the second place, if Jesus taught the demonological system involved in the Gadarene story—if a belief in that system formed a part of the spiritual convictions in which he lived and died—then I, for my part, unhesitatingly refuse belief in that teaching, and deny the reality of those spiritual convictions. And I go further and add, that exactly in so far as it can be proved that Jesus sanctioned the essentially pagan demonological theories current among the Jews of his age, exactly in so far, for me, will his authority in any matter touching the spiritual world be weakened.

With respect to the first half of my answer, I have pointed out that the Sermon on the Mount, as given in the first Gospel, is, in the opinion of the best critics, a "mosaic work" of materials derived from different sources, and I do not understand that this statement is challenged. The only other Gospel, the third, which contains something like it, makes not only the discourse, but the circumstances under which it was delivered, very different. Now, it is one thing to say that there was something real at the bottom of the two discourses—which is quite possible; and another to affirm that we have any right to say what that something was, or to fix upon any particular phrase and declare it to be a genuine utterance. Those who pursue theology as a science, and bring to the study an adequate knowledge of the ways of ancient historians, will find no difficulty in providing illustrations of my meaning. I may supply one which has come within range of my own limited vision.

In Josephus's "History of the Wars of the Jews" (chap. xix) that writer reports a speech which he says Herod made at the opening of a war with the Arabians. It is in the first person, and would naturally be

(*To be continued.*)

GOODLY WORDS.

Readings from the Mystics, selected by C. H. A. BJERREGAARD, of the Astor Library.

21st April, 1855.—I have been reading a great deal: ethnography, comparative anatomy, cosmical systems. I have traversed the universe from the deepest depths of the empyrean to the peristaltic movements of the atoms in the elementary cell. I have felt myself expanding in the infinite, and enfranchised in spirit from the bounds of time and space, able to trace back the whole boundless creation to a point without dimensions, and seeing the vast multitude of suns, of milky-ways, of stars, and nebulae, all existent in the point. And on all sides stretched mysteries, marvels, and prodigies, without limit, without number, and without end. I felt the unfathomable thought of which the Universe is the symbol live and burn within me; I touched, proved, tasted, embraced my nothingness and my immensity; I kissed the hem of the garments of God, and gave Him thanks for being Spirit and for being Life. Such moments are glimpses of the Divine. They make one conscious of one's immortality; they bring home to one that an Eternity is not too much for the study of the thoughts and works of the Eternal; they awaken in us an adoring ecstasy and an ardent humility of love.

2d January, 1880.—A sense of rest, of deep quiet even. Silence within and without. A quietly-burning fire. A sense of comfort. The portrait of my mother seems to smile upon me. I am not dazed or stupid, but only happy in this peaceful morning. Whatever may be the charm of emotion, I do not know whether it equals the sweetness of those hours of silent meditation, in which we have a glimpse and foretaste of the contemplative joys of Paradise. Desire and fear, sadness and care, are done away. Existence is reduced to the simplest form, the most ethereal mode of being, that is, to pure self-consciousness. It is a state of harmony, without tension and without disturbance, the dominical state of the soul, perhaps the state which awaits it beyond the grave. It is happiness as the Orientals understand it, the happiness of the anchorite, who neither struggles nor wishes any more, but simply adores and enjoys. It is difficult to find words in which to express this moral situation, for our languages can only render the particular and localized vibrations of life; they are incapable of expressing this motionless concentration, this divine quietude, this state of the resting ocean, which reflects the sky, and is master of its own profundities. Things are then reabsorbed into their principles; memories are swallowed up in memory; the soul is only soul, and is no longer conscious of itself in its individuality and separateness. It is something which feels the universal life, a sensible atom of the Divine, of God. It no longer appropriates anything to itself, it is conscious of no void. Only the Yoghis and Sufis perhaps have known in its profundity this humble and yet voluptuous state, which combines the joys of being and of non-being, which is neither reflection nor will, which is above both the moral existence and the intellectual existence, which is the return to unity, to the pleroma, the vision of Plotinus and of Praclus.—Nirvana in its most attractive form.

9th September, 1880.—It seems to me that with the decline of my active force I am becoming more purely spirit; everything is growing transparent to me. I see the types, the foundation of beings, the sense of things. All personal events, all particular experiences, are to me texts for meditation, facts to be generalized into laws, realities to be reduced to ideas. Life is only a document to be in-

terpreted, matter to be spiritualized. Such is the life of the thinker. Every day he strips himself more and more of personality. If he consents to act and to feel, it is that he may the better understand; if he wills, it is that he may know what will is. Although it is sweet to him to be loved, and he knows nothing else so sweet, yet there also he seems to himself to be the occasion of the phenomenon rather than its end. He contemplates the spectacle of love, and love for him remains a spectacle. He does not even believe his body his own; he feels the vital whirlwind passing through him,—lent to him, as it were, for a moment, in order that he may perceive the cosmic vibrations. He is a mere thinking subject; he retains only the form of things; he attributes to himself the material possession of nothing whatsoever; he asks nothing from life but wisdom. This temper of mind makes him incomprehensible to all that loves enjoyment, dominion, possession. He is fluid as a phantom that we see but cannot grasp; he resembles a man, as the *manes* of Achilles or the shade of Creusa resembled the living. Without having died, I am a ghost. Other men are dreams to me, and I am a dream to them.

H. F. AMIEL's *Journal intime*, translated by Mrs. H. Ward. London, 1889.

The celestial do not discuss truths like the spiritual. The celestial are in the affection of good from good, the spiritual in the affection of good from truth. The former love their neighbor more than themselves, but with the spiritual the love of self and the world continually flows in from the voluntary part. The celestial are they who say "Yea, yea, and Nay, nay," and do not confirm truths by reasonings. What is celestial is received in the will-principle, and what is spiritual in the intellectual. There are few who can become celestial men, because there are few with whom there is anything still entire in the will part.

INDEX to SWEDENBORG's *Arcana Coelestia*. London, 1865.

In order to reach the high goal of dominion over the physical body and all its vicissitudes, it is necessary to embody the principle of the Divine will, the name of God, the: "I WILL BE WHAT I WILL TO BE." Jesus often said when he healed the sick "I WILL, be thou whole." The will is the only power in the world, and certainly is the ruling power of our body. We are told God created the world by a word. Then if creation is carried on by the potency of God's word, we are the result of that word, and therefore must be the embodiment of its potency; and as the will is the controller of all action, then by it we can recreate ourselves in any or all functions that may be deficient. To get control of the body is the main difficulty for us all; how to do this is the most important matter we can present, for a weak or unguided will is the source of all evil in the world.

THE ESOTERIC. February, 1889.

It is expected that the decision of the court of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the case of the Bishop of Lincoln, against whom complaint was made for ritualistic practices, will be announced the present month. The Bishop of Salisbury, who was one of the Archbishop's assessors in the case, in a recent speech said that he hoped the clergy would try to take the decision patiently, and make the best of it, when it should be announced. He said he could not say anything about the features of the judgment on particular points, but the judgment would be a unanimous one.—*Independent*, June 26, 1890.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

SMITH'S RELIGION OF THE SEMITES: LECTURES ON THE RELIGION OF THE SEMITES. FIRST SERIES: THE FUNDAMENTAL INSTITUTIONS. By W. ROBERTSON SMITH, M.A., LL.D., Fellow of Christ's College and Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1890. 8vo, pp. xii., 488.

THE present volume contains the first of three courses of lectures which Professor Smith was invited, by the Trustees of the Burnett Fund, to deliver at Aberdeen, from October, 1888, to October, 1891, on "the primitive religions of the Semitic peoples, viewed in relation to other ancient religions and to the spiritual religion of the Old Testament and of Christianity." It may be cause of legitimate satisfaction to Mr. Smith that he goes to speak on such a theme in the land where, not many years ago, he was forced to defend before the courts of his Church "the rights of historical research as applied to the Old Testament." It will be observed that the subject assigned gives the lecturer a wide range; he has not only to deal with the early religious ideas of all the Semitic peoples, but he may compare them with any other ancient religious conceptions, and finally trace their progress into those higher forms of thought which appear in the prophets, the psalmists, and the New Testament. The general plan of the courses at first proposed was as follows: The first was to go over the whole field of practical institutions; the second was to discuss the nature and origin of Semitic deities, myths, and religious creeds; the third would examine the part which Semitic religion has played in universal history, its influence on the general progress of humanity. The first part, however, having grown on the lecturer's hands, he has been unable to complete it in the first course, and reserves a portion for the second course. The volume before us deals with the nature of the religious community, the relation of the gods to men and to things, holy waters, trees, caves and stones, and the character of primitive sacrifice.

A considerable mass of material has been collected by other writers on the religious customs and ideas of early Semitic communities. Selden, John Spencer, Movers, Nöldeke, Kuenen, Baudissin, Sale, Wellhausen, Tiele, Mordtmann, Müller, Halévy, Renan, Sayce, and others have gathered

from Greek, Roman, and Arabic writers, from Phœnician inscriptions and from cuneiform and Sabeian monuments a large apparatus of facts. For the religions of India, Persia, Greece, Rome, and of various barbarous and savage tribes now in existence there is no lack of material. Professor Smith not only shows admirable knowledge of the modern literature of the subject, but a first-hand acquaintance with most of the ancient authorities, especially Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Arabic, on whom he is dependent. Of the ancient non-Semitic peoples, however, he has apparently confined his study to the Greeks and the Romans—he has nothing to say of Hindus and Persians, probably from lack of space. He declines also to use Babylonian-Assyrian material, for the reason that it, so far as it is known, belongs to a relatively advanced stage of civilization, and is, therefore, of small value for the illustration of primitive religious ideas. He is not without grounds for this view; the greater part of the cuneiform literature now known is late, and, what is more important, it consists chiefly of royal inscriptions and official and commercial documents, in which there is no room for that folk-lore which in the Old Testament, for example, has preserved for us so many precious hints of early practices and ideas. At the same time it is true that his attitude toward the results of Assyriology is unnecessarily suspicious. He thinks (as appears from his reply to the animadversions of Professor Sayce, in the *Academy* of last December) that the disagreements among cuneiform scholars are too great to allow one to trust their conclusions; to which it is a fair rejoinder that their differences are no greater than those which exist among Old Testament critics of the present day; and Professor Smith would be the last to hold that such divergencies vitiate the main conclusions of the science of biblical criticism. A case in point is the meaning of the term *aschera* (discussed by Smith on pp. 171–173). In the prevailing use of the Old Testament it is a wooden pillar, the symbol of or consecrated to a deity. In two places only the sense seems different: in 2 Kings xxi. 7 there is mention of an image of the *aschera*, where the latter word might appear to be the name of a deity; in Judges iii. 7 the Israelites are said to have worshipped "the Baals and the Asheras," the latter term undoubtedly representing a goddess; but the force of this evidence is greatly diminished by Judges x. 6, where the parallel expression is "the Baals and the Ashtoreths," and one is led to surmise that *Ashera* stands

somehow for the more common *Ashtoreth*. There is thus justification for Smith's suggestion that by the time of the Exile a confusion had crept in between the two names. On the other hand, in view of the evidence produced by the Assyriologists, his assertion that "the opinion that there was a Canaanite goddess called Ashera . . . is not tenable," seems unduly strong; would it not be better to admit that at present there is room for doubt on the subject?

The great mass of the material contained in these lectures makes it impossible to examine it all in detail; we can look only at the general lines. Much of it belongs to the early history of all religions, the illustrations of principles being, however, drawn chiefly from the Semitic area. This is a perfectly legitimate procedure—it is not an arbitrary extension of Semitic ideas to other nations, but an assumption of principles from an examination of many early religious systems, including the Semitic. The important statement, for example, with which the author sets out, that primitive religion rests on the conception of kinship between the deity and his worshippers, is based on the usages of many early tribes besides the Arabian and the Hebrew. It can be supported only by a large array of facts—it is needless to say that speculations here are of little value. The question is so complicated that universal adjectives ought to be used sparingly; but Professor Smith brings out clearly (more clearly, it may be said, than has ever been done before) the great rôle that the idea of kinship has played in Semitic religious history. It appears to be true that the religious terms *father, son, brother, daughter, sister*, originally expressed the idea of blood-relationship between gods and men (the word "originally" being taken relatively and with a reservation). Men were thought of not as individuals, but as members of society; religion was clannish (the clan preceding the family in time), and the clan was composed of the god and his worshippers. It was thus impossible for a man to separate himself from his clan-god without abandoning the clan itself—divine and human kinsfolk were joined together in an indissoluble unity, and to expatriate one's self was equivalent to going and serving other gods.

Our author thus finds himself led to lay great stress on the constitution of early society as explaining primitive forms of religion. For example, he adopts the view, which has been brought out by recent writers, that the matriarchate preceded the patriarchy in primitive communities. "It

was the mother's, not the father's blood," says he (p. 52), "which formed the original bond of kinship among the Semites as among other early peoples, and in this stage of society, if the tribal deity was thought of as the parent of the stock, a goddess, not a god, would necessarily have been the object of worship." Whether the breadth of this statement is justifiable or not, it is certain that there are not a few examples of clan-goddesses among Semitic peoples, and no better explanation of their origin has been offered than the one here suggested. Other facts also find plausible explanation in the clan-theory. The god as father would naturally be looked on as head or ruler, and would receive those titles which the changing social conditions conferred on the highest authority; he would be "chief," "lord," "king," according as the community maintained the tribal form of government or advanced to a monarchical constitution. Here comes in the question of *tabu*, that institution which has prevailed over so large a part of the earth's surface, and has so deeply colored religious institutions. If *tabu* be defined as a restriction placed on the use of certain things by reason of their connection with divine beings, then the close connection between this and the ancient conception of sacredness or holiness becomes apparent. Professor Smith (p. 143) properly calls attention to the difference as well as the resemblance between the two ideas, the one gradually coming to include an ethical element that is not found in the other. The numerous examples of *tabu* in the Old Testament (such as the laws relating to food, Lev. xi., and such cases as that of 1 Sam. xxi. 4, 5) belong to the primitive Hebrew religion, and have nothing to do with the later spiritual faith. One of the most interesting questions in this connection is that of the attitude of Semitic peoples toward the swine. This animal was eaten by some, forbidden to others—a fact that seems most naturally explained not on sanitary grounds, but by the supposition that it was devoted to or identified with a deity. For Professor Smith has collected a number of facts going to show that primitive peoples made no difference as to nature between gods, men, and animals; the same life was supposed to exist in all; a beast (and not less a tree or a stone) might be a god, allied in blood to his worshippers, who were his clansmen. One illustration of this our author finds in the Arabian *jinn*, demons that appear under many beast-forms, and which he supposes to have been the animals that proved unfriendly to man.

The greater part of the book is devoted to the consideration of sacrifice, in which is discussed, first, the material, whether animal or vegetable; then the mode of disposing of it, whether by fire or by simple oblation; and, finally, the portions given to the god and the worshippers respectively. The original idea of sacrifice the author holds to have been a meal partaken of by the deity and the worshippers, all thought of as members of one clan. This conception is undoubtedly found, as a survival, in the Roman lectisternia and the Hebrew showbread; but whether it is to be considered as absolutely primitive depends in part on the definition of "god;" if the word means the friendly deity of the clan, a meal is a natural sacred performance (sacrifice); if it means also the unfriendly supernatural power or demon, one would think rather of a propitiatory gift (so Tylor and others). The expiatory offering proper Mr. Smith regards as having come into existence at a later time, when, through intercourse of tribes, men came to worship other than their clan-gods, whom they therefore approached not as intimates, but as strangers needing some mediating gift. Still later the ethical element, the sense of sin, would make its appearance, and call forth the final piaculum, the sin-offering. Human sacrifice is explained by our author as the product of a relatively advanced stage of society, and of times when the desperate sense of need drove men to adopt desperate means of securing divine aid.

Professor Smith's method commends itself by its strictly scientific character, and his results, whether or not all of them shall bear the test of examination, are novel and interesting. The plan which he adopts of beginning with the discussion of institutions instead of deities is no doubt the best.

C. H. TOY.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

DIABOLOGY. The Person and Kingdom of Satan. By E. H. Jewett. (The Bishop Paddock Lectures, 1889.) New York, Thomas Whittaker. Pp. xiii., 197. 12mo. \$1.50.

This is an interesting discussion, but it is fragmentary, incomplete, and, on the whole, unsatisfactory. There are six lectures, given before the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in New York City, on the Bishop Paddock Lectureship in 1889. The first lecture is introductory, dealing with the hostility of our times to creeds, pneumatology, demonology and the like, and closing with an appeal to the Word of God as the ultimate authority. The second lecture discusses Moral Probation, with special reference to the Fall of the Angels, but does not grasp the problem of probation and the origin of sin in the angelic world. The third lecture discusses Satanic personality in a speculative manner, over

against the theories of Dualism and the Personification of evil. The fourth chapter compares Parsee and Hebrew views of Satan, and maintains that the Hebrew views were original and older, and that if there has been any borrowing, it has been on the side of the Parsees. This chapter is conspicuous in its failure to trace the genesis of the idea of Satan in the old Testament Scriptures. It might have been more profitable if Dr. Jewett had devoted more study to the Satan of the Old Testament and less to the Satan of the Parsees. Without a thorough study of the Old Testament doctrine, the comparison has little value. Lecture fifth deals with Christ's teaching with regard to Evil and the Evil One. Here the author discusses quite fully the temptation of our Lord and His dealings with demoniacs. He shows very clearly that Jesus and His Apostles thought that they were dealing with a personal devil. The difficulties of the temptation of our Lord are considered carefully. The author ascribes to Christ the *non posse peccare*, and thus destroys the power of the temptation as preserved in the theory that Jesus simply had the *posse non peccare*. The author also favors the theory that the temptation was a mental one, though historically and objectively real and coming from a personal devil.

The last lecture is upon the sixth petition of the Lord's Prayer, in which Dr. Jewett argues for the rendering, "*Evil One*," on the basis partly of the usage of the New Testament and partly on the renderings of the most ancient versions.

This seems to be a strange conclusion for such a series of lectures. We had a right to expect some discussion of the devil as he appears in the Epistles, and especially in the Apocalypse, in connection with the kingdom of God and its nature in the last days. We have a right to ask that a systematic treatise with the title Diabology should give us some account of the history of the doctrine and the Christian Church, especially in connection with the doctrine of the Atonement. We might also reasonably expect some reference to the diabology of the Jewish Apocalypse, and the development of the doctrine between the Old and the New Testaments. The book ought to have had some proper conclusion, either in a historical result or in a systematic statement of the conclusions of the study.

Dr. Jewett has given us a series of interesting and suggestive lectures, for which he would have earned more thanks if he had chosen a more modest and more appropriate title. The publishers have given us an excellent specimen of their art.

C. A. BRIGGS.

DEACONESSSES IN EUROPE, AND THEIR LESSONS FOR AMERICA. By JANE M. BANCROFT, Ph.D. With an introduction by EDWARD G. ANDREWS, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. New York: Hunt & Eaton; Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. 1889, pp. 257, 12mo, \$1.

The aim of this book is to give a full and careful statement of the "Deaconess Cause" in its history and in its present condition in Europe and America. The author is careful not to claim too much for the deaconess in the New Testament, as has sometimes been done. It is not assumed that Priscilla and Aquila, Tryphena, Tryphosa, and Persis were all deaconesses. The opinions of eminent scholars are briefly given, and then the author turns to the history of the early Church and gives a brief summary of the office and work of the deaconess in the Western and in the Eastern Church, where it

disappeared in the twelfth century. One chapter is devoted to woman's work in the Church from the twelfth to the nineteenth century, and then we are introduced to Pastor Fliedner, as "The restorer of the office of deaconess." The remarkable history of the institutions at Kaiserswerth is reviewed in a way so practical and detailed as to be of special value to the many whose minds are awake to the importance of this subject. The same may be said of the succeeding chapters, in which the author presents a careful exhibit of the rules and methods which obtain in the different deaconess establishments on the Continent and in England and Scotland. The last three chapters of the book are devoted to the "Deaconess Cause in America." The statistics are ample and interesting, and have been gathered with much labor and care. Evidently the author has aimed to furnish a handbook which will be serviceable to the different branches of the Church in dealing with the general revival of interest in woman's work in the Church, which has become so marked a feature of the Church life of our day. Miss Bancroft has done her work in a scholarly and judicious way, and is sure to win the thanks of many who are needing and seeking information which they can find nowhere else so easily and well as in this volume.

THOMAS S. HASTINGS.

NEW YORK.

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MAGAZINES AND MINOR BOOK NOTICES.

I. THE BOOKS OF THE BIBLE, briefly analyzed, for use in Bible instruction and for Bible students in general. By A. SCHULTZE, President Moravian Theological Seminary. Second edition, revised and corrected. Easton, Pa.: H. T. Fruess, 1890. Pp. 40, 16mo, 20 cts. A recent German writer in the *THEOLOGISCHES LITERATURBLATT*, has objected to certain parts of Zöckler's *HANDBUCH DER THEOLOGISCHEN WISSENSCHAFTEN*, on account of the analysis of the content of the various books of Scripture given at length in that work. While the objection thus made may be well founded, a similar one against the pamphlet above named will not lie. The idea of the book is a good one, and one that will be found useful as an introduction for those who are entering upon the study of Scripture. The unfortunate verse and chapter divisions of our Bibles only too often obscure the context and confuse the mind, making it easy to break off in the very midst of a section of a narrative, discourse, or argument. With this little book at hand, one may have a general guide to the sections of Scripture, and will have the further incentive to make for one's self the subdivisions of the main topics, which alone are here outlined. The book contains a brief statement as to each book of the Bible, giving a few of the most important facts which are ordinarily connected with "Introduction." It is much so learned in its contents as to be unadapted to Sunday-school use, and yet it has enough in its brief compass to make it valuable for a great many of our church members. The copy before me has a few typographical errors, which have been corrected, but only one is at all serious, and even that may be corrected by a slight comparison with the statements which precede and follow (p. 29). **II. THE DIVINE MAN**, from the Nativity to the Temptation. By GEORGE DANA BOARDMAN. New York: Appleton, 1888. Pp. 306, 12mo, \$1.50. It is scarcely necessary to do more than mention this book and state its contents. To thousands the name of the author will be the only guarantee asked. While the style is that of the preacher, and the book reads like a collection of discourses, it is full of suggestion, and of the facts which are gleaned from the story of the early earthly life of the Christ—from the annunciation and the birth of John, to the temptation and the beginning of the public ministry of Jesus. The book is accompanied by a triple index of topics, texts and authors cited. Scripture quotations are noted in the margin of the pages, and the topics of discourse in like manner. **III. SEED CORN FOR THE SOWER**; or, Thoughts, Themes, and Illustrations for the Pulpit and Platform, and for Home Readings. Original and selected. By Rev. C. PENNEN, Ph.D. New York and Chicago: Revell [1889]. Pp. 422, 12mo, cloth, \$1.50. A neat, cloth-bound book, in good type, and on excellent paper, whose object and content is well expressed in the title. It contains indices of "Authors Quoted," "Texts," and "Subjects." The topics are arranged alphabetically, and number five hundred and fifty-five. The subject-index is not merely a repetition of the topics as they stand in the printed page in regular order, but partake also of the character of cross and sub-references. The book is the publication of the note-book of a pastor and practical worker, in which are gathered gems from the writings of others, and some contributions from the pen of the compiler. It is not wooden or mechanical in its contents and treatment of topics, but contains much that may be of practical value. It contains many things that are very suggestive, and much material that will be found available for the use of "Sowers." A book of the same sort, only more extensive in its contents and larger in size, would, on that account alone, be received with a welcome by many a young pastor, greater than that which greets this one. So far as it goes the present work is good and available. The only regret that one can feel is that it is no larger. **IV. ALONE WITH THE WORD**: Devotional Notes on the New Testament. By G. STRINGER ROWE, Governor of Headingly College, Leeds. Chicago and New York: Revell, 1890. Pp. 419, 8vo, \$2.25. A volume written with the object of giving "aid in reading the New Testament Scriptures for purposes of private devotion." Nearly the whole of the New Testament is treated, and the whole is done in such a way as to be suggestive, not only to the devotional reader, but to the preacher as well. For one who employs the volume for purposes of homiletic suggestion for expository lecture, it will be found a helpful adjunct to the ordinary commentary. But it avoids the harmful extreme of dividing up the matter in heads of discourse, being content with a short exposition of the lesson of a given passage expressed in plain, straightforward style, that will be most helpful to those that use the book. There are two hundred and sixty-two sections devoted to the historical books, and three hundred and eight to the Epistles and the Revelation. The volume is well printed on good paper and tastefully bound. C. R. GILLET.

NEW YORK.

HARPER'S for July contains nothing to interest the strictly theological reader. But there are in it several good articles. Daudet's amusing "Port Tarascon" is continued, Mr. Howard Pyle's "Famous Chapbook Hero," Jonathan Wild, is noticeable for illustrations as well as text. For value, however, Miss Ethel M. Arnold's "Social Life in Oxford" and the Rev. Dr. Henry Lansdell's "Baltic Russia" stand first.

THE CENTURY for July has continuations of Joseph Jeffer-

son's Autobiography, of Mrs. Barr's "Friend Olivia," of Miss (or Mrs.) Amelia Gere Mason's "Women of the French Salons," and of an unnamed author's "The Anglomaniacs." Besides these Miss Preston's "Provençal Pilgrimage," John Burroughs's "Taste of Kentucky Blue Grass," Dr. T. H. Mann's "Yankee in Andersonville" are to be commended. All the articles mentioned are illustrated except Mrs. Barr's.

SCHUBNER'S for July is well illustrated, and has some helpful articles. It opens with a Roman scene—the Fount Bandusia—to illustrate Austin Dobson's graceful translation of the thirteenth Ode of the third Book of Horace. The pictures of suburban houses excite envy. They seem ideal places in which to spend the summer months. Our architects turn out many designs nowadays, when rich people try to have houses as different as possible from their neighbors. Yet our ancestors knew how to build houses too, more conventional in design, but more spacious and equally if not more comfortable. For delicate drawing and writing, Mr. W. Hamilton Gibson's "Bird Cradles" takes the lead among the month's magazines. Mr. E. L. Godkin discusses the pertinent question as to the right of the citizen to his own reputation. He decides that there is such a right, and the sensational newspaper violates it frequently, and owing to the law's delays, generally with impunity. He calls upon us to frown down all such violations, and to discontinue the support of the papers given to such evil practices. Robert Louis Stevenson writes a poem on "The House of Tembinoka," in a Pacific Island, Apemama, recently visited by him. Mr. Duffield Osborne tells us how to conduct safely through the surf ourselves and our female relatives and friends. Dr. George Howe gives his thrilling experiences upon a slaver in 1859. In the way of fiction, "Jerry" is continued and Mr. Frederic's "In the Valley" finished.

THE COSMOPOLITAN for July is an excellent number. Mr. S. G. W. Benjamin writes another luminous article on Persia—this time on its palace life. He conveys on the whole a pleasing impression of such life. And yet it is evident that there is no security in this splendid life, and were it not for Mohammedan fatalism, there could be no happiness. As it is, the enjoyment is mainly sensual. Miss Bisland reaches China in her flying trip around the world. She touches Hong Kong, and spends three days there. Her love was so spent upon the Japanese that she has comparatively little for China; yet this fact gives her paper more sobriety and inspires greater confidence. It is noteworthy how much a keen-witted woman can see in three days. The illustrations of the articles are numerous, but not always germane to the text. Mr. Edward King treats us to an interesting subject, "Court Life at Versailles," in a fresh and instructive way. The life there must have been wearisome to the last degree, so hide-bound by etiquette and so monotonous in its splendor. Rev. Dr. Ludlow, of East Orange, N. J., sets forth "Presbyterianism in America" in a very favorable light, and incidentally introduces "revision." The article is a model in style and contents, and will be followed, let us hope, by similar ones on the other denominations. Our sporting friends will find three articles to their taste.

THE ATLANTIC for July is up to its own high standard. For humor, wit, learning, taste, and wisdom there is no better magazine writing than Oliver Wendell Holmes's "Over the Tea Cups." Alas! that the tea-time of so genial and helpful a life should have come. But, as he pathetically says, at twenty "the world was a garden to me; it is a churchyard now." His Meditations among the Tombs are not so pious as Hervey's, but they are vastly more entertaining and healthy. There is an out-of-the-way article by H. C. Merwin on "Veteran Fire Horses." In these days, when the "Uncle Tom's Cabin" of horse flesh is selling by the thousands, it is timely to call attention to the dumb faithful servants whose strength and swiftness enable the gallant firemen to reach the scene of their heroic and beneficent labors. James Russell Lowell contributes verses—the mere mention of the fact is enough.

LIPPINCOTT'S for July is unique in that a woman, Mrs. Bloomfield-Moore, "gives an idea of the subtle nature of the force with which Keely has to deal, and explains the causes of the delays which have again and again disappointed both the inventor and his supporters." No man has as yet succeeded in giving us any reasons for these delays. Another feature is Oscar Wilde's complete novel, "The Picture of Dorian Gray." Another is Edward Heron-Allen's "Chirognomy of To-day." Another is a biography of Senator Ingalls. With such a "feast" the reader cannot but be satisfied.

METHODIST REVIEW (bimonthly), July-August, 1890, contains the following contributed articles: "The Titles of the Psalms," by the famous Princeton Hebraist, W. Henry Green, D.D., LL.D.; "Professor Theodor Christlieb, D.D.," by the well-known theologian, M. J. Cramer, D.D.; "Un-constitutional Legislation in the Methodist Episcopal Church," by James H. Potts, D.D., editor of the *Michigan Christian Advocate*; "Robert Browning," by Ross C. Houghton, D.D., Portland, Ore.; "The Philosophy of Idealism," by H. H. Moore, D.D., St. Petersburg, Pa.; and "Christ's Descent to Hades," by Professor R. J. Cooke, D.D., Athens, Tenn.

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THE BOOK OF JONAH: IS IT FACT OR FICTION?

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THE old method of explaining the story of Jonah by a comparison with heathen fables is now out of date. The myth that Perseus rescued Andromeda by slaying the sea monster to whom she was exposed, and the similar tale that Hercules delivered Hesione, who was confronted with the same danger, by leaping into the jaws of the monster and tearing out its entrails, are admitted now to have no connection with a Hebrew narrative composed long before the earliest date assigned to these classical stories. Indeed, they are so different in tone and texture and ethical purport that only a wild imagination can dream that all three belong to the same category.

But at the present time the question has taken a new shape. It is no longer between believers and unbelievers, or supernaturalists and rationalists, or the learned and the ignorant. But devout scholars of high repute for attainments and character, who equally recognize the divine authority of the written Word, differ very widely as to the way in which the Book of Jonah is to be regarded. Some accept the common opinion of the Church at large that it is strictly historical, and is a faithful narrative of actual occurrences. Others affirm that it is an imaginative composition, not intended to be understood literally, but written with a didactic purpose, like the parables of our Lord, or the vision related to King Ahab by Micaiah, the son of Imlah (1 Kings xxii. 19-23). Professor Briggs ("Biblical Study," pp. 238-39) does not positively pronounce Jonah to be a fiction, but strenuously insists that if it were there would be no loss. Speaking of this book and Esther he says, "The model of patriotic devotion, the lesson of the universality of divine providence and grace, would be still as forcible, and the gain would be at least equal to the loss,

if they were to be regarded as inspired ideals rather than inspired statements of the real. The sign of the Prophet Jonah as a symbol of the resurrection of Jesus Christ is as forcible, if the symbol has an ideal basis, as if it had an historical basis." To the same effect Professor Bruce says ("The Chief End of Revelation," p. 221), "On similar grounds we can regard with equanimity critical discussions respecting the literary character of such a book as that of the Prophet Jonah. Whether it be history, or whether it be parable, that book bears witness to the catholicity of divine grace, and in performing that important canonical function, it fully vindicates its title to a place in the literature of revelation." Still more plain is the language of Professor G. P. Fisher, of Yale University, in his admirable article in the *Century* for January last, on the nature and method of Revelation. After mentioning the hatred of pious Israelites toward the abominations of paganism, which awakened a desire for the divine vengeance to fall upon heathen worshippers, he proceeds (pp. 463-64), "An impressive rebuke of this unmerciful sentiment, and what is really a distinct advance in the inculcation of an opposite feeling is found in the Book of Jonah. There are reasons which have availed to satisfy critics as learned and impartial as Bleek, who are influenced by no prejudice against miracles as such, that this remarkable book was originally meant to be an apologue—an imaginary story, linked to the name of an historical person, a prophet of an earlier date, and was composed in order to inculcate the lesson with which the narrative concludes. This was the opinion also of the late Dr. T. D. Woolsey. One thing brought out by the experience of Jonah is that, so great is God's mercy that even an explicit threat of

dire calamities may be left unfulfilled in case there intervene repentance on the part of those against whom it was directed. The prophet who was exasperated at the sparing of the Ninevites was taught how narrow and cruel his ideas were, by the symbol of the gourd 'which came up in a night and perished in a night.' He was incensed on account of the withering of the gourd which had shielded his head from the sun. The Lord referred to Jonah's having had pity on the gourd, and said: 'And should not I spare Nineveh, that great city, wherein are more than sixscore thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand; and also much cattle?' This humane utterance, in which compassion is expressed even for the dumb brutes, is memorable for being one of the most important landmarks in Scripture, since it marks a widened view of God's love to the heathen. To illustrate this truth the narrative was written, and toward it as onward to a goal it steadily moves.*

The same ground is taken by Dr. Charles H. H. Wright, author of several valuable exegetical works, in a volume of "Biblical Essays," issued in 1886. His view is that the book is an allegory, which he supports by a reference to the fourth chapter of Galatians in which the Apostle Paul cites the account given in Genesis of Abraham's two sons, one by the handmaid and one by the free-woman, and then adds "which things contain an allegory." But the allegory here instead of excluding presupposes the historical sense. Dr. Wright holds that the book is an allegorical description of Israel's past and a prophecy of Israel's future. He explains the meaning of the great fish by such phrases as Isaiah's (xxvii. 1) "He shall slay the sea-monster which is in the sea," *i.e.*, the world-power opposed to God and His people, and Jeremiah's (li. 34) "The King of Babylon hath devoured me . . . he hath swallowed me up like the sea-monster, he hath filled his maw with my delicates," and still further the words of Jehovah (li. 44) "I will do judgment upon Bel in Babylon, and I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he

hath swallowed up." To these passages is to be added the saying of Hosea (vi. 2), "After two days will He revive us: on the third day He will raise us up, and we shall live before Him." On the basis of these hints Dr. Wright thinks that the story was constructed in order to meet the case of Israel when restored to their own land. They expected that the judgments upon the heathen world foretold in the prophets would be at once executed, and since they were not, they were greatly disappointed. It was not enough that the covenant people were brought back, their enemies and God's needed to be signally overthrown, and since, on the contrary, they were great and flourishing, while Israel was weak and in subjection, they became gloomy and depressed. Now the writer of the Book of Jonah made his narrative to suit the case. First the huge fish swallows the prophet who represented his people; his entombment continues three days. Then he is suddenly extricated, alive and whole. He proceeds on an errand of mercy to the great heathen capital of which the fish was a symbol, and that errand is successful. Here, then, is exhibited anew and in a very striking form the extent of the divine compassion and the truth that God's denunciations of wrath against any nation are conditioned on the continuance in evil of the nation especially threatened. The ruin of kingdoms announced by any prophet might be averted by their repentance. Jeremiah expressly states this (xviii. 7, 8) "At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, to pluck up and to destroy it; if that nation, concerning which I have spoken, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them." This great principle is emphasized in Jonah because his unwillingness to execute the commission with which he was entrusted was due to the conviction he cherished in his innermost soul that God was "gracious and full of compassion, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy" (Jonah iv. 2). He considered it quite possible that God might repent of the evil He designed to do, and that his message delivered in Nineveh might be the very means of awakening the repentance which would avert the threatened doom. It is not strange, therefore, that this result when it did occur greatly surprised him. His prophecy was apparently a failure, and the heathen enjoyed a wonderful exhibition of the divine favor. This was admirably adapted to correct the views of the exiles who returned from Babylon. For though restored they were still under the Gentile yoke. Their bodies,

* One's confidence in Professor Fisher's critical acumen is shaken by his remark (p. 462) on the supposed fact that the less instructed Hebrews imagined that there was some sort of a territorial limit to the jurisdiction of the God whom they worshipped. "An indistinct idea of this kind is at least a natural explanation of the attempted flight of the Prophet Jonah to Tarshish which lay on the western border of the Mediterranean." We believe that all modern critics are agreed that the phrase (i. 3) "to flee from the presence of the Lord" does not mean at all that the prophet hoped to escape Jehovah's omniscient eye, but that he fled from being in the presence of the Lord as His servant and minister. It was a formal renunciation of his office. Weak as Jonah was, he could not possibly have regarded "the God of heaven, which hath made the sea and the dry land" (i. 9) as a local deity.

their cattle, and their goods were in the power of their enemies, and they were consequently in great distress (Neh. ix. 36-37). It was quite natural for them to scan eagerly the horizon in order to discover any one who would bring them news of the great overthrow which they had been taught to expect and which they eagerly wished. The allegory also represents one of their expectations and its disappointment. This was the hope excited by Haggai's promise to Zerubbabel that followed immediately upon the prediction of a great shaking of the heavens and the earth. "In that day, saith Jehovah of hosts, will I take thee, O Zerubbabel, my servant, the son of Shealtiel, saith Jehovah, and will make thee as a signet; for I have chosen thee" (ii. 23). The Jews expected that their governor would soon be manifested not as a mere Persian viceroy, but as the Anointed of Jehovah; that the government would be upon His shoulder; and that they would indeed sit down under His shadow with great delight, and His fruit be sweet to their taste (Cant. ii. 3). But this expectation was not realized. Zerubbabel, although he was a lineal descendant of David and a man of many excellences, soon passed away. Whether he died in exile or in the city of his fathers, we know not, but his vicereignty was short. The gourd or palmchrist, on which the Jews had fixed their hopes, and which for a time shadowed and sheltered them, was destroyed. It perished, as it were, in a night. The worm did the work of destruction. And after that the house of David sank for centuries into utter insignificance.

Dr. Wright thinks that the reference of our Lord to Jonah can be fully justified even if the ground be taken that the book was an allegory or symbolical prophecy. For Messiah and the people of Israel are so closely connected together that the prophecies which relate to the one refer more or less directly to the other. Messiah and Israel are both termed "the servant of Jehovah," the one in the higher, the other in a lower, sense of the phrase (cf. Isa. xlii. 1 and 19). The events which happened to the people of Israel in the infancy of the nation find a counterpart in the history of Israel's king. The world-power sought to destroy both in infancy (Ex. i. 15-22; Matt. ii. 16); they were both driven into Egypt for temporary deliverance from danger (Gen. xlv. 7-11; Matt. ii. 13-15); and after a season were called forth out of that land (cf. Hos. xi. 1 with Matt. ii. 15). It is hence inferred that a prophetic allegory, depicting the temporary death of

the nation and its resurrection anew to a national existence, might therefore very properly be referred to as containing a prophecy of the death and resurrection of Israel's Lord and king.

We have thus endeavored to give a faithful outline of Dr. Wright's view, using largely his own words, and it is fair to presume that the work of so learned and devout a scholar presents that side of the question as fully and strongly as any of its advocates could desire.* But before considering his theory it may be well to look at the objections he makes to the acceptance of the book as actual history. One is that if the framers of the Canon of the Old Testament had so regarded it, they would scarcely have inserted it in its present position among the prophetic, instead of with the historical books. It is hard to see the force of this reason. The book does not have the usual character of histories which are anonymous (Judges, Ruth, Samuel, etc.), but after the regular manner of prophecies begins with the customary identification of the author, "the Word of the Lord came unto Jonah." And to this is prefixed the word "And" [in A. V., *Now*], thus joining it on to the other prophetic writings, in the midst of which it is found. It records the experience of a prophet in the discharge of his official duty, and as such was surely entitled to the place it occupies, whether interpreted literally or symbolically. So far as we can judge from the usual methods of those who compiled the Canon they had no option but to put it where we find it.

Again, it is said that "if the incidents mentioned in the book were historical, it is more than strange that no allusion is made to any one of them in the Books of the Kings and the Chronicles." The argument *e silentio* is always a precarious one, because we know not all the circumstances of the case. Dr. Wright says that no prophet was ever despatched on a grander or more important mission than Jonah, and the outcome, if the narrative be regarded as history, was a wonderful success. When compared with the result of Jonah's preaching, Elijah's controversy with Israel on Mount Carmel sinks into utter insignificance.

* I have not quoted Dr. Wright's reference to the parable of the Prodigal Son, because that parable does not treat of Jews compared with Gentiles but (as Luke xv. 1, 2 shows) of Pharisees compared with publicans and sinners, and because the whole narrative of the eldest son is mere costume, designed to set off and enhance the ground of the father's compassion, but having no independent signification of its own, and having no counterpart in actual life either when the exquisite parable was delivered or at any period since, any more than there are now or ever have been "ninety and nine just persons who need no repentance."

"Why, then, should the latter incident have been recorded in the Second Book of Kings (chap. xviii.), while the most extraordinary fact connected with a prophet is passed over in silence?" This question is by no means unanswerable. Elijah's dealing at Mount Carmel was a constituent part of the miraculous procedures intended through the agency of him and his successor Elisha to arrest the dreadful apostasy introduced by Ahab. That apostasy was not simply, like previous backslidings, the worship of God by idols, but an absolute dethronement of Jehovah and the putting of Baal in his place. To overcome this great evil and recover the nation back to its ancient faith there was an unusual display of supernatural power, and it was successful. The people swung back to their former moorings, and Baal worship was suppressed. These proceedings were part and parcel of the national history, and they needed to be recorded if that history was to be complete. The experience of Jonah, on the contrary, was an episode, bearing no relation to the ordinary stream of events, an object-lesson on some principles of the divine nature and government, and therefore not requiring to be noticed by the historian or annalist. The author of the Book of Kings (2 Kings xiv. 25) recorded Jonah's prediction of the recovery of the lost provinces of Israel because it indicated the divine hand in the prosperous reign of the great Jeroboam II., and he omitted to mention the prophet's expedition to Nineveh because it had no bearing upon the course of things inside the commonwealth of Israel.

Precisely the same objection may be made to the Book of Ruth. Her name and history are not mentioned or even alluded to in the Old Testament. Shall we then say that this touching story which Goethe pronounced to be "the loveliest thing in the shape of an epic or an idyl which has come down to us" is not a narrative of facts, but simply a pastoral story composed for moral and didactic purposes?

Another objection is drawn from the prayer of Jonah recorded in the second chapter of his prophecy. This is said to be a cento of passages taken chiefly from the Psalms, many of which were composed during the exile (iii. 8; xviii. 4, 5, 6; xvi. 10; xxx. 3; xxxi. 6, 22; xlii. 7; lxxviii. 6, 7; lxix. 1, 2, 5; cxvi. 17; cxix. 55; cxx. 1; cxlii. 3).

It must be admitted that the resemblance between Jonah's language and that of the Scriptures referred to is real and not imaginary, yet he is not a mere copyist. If he

were, it would make against the allegorical theory, for why could not the genius who conceived and executed such a marvellous composition, showing such a creative imagination and such a power of condensation, have expressed the sentiments proper to the occasion in words of his own? Whereas on the literal interpretation it is reasonable to suppose that Jonah's mind being stored with the lyrics used in public worship, he naturally used these consecrated words and phrases in uttering his feelings. When it is said that the Psalms used were written in view of or at the time of the captivity, one doubtful hypothesis is sustained by another equally doubtful. The only compositions of certainly late date that are said to be borrowed from are cxvi. 17 and cxx. 1. The former has,

I will offer to Thee the sacrifice of thanksgiving,
And will call upon the name of the LORD.
I will pay my vows unto the LORD,
Yea, in the presence of all His people.

The words of Jonah are (verse 9)

But I will sacrifice unto Thee with the voice of
thanksgiving;

I will pay that which I have vowed.

But is it necessary to suppose that the terms of such a commonplace statement were borrowed by the prophet? The same question may be asked with still more point in regard to the opening words of the prayer,

I called by reason of mine affliction unto the LORD,
And He answered me,

which are said to have been taken from the second of the Psalms cited above, viz. :

In my distress I cried unto the LORD,
And He answered me.

Could not such an utterance be made independently by two writers, without either leaning upon the other?

It is further said of the prayer that not a single note of repentance is struck from first to last. It contains no lamentation for sin. It is not such a hymn as could have been naturally composed under the circumstances, if those circumstances be regarded as literal facts. Nor is it such a hymn as one would think that a man rescued from the stomach of an actual sea-monster would compose as a memorial of his deliverance. In reply it may be said that the objection fails to consider the exact circumstances of the case, and the purport of the composition. Certainly the terms and phrases employed are well adapted to set forth after the Hebrew fashion the conceptions of a man drowned in the open sea.

It is his rescue from this hopeless condition that he celebrates, and not from the imprisonment in the fish's belly, for the latter was a token of favor and the means of his preservation. What he dwells on is that he had sunk down to the roots of the mountains, his head wrapped in the seaweed and the solid bars of the earth around him forever, and yet Jehovah, his God, had delivered him from the desperate entanglement. This absorbs his mind. There is no confession of sin, but there is no assertion of righteousness (as in Ps. xviii. 20-24 and elsewhere); there are no words of repentance, but is not this implied in his calling upon Jehovah, and his turning again, though cut off and cast out, toward God's holy temple? And is it anything marvellous if the consciousness of forgiveness assured by his rescue so filled his mind with the sense of gratitude that this alone was the burden of his utterance unto the Lord? Besides, the argument may be turned against its proposers, and we may ask, if this narrative were an apologue composed by some sacred scholar in his retirement, would he not have been careful to insert a proper expression of the prophet's sin? The omission of such an utterance, therefore, makes for the historical character of the book. At the same time it is noteworthy that while Jonah's sin is clearly set forth no remarks are made upon the subject. Even at the close of the proceeding, when the prophet displayed his miserable petulance so strikingly, all the reproof uttered is simply a question, "Dost thou well to be angry?" The design was to use him and his narrow-minded bigotry as a foil in order to set forth the wondrous compassion of the Most High more effectively. Hence the absence of penitential confessions in Jonah's prayer is no argument against the real occurrence of the strange rescue that called forth his gratitude and praise.

Again, it is said that, considering the size and importance of Nineveh and the minute and well-developed system of idolatry that prevailed there, it is incredible that such a change should so suddenly have been produced by the outcry of a single man, and no record of it made in the monuments that remain. The answer is that extensive and thorough as is our acquaintance with the history and literature of ancient Egypt, there has yet to be found any trace of the ten plagues inflicted through Moses or of the catastrophe at the Red Sea. The lacuna in the Nile Valley explains the lacuna on the Tigris. Besides, it is not said that the Ninevites were spiritually converted, or that they dethroned their idols,

or that they worshipped the Jehovah of the Hebrews. All these things may have taken place, but they are not necessarily involved in the view that the narrative is historical. All that the book says is that the people one and all repented, turned from their evil ways, especially "the violence that was in their hands," and instituted a universal fast accompanied with a fervent cry unto God, *i.e.*, the God whose announcement had struck them with terror. It was more an ethical than a religious movement. Now there is on record the case of an individual which for ought we know may present exactly what occurred at Nineveh. Elijah was sent to Ahab with a prediction of dreadful evil upon him because he sold himself to work evil in the sight of the Lord, whereupon the king rent his clothes and put sackcloth upon his flesh, and fasted, and went softly (1 Kings xxi. 27). There is not much reason to consider this exercise of Ahab a deep-seated and spiritual one such as is described in Ps. xxxii. and li., especially when one remembers his conduct and his death, as described in the next chapter, yet Jehovah was pleased to accept it, and accordingly he said to Elijah, "Seest thou how Ahab humbleth himself before me? because he humbleth himself before me, I will not bring the evil in his days, but in his son's days will I bring the evil upon his house." What is to hinder us from thinking that the humiliation and fasting and reformation of the Ninevites procured for them just what Ahab's humiliation procured for him, *i.e.*, not a reversal of the sentence, but a suspension of it, so that it was not inflicted upon him, but upon another generation? This agrees with all the facts in the case. Nineveh was overthrown, and the predictions of Israel's prophets were literally accomplished, but it was more than a century after Jonah's time. The mission of the disobedient prophet was effectual. It accomplished its purpose. It spared more than sixscore thousand people for several generations, and exhibited in the most striking manner the mercy and forbearance of the Most High.

As to the language of the book, it has been claimed that there are words used which distinctly show that it was composed at a late period when the language received a Chaldaizing element. But Dr. Pusey in his commentary has shown that all or nearly all the words specified are Hebrew or from a Hebrew root, and that they are not used elsewhere because there was no occasion to use them, just as Luke, for the same reason, in recounting Paul's voyage to Rome,

employs a number of words not to be found in any other part of the New Testament. One peculiar word (*taam*) rendered "decree," which is not Hebrew but Aramaic, was doubtless the very term used in Nineveh to designate the ordinance of the king and nobles.

The notion that the book is a fiction seems to us not consonant with the ideas we are accustomed to cherish concerning divine revelation. As the late Dr. J. A. Alexander stated it, "The necessity of fiction to illustrate moral truth arises not from the deficiency of real facts adapted to the purpose, but from the writer's limited acquaintance with them, and his consequent incapacity to frame the necessary combinations without calling in the aid of his imagination. But no such necessity can exist in the case of an inspired, much less of an omniscient teacher. To resort to fiction, therefore, when real life affords in such abundance the required analogies, would be a gratuitous preference, if not of the false to the true, at least of the imaginary to the real which seems unworthy of our Lord, or which, to say the least, we have no room to assume without necessity" (Com. on Mark, p. 86). He thinks therefore that all our Saviour's parables are founded on fact, if not entirely composed of real incidents. But whether this be so or not, they are set forth as simply illustrations of moral or religious truth derived from the analogy of human experience. They do not pretend to be anything more than figurative statements or prolonged metaphors, and can in no case deceive.* All hearers or readers at once penetrate beneath the surface, and see what is really meant. Take, for example, the parable of Dives and Lazarus. The rich man is represented as asking for water to cool his tongue, yet at that very time his body, as the parable says, was lying in the grave, and hence every one sees that these words are only a representation of mental anguish. The same is true of all the so-called apologues in the Old Testament. They bear their metaphorical meaning on their face. And this seems to have been the rule, and one in marked contrast with the customs of the Orientals, whose teachings abounded in fables, apologues, and allegories. Thus the extremely fine story of the way in which Abraham came to escape the idolatries of

the primeval world, which is referred to by Josephus and Philo, and given at length in the Talmud and the Koran, was doubtless extant when our Canon was formed if not long before, yet it was not inserted in the sacred text, simply because it was not true. Abraham might have said this, but there is no evidence that he did say it. Yet if it had been reproduced, it would have impressed the reader as the narrative of a fact.*

And just here is the great objection to the view which regards Jonah as an ideal composition. Not a hint of anything of the kind is anywhere given in the prophecy. From first to last the book runs on like the narrative of a series of actual occurrences. Indeed, so plain and palpable is this that one is tempted to think that if it had not been for the abnormal entombment of the prophet in the belly of the fish, no one would ever have dreamed of taking it as an allegory. This seems to have staggered the faith of men, yet without reason. For to one who believes in God nothing in the shape of a miracle is incredible. One sign differs from another in its form and accompaniments, but substantially all stand upon the same footing, and are alike manifestations of Him to whom all things are possible. "There can be no scale of the miraculous. To Infinite Power it is no easier to pick up a pin than to stop all the planets in their courses for a time and then send them on again" (Reade). Nor is it for us to determine when, where, and how the miraculous shall be put forth. And, further, if the fish's swallowing Jonah is objectionable as a fact, why is it not equally so as an ideal narrative? If it shocks common sense in one case, why not in the other?

Again, the Book of Jonah, while of course it has, and must have, a moral aim, bears throughout the appearance of an historical narrative and has been so regarded for ages. It is thus referred to in Tobit xiv. 4, 8, 15, and by Josephus, Ant. 9, 10 : 2. In the Koran a chapter (the tenth) bears the prophet's name as a title, and in the thirty-seventh chapter there is a distinct recital of his experiences—that he fled, that he was cast overboard and swallowed by a fish, that he was vomited out, and that a gourd was made to grow up over him. There is

* Are any words strong enough to express the difference between a transparent fiction like that of the parable of the Sower which every hearer detects at once as having a concealed meaning, and a narrative which has so much the appearance of actual history that for ages and generations it never enters the mind of a reader that it is anything else?

* The story is thus given in the Koran: When night overshadowed him he saw a star and said, "This is my Lord." But when it set he said, "I like not those that set." And when he saw the moon rising he said, "This my Lord." But when the moon set he answered, "Verily if my Lord direct me not in the right way I shall be as one of those that err." And when he saw the sun rising he said, "This is my Lord. This is greater than the star or the moon." But when the sun went down he said, "O my people, I am clear of these things. I turn my face to Him who hath made the heaven and the earth."

also in the twenty-first chapter distinct mention of him as the dweller in the fish and of his prayer in the darkness and of God's answer. Now the oracles of Mohammed are not quoted as authority, but they may justly be appealed to as witnesses to the prevailing manners and modes of thought among the Orientals, and as evidence that an occurrence which to Western tastes would be most unsuitable would exactly meet their needs and be in their view every way appropriate. The religious lesson of the narrative is wholly neglected by the Koran, but the miracle as an evidence of God's power and justice is duly emphasized. And what is there in the story that is justly objectionable to the people of any age or land? As far back as the Song of Moses (Deut. xxxii. 21) we read

They have moved me to jealousy with that which
is not God;
They have provoked me to anger with their vanities:
And I will move them to jealousy with those who
are not a people;
I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation.

These words are quoted by the Apostle Paul (Rom. x. 19) to prove that Israel would be rejected for their sins and the Gentiles received to favor instead of them; and they had the same meaning at an older date. When Jonah was commissioned to go to Nineveh, he doubtless remembered these words of the Most High, and inferred that the substitution spoken of was about to take place, in consequence of which repentant Nineveh would become the people of God while the children of Abraham would be cast out. And this was insupportable. In any event the covenant people were no longer to be the exclusive recipients of divine revelation. Rather than be a party to any such proceeding Jonah would renounce his office and give up his home in Israel. God allows him to carry out his purpose so far as to embark for a heathen port, and then interposes with a fearful storm so persistent and increasing as to suggest supernatural agency. In the end he is cast overboard, but is miraculously preserved in a most wonderful way, whereupon his commission is renewed and he executes it with the result which he anticipated from the beginning. Nineveh repents and is spared. The prophet repines and mourns, and is rebuked by symbol and word, in the gourd which sheltered him and in the words of Jehovah, "Should not I have pity on that great city Nineveh?" Now we may well ask, If Jewish narrowness and bigotry were to be rebuked and God's boundless grace to

be set forth, how could these things be more effectually accomplished than by such a series of events as are here recorded? The objections made to the narrative as halting and incomplete are of no account, for all that is necessary for the instruction of the reader is given. What the special sins of Nineveh were, the name of the king then on the throne, the details of the prophet's journey, the subsequent fate of Jonah, are points not at all required to the author's aim. That aim is not simply to add a chapter to Israel's history or record what otherwise might be lost, but to set forth a divine disclosure made in a series of historical acts and words, and bearing upon a feature of God's character most likely at that period to be misconceived or denied.

But the decisive evidence in regard to Jonah is given by our Lord in words recorded by two of the evangelists (Matt. xii. 38-41; xvi. 4; Luke xi. 29-32). The people, or rather certain of the scribes and the Pharisees, came to him, seeking a sign from heaven. They wanted some miraculous token of his divine mission, such as when Moses gave manna from the skies, or when Joshua made the sun and moon stand still, or when Elijah brought down fire upon the sacrifice at Carmel. To this request blended of idle curiosity and unbelief Christ refused compliance, and said that the only sign of this sort that would be given to the evil generation was that of the Prophet Jonah: "For as Jonah was a sign to the Ninevites, so shall also the Son of man be to this generation" (Luke). The words recorded by Matthew show how Jonah was a sign to the Ninevites, viz., his marvellous experience when swallowed by the fish, "For as Jonah was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth." (*Three days and three nights* are to be computed in the Jewish manner, which applies that formula to one whole day with any part however small of two others.) The sign to be given is that of his own burial and resurrection, which Christ's connects in an enigmatical manner with a well-known incident of Old Testament history. The historical verity of that incident is thus guaranteed by the Saviour's words—words which are not to be explained away by saying as Dr. Hort does (App. p. 282), "It is difficult to believe that all the words as they stand have apostolic authority," or as does Professor Toy ("Quotations," p. 28) that they are due to "the oral tradition;" for the textual authority for them is complete. Our Lord

then says that Jonah's miraculous deliverance from the belly of the fish was a sign to the men of Nineveh, *i.e.*, a mighty deed which confirmed to them the authority of the prophet and influenced their reception of his message, and similar was the intention and in many cases the result of his own deliverance from the tomb. But if the Old Testament story is a myth or an allegory, what are we to think of the New Testament narrative thus put on a par with the former? Surely the same rule must be applied to both. But our Lord went further. He drew a parallel not only between Jonah and Himself, but also between Jonah's hearers and His own, saying, "The men of Nineveh shall stand up in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it; for they repented at the preaching of Jonah, and behold a greater than Jonah is here." The force of this solemn assertion lies in its literal verity. If there was no preaching of Jonah and no repenting of the Ninevites, then it is impossible to see any weight in our Lord's comparison.

It has been said that "the marks of a story are as patent in the Book of Jonah as in any one of the Thousand and One Nights." It is very true that the literary skill shown in the narrative is surprising. Charles Reade, himself certainly no mean judge, has said ("Bible Characters," p. 76), that "It is the most beautiful story ever written in so small a compass. In writing it is condensation that declares the master, verbosity and garrulity have their day, but only hot-pressed narratives live forever. The book is in forty-eight verses or one thousand three hundred and twenty-eight English words. That number does not carry the reader far even in such close models as 'Robinson Crusoe,' the 'Vicar of Wakefield,' 'Candide,' 'Rasselas,' yet in Jonah it gives a wealth of incident, and all the dialogue needed to carry on the grand and varied action. You have also character, not stationary, but growing just as Jonah's grew, and a plot that would bear volumes yet worked out without haste or crudity and with the perfect proportion of dialogue and narrative." If this be so, it can be explained in no other way than that in which we account for the simple and unstudied yet lucid and complete and masterly narrative contained in the synoptical Gospels. The writers told nothing but the truth, but a divine hand directed them what to say and how to say it. And so with Jonah, or whoever made the record that bears his name. The so-called resemblance to an Arabian tale is only on the sur-

face. All those tales are of the earth, and earthy, devoid of any ethical aim and simply intended to amuse. But this narrative has a lofty moral purpose throughout. Even if one accepts the conclusion of Volck in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia (*sub voce*) that the central purport of the book is given in the three positions that the prophet of God must do whatever the Lord commands; that not even death can frustrate his calling; and that he must leave the fulfilment of his message to God, there is still that which widely separates this narrative from every other of those to which it has been compared. The interval is as wide as that between the one living and supreme God and the imaginary *genii* whose aid is secured by magical formulæ. But the contrast becomes far greater when one considers the real controlling purpose of the book and what it contains, *viz.*, the rebuke of national bigotry and hard-heartedness, and the vindication of Jehovah's tender compassion toward His creatures even outside the bounds of the Abrahamic covenant.

This fact dispels at once and forever the notion that the book is a poetic myth based upon tradition, or a mere expansion of some ancient incident which may or may not have been historical. There was nothing in the character or the habits or the tastes of the Hebrews at any time during the eight centuries before Christ to suggest or to invite any such composition. Everything pointed the other way. The habitual thought of the people was that they were the favored and accepted people of God, having the true worship and the certain hope of continuance, while all other nations were idolatrous, depraved, and sure in the end to be the victims of the divine wrath. The intensity and inveteracy of this feeling may be gathered from the evidences of its survival to the time of Christ and its passing over for a time at least into the Christian Church. Dr. Wright has brought this forth with his accustomed lucidity: "The efforts made by our Lord in His lifetime to raise the degraded classes of the Jews were not looked upon with favor by the Pharisees and scribes (Luke xv. 1, 2). The very disciples of Jesus, who were directed by the Master to go into all the world and make disciples of all nations, showed a deep-seated and decided reluctance to believe that God was no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness, is acceptable to Him (Acts x. 34). The early Christians were amazed when the Holy Spirit was bestowed upon the Gentiles." Dr. Wright justly remarks

that "There is little reason to be surprised at the picture of Jonah sitting over against Nineveh, angry and sullen because God had granted repentance and life from the dead to that city after it had been doomed to destruction, when the disciples of Jesus, in the full enjoyment of a Pentecostal effusion of grace, found it so hard to believe in the loving-kindness of God." And, in fact, it took a long course of years and many efforts of the great Apostle to emancipate the Jewish believers from their prejudices. Their great desire was to bring Gentile Christians under the yoke of the old law. They insisted that these disciples should become Jews, and like the servants of Abraham should receive on their persons the sign of circumcision. This led to the first great controversy of the new dispensation, and to settle it the council was called which met at Jerusalem, and after a long discussion came to a conclusion in favor of liberty (Acts xv.). But even this did not settle the question in practice as it did in theory, for the struggle was renewed again and again. Once even Peter and Barnabas were constrained by the adverse feeling to dissemble the broad and liberal views they had before held and expressed on this question (Gal. ii. 11-14). Nor indeed was it finally settled and laid to rest until the period when the temple was destroyed, the city overthrown, and the Gentile element in the Church shown to be a decided majority. And it is fairly argued by Dr. Wright that the attitude of the Church on this question under apostolic leading was one great reason why the Jews so largely refused to recognize the claims of Christianity. They could not bear to admit that the Gentiles ought to be admitted to an equal position with themselves. The two stumbling-blocks in their way were the doctrine of Christ crucified and the equality of the Gentiles, and the latter was as great as the former. When Paul at Jerusalem related in Hebrew the story of his conversion and the vision he had seen of the glory of the Lord Jesus, he was listened to patiently, far more so than was the proto-martyr Stephen when he addressed the council, but when the Apostle proceeded to state that Christ had sent him to the Gentiles, the Jews could abide his speech no longer, but lifting up their voices with one accord, they cried out, "Away with such a fellow from the earth, for it is not fit that he should live" (Acts xxii. 22). Thus did the Jews, the prophets of humanity, intended by Divine Providence to be the teachers of religion to the world, act when the very mission they had been se-

lected and appointed to discharge met with its grandest success. Such now being the prevailing habit of mind toward the heathen world, how could there have arisen among them of their own accord any conceptions of a message to the metropolis of the nations, designed to lead this great capital to repentance and thus avert the deserved judgment that impended? What welcome could such a story receive? What inducement was there for any one to devise or circulate it?

This is still further confirmed by a reference to the prevailing tenor of prophecy in regard to Assyria and its capital Nineveh. In this point of view the material miracle in Jonah's preservation in the belly of the fish is far outstripped by the moral miracle shown in the mere fact of the prophet's mission to Nineveh. That stands alone in the whole history of the covenant people. Nothing like it occurred from the days of Samuel to those of Malachi. The great empire whose seat was on the Tigris is often mentioned in Scripture, but always in its relation to the covenant people, either as an oppressing foe which is one day to be destroyed, as in the vivid pictures of Nahum setting forth the assault, the siege, the capture, the overthrow, the final and remediless ruin, or in Zephaniah's mention of the day of Jehovah's anger, the *dies iræ*, when He will make Nineveh a barren waste where wild animals roam and the pelican and the porcupine lodge amid the fallen columns, or as an alien who is one day to be converted into a friend, as in Isaiah's memorable utterance (xix. 24, 25), "In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth for that the LORD of hosts hath blessed them, saying, Blessed be Egypt My people, and Assyria the work of My hands, and Israel Mine inheritance." In marked contrast to these and all similar utterances is the Book of Jonah, which makes no reference whatever to any antagonism between Israel and Assyria, and does not point at all to the distant future, but deals only with the present. The prophet is summoned to bear a divine message to Nineveh, not because of past injuries to Israel or because such are apprehended in the future, but simply because of its wickedness which is such as to attract the attention of the Most High; and Jonah is bidden to announce its overthrow within a limited period. The only reason for such a warning beforehand was that an opportunity of repentance might be afforded. This Jonah understood at once and hence his refusal to act.

It was unprecedented that the heathen should be dealt with in this way, and he was not disposed to be an agent in the work. This has usually been regarded as a personal defect, due to some unusual narrowness of disposition. But this may well be doubted. Probably any other prophet would have done the same. To admit individual Ninevites or even the whole city to the privileges of Judaism upon condition of their adopting circumcision and the ceremonial law would have been nothing strange, but to show mercy to the heathen as heathen, and simply upon the condition of repentance was a new departure. The case of the widow of Zarephath (1 Kings xvii. 10) is not analogous, for Elijah went to her because his life was not safe anywhere in Israel, and since the Sidonian widow received him and sheltered him he gained for her a great blessing. Still less is there any similarity in the case of Naaman. Not only did he apply himself in person for what he needed, but came with money enough for a king's ransom to pay for his cure if pay were wanted. The circumstances at Nineveh are wholly different. No application is made, nothing in the condition of Jonah or the people to whom he belonged invited any such mission as he effected. The whole movement is original, spontaneous, and free from any ulterior thought.

A weighty argument against the allegorical interpretation of the book has been adduced by Dr. O. M. Mead in his recent volume on "Supernatural Revelation," which contains in an Appendix a short essay on the subject. The substance of his forcible reasoning is here reproduced. One point is that if the book be an allegory the author must have intended it to be so understood, but as it was not so regarded by those for whose benefit it was written, he must be considered as having made a bad failure. This point becomes still more serious when it is claimed to be an inspired ideal, for then the failure goes back of the human author to the Divine Spirit under whose influence he wrote.

Another point is that the very considerations which are urged to prove the book to be unhistorical equally bear against the assumption of its didactic character. We are assured that its chief events, the strange conduct of Jonah in his flight from the presence of God, the story of his miraculous preservation through the fish, the improbability of so long and toilsome a journey as he is represented as making, the lack of details in the account of Nineveh and its king, the thorough and universal repent-

ance, are intrinsically improbable, and that therefore the story is not historical and was not intended to be understood as such. Thus Kuenen says, "The whole of this writing—which interpreted historically so justly gives offence—breathes a spirit of benevolence and universal humanity which is very attractive" ("Religion of Israel," II., 244). What else can this mean than that if God had really brought about by His providence such occurrences as are narrated in this book, it would have been justly offensive; but if the occurrences are only *imagined* to have taken place, they convey a most attractive lesson? Can anything be more absurd? The theory of Dr. Wright, the best sustained of all that have been devised to escape the natural and rational interpretation of the narrative, maintains, as we have seen, that it was composed in order to justify God for not having fulfilled the prophecies against the heathen which are so conspicuous in the writings of the Old Testament seers. Now admitting this to be the case, although no evidence can be adduced for it, the question arises how this end was to be gained? The answer is that the narrow conceptions concerning God's dealings with the heathen and His purposes toward them, which were cherished by the writer's contemporaries, would be corrected by the story of the Prophet Jonah's preaching to the Ninevites. This is quite satisfactory, if the narrative was true and related actual occurrences, but not at all if it was fictitious. For in that case the narrow-minded contemporaries might justly reply, How can fiction give evidence in favor of truth? And especially how can a story which contains extravagant and incredible statements furnish a proper basis for rightly conceiving the character of God? If the story is true and what is related did really occur, we do have a most winning and convincing statement of the gracious nature of our covenant God; but since it is merely a work of the imagination, it leaves the case just where it was before. The terrible predictions as to the utter ruin of the great world-powers still stand, and we await their accomplishment with some disappointment that it is so long delayed; and to meet the case you put us off with an allegory, you relate a narrative of inherently improbable, nay impossible events. We decline to accept your ingenious fiction as an offset to certain and acknowledged facts. Thus it is seen that the theory of a didactic purpose in the book and the theory that it is a pure and acknowledged fiction, are mutually destructive. Fiction cannot do the work of

truth. Fictitious narratives may and do often powerfully excite the feelings, but they cannot turn doubt into conviction or unbelief into belief. That is quite beyond their province. The illustrious men whose names have come down to us as models of heroism, self-sacrifice, charity, or devotion make a deep impression so long as the record made of them is deemed trustworthy, but let it be resolved into a myth or an allegory, and the charm is at an end.

It is time to sum up.

1. The book has every appearance of being a record of facts, not a hint to the contrary being anywhere dropped.

2. It was evidently so regarded by the compilers of the Old Testament Canon.

3. The same view prevailed, so far as we have any evidence on the subject, among the Jews in the time of Christ.

4. The modern opponents of this view differ widely as to the date of the book's composition, some putting it in the eighth century B.C., others in the second, the times of the Maccabees, and the rest at various intermediate periods.*

5. They differ also as to its character. Some make it an allegory, others a legend or tale, others a myth, intermingled with Grecian or with Babylonian elements, others a moral fable or parable, and others a prophetic didactic fiction.

6. The objections they make to its reality, whether founded upon its place in the Minor Prophets, its style and language, its lack of details, the improbability of the events it records, or the failure of the historical books to mention them, are all without foundation.

7. If the book was intended as an allegory, it failed of its purpose, as it was not so regarded by the Jews.

8. If it was a didactic fiction it could not answer the end proposed, because as a fiction it could show only what God might do, not what He would do or was actually doing at the time.

9. If it was not amiss to feign that God acted as the book represents Him, where is the harm in considering that He really did so act?

10. If the narrative viewed as fiction is honoring to God and helpful to man, surely it is immeasurably more so if it be considered strictly historical.

11. The testimony of our Saviour is conclusive. He referred to Jonah and Nineveh just as He did to Tyre and Sidon, to Sodom and Gomorrah, or to Noah and the deluge,

or even more emphatically; and by consequence all are alike historical.

12. If the book is a fiction (whether inspired or uninspired makes no difference), the solemn warning of the Lord Jesus to His contemporaries is utterly pointless.

I conclude with two sentences from Dr. Donald Fraser's "Synoptical Lectures on the Books of Scripture" (I., 340). "The stones of Nineveh have risen already within our own lifetime to cry out against the men of this generation who were incredulous of Bible history. But there is to be a greater resurrection on those famous Eastern plains, The men of Nineveh shall stand up in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it; because they repented at the preaching of Jonah; and behold, a greater than Jonah is here."

FOR THE MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

THE DIFFICULTIES IN SCRIPTURE.

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THE Bible is a composite of apparently sixty-six books (which may be reduced to fifty-seven) written by at least forty different authors during a period of fifteen hundred years. That a work thus constituted should have a substantial unity is a wonder unparalleled in the history of literature. This fact, if carefully considered, would alone prove that a divine influence has marked its production. From the tree of life in the beginning of Genesis to the tree of life in the end of Revelation the view of God and man is the same, and the holy philosophy taught is one. Man is throughout a sinner. God is the holy and righteous Judge and the merciful Saviour. Bloody sacrifice is the medium through which man comes to God, by which He maintains His justice and yet justifies the sinner. The Infinite Judge is thus the pitying Father to every one who will have it so. There is no conflict of doctrine anywhere in the Bible.

1. The oppositions that men have alleged between the Old Testament and the New have been the results of superficial thought. Changes have been rung on the antagonism of Law and Gospel, as if the Old Testament prescribed good works as the efficient means of salvation, while the New Testament prescribed faith, when the truth is that the Old Testament is full of faith and the Gospel, and exhibits God's holy law as a rule of

* For details on this point and the next, see Lange's "Commentary, Minor Prophets, Jonah," pp. 3, 11.

life for those who accept salvation by faith in the sacrifice appointed of God. From Abel to Noah and from Noah to Abraham the bloody sacrifice is the symbol of a substitute bearing man's sin, and faith, not work, is the efficient factor in the worship. "By *faith* Abel offered up." "Abraham *believed* God, and it was accounted to him for righteousness." It is God's mercy, and not man's obedience to law, that saves man, and this is the doctrine of the Old Testament as much as of the New. The typical ceremonies of the Old Church were no means of salvation, but types of the coming One in whom faith centred. The fact that the Jews perverted these types and made them saving ordinances no more alters the truth of their character than the same perversion of ordinances in the present Church of Christ. The godly soul finds the self-same teaching in Exodus as in Matthew, in the Psalms as in John.

2. Next to this difficulty about the two Testaments we may place the doctrinal difficulties that men find in the teaching concerning the fall of man, the incarnation of the Word, the substituted sacrifice, the salvation by faith, and the gift of the Holy Spirit. These doctrines are said to be contrary to the reasonable propositions that God would not let man sin; that God, who is Spirit, could not be man; that one suffering for another is unjust and does not meet the end of punishment; that works have far more merit than faith, and that to confound the Divine Spirit with man's spirit is absurd. These difficulties regarding the cardinal doctrines of Scripture are to be answered by the truths that man is sinful, however it came about, and that as a sinner it is for him to look not to himself, but to God for salvation and restoration to holiness, and that the Scripture professes to be God's way of saving sinful man. It will be seen that a free will in man implied the power to sin; that, if man was made in the image of God, there is nothing incredible in the Son of God becoming man; that in Him thus becoming man and suffering, man's sin was punished in man, and that the saved are those who, by the indwelling of the Divine Spirit, are made one with the Son of God who became man. The salvation is thus reasonable and in full accordance with the holiness and justice of God. But these difficulties of doctrine, though so readily explained, will never be received by the evil heart of man until he bow humbly before God as speaking in His Holy Word.

3. After these difficulties come those of a lower nature. First, there is the difficulty

about miracles. Old and New Testaments both narrate many miracles, and if these are falsehoods the revelation is a cheat. Those who would eliminate the miracles destroy the whole authority of the Bible, for they are interwoven with the whole texture of Scripture. You cannot take out these threads without ruining the whole cloth. But miracles, instead of being a difficulty, ought to be a witness to the truth of Scripture. A revelation of God without a miracle could have no weight in the human mind, for the mere learning about God from the works of nature is no revelation in the sense we use the word. A revelation demands a miracle. We can conceive of none without. A revelation is extraordinary, something outside of the ordinary course of nature. It must have a specific and direct action on the mind, that it may not be mistaken for anything else. And hence it must have the credentials of extraordinary events impossible to man, and yet wrought by man as evidence that God chooses him as His mouthpiece. So Moses, the prophets, Christ and the apostles, all who furnish us with the Book of God, wrought miracles in confirmation of their divine calling and message. Hence the words of Peter, "Jesus Christ approved of God among you by miracles and wonders and signs." This is the function of miracles, and we would not be justified in accepting anything as God's Word unless it were proved by miracle. Miracle confirmed the Old Testament dispensation, and only miracle could set it aside and confirm the New in its place. Otherwise we should yet have the old ritual as our form of worship.

That miracles are impossible is the assertion only of the atheistic mind. If God cannot do works impossible to man, then there is no God. The proof of miracles is that of ordinary human testimony.

4. After the difficulty regarding miracles and the supernatural, which we assert to have no basis in reason, we may put the matter of discrepancies in the Scriptures. Of course it would be impossible in a brief paper to catalogue the alleged discrepancies and meet them all. There are useful books in which this has been done more or less completely, as, for example, Haley's "Examination of the Alleged Discrepancies of the Bible," published at Andover in 1881. Many of our best commentaries explain satisfactorily the points at issue. All we can do in this article is to call attention to a few general facts regarding these alleged discrepancies. In the first place, thousands of intelligent and learned Christians have

never found them to be the slightest hindrance to their full faith in the Scriptures as the Word of God. It is certainly a remarkable thing, if these discrepancies imperil the plenary inspiration of the Bible, that men like Sir Isaac Newton, Faraday, and hundreds of as distinguished scientists, accustomed to close and accurate reasoning, rendered the Bible their profoundest homage as God's Holy Word. Contradictions in the teaching or statements of Scripture would not only have been seen by such thorough Bible students as they were, but have been honestly exposed by their upright minds. Instead of that we find them bowing before the sacred record and commending it most earnestly to the acceptance of all. Such a fact would be impossible, if the discrepancies of Scripture were what the infidels would have the world believe. When we take up the discrepancies we find that a very large proportion may most readily and reasonably be referred to clerical error in copying manuscripts. Especially is this the case with numbers, which were denoted in manuscripts by light marks in connection with letters. How often among ourselves do we find a 3 copied as 5, or the letter o confounded with the cipher 0. Many instances of like confusion we certainly find in the Old Testament. No defender of the Bible's inspiration imagines that all copyists were inspired. All such defenders affirm that the *original* writing of prophet or apostle was immaculate, both because it asserts itself so to be, and because *a priori* a revelation from God that was liable to error would be a useless revelation and utterly dissonant from the character of God. Another form of discrepancy, the anachronisms, such as the naming of a place in a writing which was written before the place was so named, or the reference to events not as yet taken place, is also readily and reasonably explained by the supposition of an editor inserting these. We have just been reading an edition of Ammianus Marcellinus, wherein all the places in Gaul and Germany which he mentions have their modern names, which Ammianus never heard. Does that discredit the authenticity of his history? It must be a very weak mind that would object to the authenticity of the Pentateuch as the work of Moses because the death of Moses is recorded at the close. Other discrepancies are imagined by a lack of understanding of God's truth, as, for example, when it is said in 1 Chron. xxi. 1, "And Satan stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number Israel," and in 2 Sam. xxiv. 1, "And again the anger of

the Lord was kindled against Israel, and he moved David against them to say, Go, number Israel and Judah." The supposed discrepancy here between Satan's authorship and God's authorship of the numbering is owing to ignorance regarding the great truth that Satan is allowed by God to work evil in certain directions for the punishment of God's people. God is the author of the event, because He, as governor, permits it for His governmental aid, and yet Satan is the proximate cause. Just so God hardens Pharaoh's heart (Ex. x. 20), and yet Pharaoh hardened his own heart (Ex. viii. 15). Ignorance in objectors accounts for many supposed discrepancies like this. Errors in translation may be added as causing apparent conflicts of thought, as when the devil is spoken of as one, and yet many devils are frequently represented. In this case the plural "devils" should be "demons." So the change in the meaning of a word causes in the unlearned reader a conflict of idea, as when our Lord tells us to "take no thought for the morrow," as contrasted with the injunction we have to walk circumspectly and to imitate the ant that lays up for the future. The Revised Version, by substituting "be not anxious" for "take no thought," relieves the reader's mind.

5. Another class of alleged difficulties is based on the silence of the Word. Because the Scripture has not explained, therefore the objector says the difficulty is inexplicable. This is a favorite field of objection with the modern rationalists. The silence regarding the special sin in David's numbering Israel, regarding the antecedents of Saul's two sons and five grandsons ("his bloody house") who were hanged, and regarding Achan's family is in each case made the ground of the accusation of injustice and cruelty. The silence in the historic record regarding many of the rites prescribed in the Mosaic law is made the ground for counting that law an invention of a late age. This argument from silence is always a rickety one. You make it efficient only when many conditions are supplied. By itself it will bear no weight. We might argue that Israel was never in Egypt, for, if the nation had been there, the record would have mentioned the pyramids. Or we might prove that the British Parliament did not exist in 1776, because the Declaration of Independence mentions only the king as governing Great Britain.

We must bear in mind that the Bible history contains in a few pages the record of thousands of years. Now the greater the

disparity between the number of years and the number of historic pages, the greater is the weakness of the *argumentum à silentio*. The lacunæ in so succinct a narrative must be many and great, and common sense is left to fill them up in any of many ways, but it is the grossest injustice to make them the sources of alleged defects in statement or doctrine. When a rational connection can be formed, it is simply a wicked prejudice against God's Word that will insist on an irrational one, and then make that false inference the basis of an assault upon the Scriptures.

6. Another class of difficulties in the Scriptures belongs to their Oriental character. The Oriental mind is full of analogy and spirit. The former leads the speech to symbolism and the latter to hyperbole and paradox. Hence we have these figures of speech abounding in the Bible. The symbolism runs through the ceremonial law, not only in the services of the tabernacle, but in the ordinances for the daily life. The prohibition of linsey-woolsey garments, of ploughing with ox and ass, of seething a kid in its mother's milk, and other similar commands had all their meaning in their symbolism. So, too, when our Lord tells us that from him that hath not shall be taken away that which he hath; that he who findeth his life shall lose it, and he who loseth his life shall find it, and that we are not to labor for the meat that perisheth, He is using the paradoxical form of expression, which was thoroughly understood by His hearers, and must not be literally taken by us. When the sacred writer states that all Judea was baptized of John in Jordan, his hyperbole could mislead only an idiot. Especially will these figures appear in the prophets and in the Apocalypse. Literal interpretation would be absurd. A translation must be made of each figure before the mind can read the connection, and such a translation should be carefully made and consistently framed. The Bible is not to be held responsible for the false interpretations that crude commentaries have given it. The most contradictory explanations of the prophets have been made, but this is not because the prophets are inconsistent, but because the explainers have been reckless. There are certainly difficulties in these divinely inspired writers, but they are difficulties that should beget persevering study and not unbelief. Modern discovery is helping much to this end, and the more thorough understanding of Oriental thought is clearing away the darkness.

In this hasty glance at the difficulties in

Scripture, we address ourselves to those who seek to have them removed. There is another class, who are ever seeking to increase the difficulties and multiply their number. It is their aim to derogate from the authority of God's Word. That aim is proved in their treatment of the Bible by their uniform acceptance of a contradiction rather than a harmony when both are offered to the reason. A philosophic hatred of inspiration and the supernatural is at the bottom of their partial and ungenerous methods. To such cavillers we do not address ourselves. We address those who stand by the Son of God, and hearing Him say, "Search the Scriptures, for they are they which testify of Me," "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead," take those Scriptures, that Moses and the prophets, and explore them reverently, heartily, and with a docile spirit as the Word of God.

THE PSALMS.

BY THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.

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I.—THEIR HISTORIC PLACE IN THE DEVOTION OF ALL AGES.

JOHN BRIGHT has told me that he would be content to stake upon the Book of Psalms, as it stands, the great question whether there is or is not a Divine revelation. It was not to him conceivable how a work so widely severed from all the known productions of antiquity, and standing upon a level so much higher, could be accounted for except by a special and extraordinary aid calculated to produce special and extraordinary results; for it is reasonable—nay, needful—to presume a due correspondence between the cause and the effect. Nor does this opinion appear to be unreasonable. If Bright did not possess the special qualifications of the scholar or the critic, he was, I conceive, a very capable judge of the moral and religious elements in any case that had been brought before him by his personal experience.

Upon the most superficial survey of the Psalms in their general aspect, it seems difficult or impossible to regard them as simply owing their parentage to the Mosaic system. Some, indeed, of their features, may well be referred to it; especially the strong sense of national unity which they display, and

the concentration of that sense upon a single center, the city of Jerusalem and the temple.

It may also be noted that the Mosaic law inculcated in its utmost breadth the principle of love to God. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind." * Yet may it not be said, from the place in which it occurs, that this is rather exhortation than statute? Further, it is not unfolded in the detail of the legislative Torah; and even in the Decalogue service is enjoined without the mention of love. The early books do not exhibit, like the Psalter, the close, inner contact of the individual soul with the deity; and, as water does not rise above the source, it is hard to ascribe to them the wonderful development of that principle which pervades the body of the Psalter. We seem compelled to assume for them some loftier fountain-head of instruction. This, I would submit, is in part supplied, and in part suggested, by the Book of Genesis. I say suggested, inasmuch as the outlines of a primeval religion drawn in that book are not less slight than they are significant. So slight, indeed, that I cannot resist the impression that there were supplementary communications of Divine truth, over and above those contained in Holy Writ, and perhaps traceable in later portions of the Old Testament. And I also say supplied, inasmuch as the story of the Fall involves in full the idea of our restoration in character as well as condition, which is nowhere enunciated in the Law; and further inasmuch as it sets forth, at least down to the time of Abraham, a personal intercourse, habitual and direct, with the Deity, and one pointing onward to the great redemption.

In a preceding paper I have represented that the Mosaic law was not the promulgation of a new and complete religion, but a code of provisions intended for the particular purpose (1) of building up a wall of effectual separation between the Jewish community and the corruption of the nations whose land they were to conquer and to possess, and (2) of preserving in vitality and freshness, within that precinct, the fundamental conceptions of the Divine unity and righteousness, and of the duty and the sinfulness of man. These all-important propositions were the necessary preconditions of any plan for the restoration of peace in a disordered world. But they were in process of extirpation from the gen-

eral and public religion of all those Gentile races, whose history is given us in Scripture, or in the classical books of profane antiquity.

Thus the Mosaic system, while it was defensive against the surrounding iniquity, was also something more, and something higher. That system, both institutional and doctrinal, fenced in, as it were, a clear space, a free and secure domain, for the fuller development of a religion, inward and personal, devotional and spiritual, the materials for which it could hardly have supplied by presenting, as it did, God as ruler and judge, and man as a servant who continually either sinned, or was on the brink of falling into sin.

In the inner sanctuary, thus provided for the most capable human souls, was reared the strong spiritual life which appears to have developed itself pre-eminently in the depth, richness, tenderness, and comprehensiveness of the Psalms. To the work they have here accomplished there is no parallel upon earth. For the present I put aside all details, and am content to stand upon this fact,—that a compilation, which began (at the latest) with a shepherd of Palestine, three thousand years ago, has been the prime and paramount book of devotion from that day to this; first for the Hebrew race, both in its isolation and after it was brought by the translation of its sacred books into relations with the Gentile world; and then for all the Christian races, in all their diversities of character and circumstance. Further, that there is now, if possible, less chance than ever of the displacement of these marvelous compositions from their supremacy in the worship of the Christian Church. And beyond doubt it may be also said that their function has not been one of ritual pomp and outward power alone. They have dwelt in the Christian heart, and at the very center of that heart; and wherever the pursuits of the inner life have been most largely conceived and cultivated, there, and in the same proportion, the Psalms have towered over every other vehicle of general devotion. We have a conspicuous illustration of their office in the fact that of two hundred and forty-three citations from the Old Testament found in the pages of the New, no less than one hundred and sixteen are from the single Book of Psalms, and that a similar proportion holds with most of the early Fathers.*

* Canon Cook, in the *Speaker's Commentary*, Vol. IV., p. 146. There is a minor, but still not unmeaning, indication to the same effect, which it would be unseemly to couple with that given in the text, but which I venture to name for its recency and because it is eminently associated with the general course

Bishop Alexander has published the result of a careful examination made by himself. It is that reference is made to the Psalms, either by quotation or otherwise, in no fewer than two hundred and eighty-six passages of the New Testament.*

We have thus before us the fact that the Psalms, composed for the devotions of the Hebrews from two to three thousand years ago, constitute down to the present day for Christians the best and highest book of devotion. A noteworthy fact even on the surface of it; more noteworthy still when we go below the surface into the meaning. The Hebrews were Semitic, Christendom is Aryan; the Hebrews were local, Christendom is world-wide; the Hebrews were often tributary, and finally lost their liberties and place; Christianity has risen over every obstacle, and has long been the dominating power of the world. The Hebrews had no literature outside their religion, nor any fine art; Christendom has appropriated, and even rivaled, both the literature and the art of the greatest among the ancients. This strange book of Hebrew devotions had no attractions outside Hebrewism except for Christians; and Christians have found nothing to gather, in the same kind, from any of the other religions in the world. The stamp of continuity and identity has been set upon one, and one only, historic series; one, and one only, thread runs down through the whole succession of the ages; and, among many witnesses to this continuity, the Psalms are probably among the most conspicuous. This stamp purports to be, and to have been all along, divine, and the unparalleled evidence of results all goes to show that it is not a forgery.

The wonderful phenomenon thus presented to us can hardly be said to admit of enhancement; and yet it is, perhaps, enhanced when we bear in mind that the long period of this perpetual youth, exhibited by the Psalms, has been broken by the promulgation of a new religion, together with all the changes of fact and developments of principle which transformed the heathen world.

Moreover, we should remember that the shapings of all language merely human are essentially short-lived, and forms of speech succeed one another as wave follows upon wave. But herein seems probably to lie

one of the ways in which the Divine revelation asserts itself. It seems to have the faculty of giving to things mutable the privilege and the power of the immutable, and to endow fashions of speech, when they belong to the heart's core of human nature, with a charter that is to endure throughout all time.

I submit, then, that the fact of so wonderful a power as was thus exercised by the Psalms, in such diversities of time, race, and circumstances, is not only without parallel, but is removed by such a breadth of space from all other facts of human experience in the same province, as to constitute in itself a strong presumption that the cause also is one lying beyond the range of ordinary human action, and may most reasonably be set down as consisting in that speciality of Divine suggestion and guidance, which we term revelation.

II.—THEIR ANTIQUITY.

The antiquity of the Book of Psalms, like that of the other books of Scripture, does not directly or universally involve the essence of the case concerning them, which I apprehend is more dependent upon their character and their results. Yet it counts, for importance, in the next order of considerations, since the form and substance are here more intimately allied than in the terms used for the recital of events in an historical book.

It is also to be assumed that the incessant use of the Psalms in the service of the temple, and the comparatively wide knowledge of them thus conveyed to the people, were in the nature of special securities for their faithful and exact transmission.

When we speak of the Psalms of David, we use a popular and general form of expression, which names the whole from the largest or most weighty and most conspicuous of the parts. The phrase is sufficiently shown not to be absolute and precise by the beautiful 137th Psalm, which describes the condition of the Hebrews in Babylon five centuries after the death of the minstrel king. Seventy-three Psalms* in all are ascribed to him. This is not the assumption or opinion of conservative writers only. Bleek, whose work is revised and sanctioned by Wellhausen, admits it to be a matter of the highest probability that no inconsiderable number of the Psalms are due to his authorship.† He also, with others, largely accepts the inscriptions which are prefixed

of modern life. In a manual, not of hymns, but of devotions prepared for public use in the mixed congregations on board a great line of packet ships to North America, I find that out of 254 pages 137 are occupied by selections from the Psalms; the chief part of the remainder being a collection of hymns.

* "The Witness of the Psalms," Note A, p. 291.

* Cook's Introduction, *ibid.*, p. 150.

† "Einführung in das alte Testament . . . besorgt von J. Wellhausen," Sect. 221. Berlin, 1886.

to them. According to Canon Cook, a judicious and able writer, it was never held that the entire Psalter was the work of the king, and he says that in the time of the Maccabees the completion of the book was ascribed to Nehemiah. He thinks that a large proportion of the two closing books (out of the five books composing the Psalter) belong to the period of or following the Exile.* But of the three Psalms most pointedly referable to the Messiah, two (Psa. 22, 110) are Davidic. He shows how the conclusive objections to the theory which refers the Psalms to the Maccabean age are sustained by various advanced German writers, and Bleek holds that no Psalm can be shown to be later than Nehemiah. But the master idea of the whole argument is not so much that such and such Psalms were produced at such an era, as that the Book at large is the product of that influence which stamps it, like the other books of Holy Scripture, as embodying a Divine revelation.

On this point of antiquity it is more than enough if a large portion of the Psalms are ascribable to King David. I venture, however, to offer two suggestions. First, the Psalms come to us through a channel supplied by the kingdom of Judah, not the kingdom of Israel. If they had been largely composed after the severance of the ten tribes from the two, would they not have presented some more definite indication of that severance? The name of Israel is the name under which in the Psalms the chosen people are described. We have this name repeated twenty-six times. The name of Judah was likely, it may be supposed, after the schism to become the prevailing and distinctive name, still more so after the captivity and dispersion of the ten tribes, and as long as their remnants continued to maintain any serious and systematic rivalry with the Jews. Yet throughout the Psalter we never find the name of Judah mentioned in this paramount sense. Jerusalem is mentioned seventeen times, and Sion thirty-eight, together fifty-five times. But the name of Judah only occurs ten times, and never with this paramount significance. It is mentioned either together with Israel (Psa. 76:1; 114:2), or in conjunction with other tribes, as with Ephraim and Manasseh in Psalms 60:7 and 108:8, or with Sion, but always locally or tribally. Could this have been so if the Psalms had mainly been composed when Judah was the

only acknowledged name for the elect people, and Israel was a stranger, often an enemy, always the symbol of a rival and proscribed worship?

Secondly, the one great deliverance commemorated in the Psalms (as also, I understand, in the later Jewish Liturgies) is the deliverance from Egypt (Psa. 68, 72, 80, 81, 105, 106, 114, 135, 136). Could this have been the case if the book was unknown until the time when, between the people and their earlier past, there arose up a frightful specter? I refer to the terrible experience of the Captivity in Babylon. And yet, surely, there were circumstances attendant upon that Captivity which might have carved upon the Jewish mind yet deeper recollections than those of Egypt; where, if their treatment had been cruel and degrading, yet they must upon the whole have flourished, inasmuch as they grew there from a family into a people. But the Babylonish captivity entailed, firstly, the loss of what was not only an ancestral home, but the local seat of the Divine promise to their race; secondly, the loss of the worship divinely ordained, and attached to the temple of Jerusalem; thirdly, the loss of that prized nationality, in and by which they were preferred before all the nations of the earth. Is it then conceivable, if the Psalms in general owed their origin to the time of the Captivity, that the composers of them should, in numerous and conspicuous cases, have dwelt so long and so often on the details of the Egyptian bondage, and should never but once, and briefly, have made a specific reference to the one recent catastrophe, choosing rather to go back to the centuries dimmed, in comparison, by the interval of a thousand years?

The arguments, drawn from general features and from historical probability, respecting the antiquity of the books of the Old Testament, are in some degree common to the Torah, or Books of Moses, and the Psalms. The Psalms have, however, the benefit of the admission by the leader of the negative school in our own day, that a considerable number are probably from the pen of David. And there are also points in which reasoning, available to show the antiquity of the Torah, has an enhanced force for the Psalms.

We see, for example, that the history of the Israelites, from the conquest of Canaan to the Captivity, is upon the whole a history of decaying faith. This is exhibited in the original demand for the change to a monarchy from that earlier form of government by judges, which powerfully suggested

* Cook's Introduction, p. 156. The books are Psalms 1-41, 42-72, 73-89, 90-106, 107-150.

the presence and providence of the Almighty by leaving unoccupied the place upon earth most symbolical of him. It was shown by the increased wickedness of the kings, and by the enlarged and developed office of the Prophets, an army of reserve in support of the Divine dispensation, which takes its position on the field of battle in the hour of need. It is observed by Sack,* that in the period succeeding the exile the original creative force of the Hebrew spirit died out, and that, as formalism advanced, the sectarian lines of party were sharpened and deepened. In both these periods the spirit and voice of the Book of Psalms throw us back upon antiquity, and even upon a distant antiquity. They seem to be manifestly the product of an age of living, energetic faith. And they are not less eminently notable for the harmony which pervades the religious community. "Jerusalem is built as a city that is at unity in itself." †

III.—THEIR CONTENTS.

Let us now look for a moment at the contents of this book, which are such as to fasten our wonder upon them, and to leave little room for any surprise that they should have established for themselves, in collective worship and in personal devotion, the place to which no parallel is elsewhere to be found in the experience of the human race. And, on the other hand, I shall not fail to notice in their proper place the objections which some have urged against the Book of Psalms.

The multiplication of divinities under the system which we term polytheism, tended to establish everywhere a system of what are termed national gods. These act within the sphere of a particular race or country : they are open to the competition of other deities when through migration or conquest these spheres happen to overlap. They do not claim the allegiance of other races, or show care, or, so to speak, responsibility, for their welfare.

I do not indeed deny, but should be forward to assert, that while, in the early stages of historic antiquity, this nationalizing process seems to harden more and more with the gradual accretions of legendary tradition, we can trace among the mythologies, in various degrees of faintness or clearness, the older idea of a supreme God ; of a belief in one Ruler of the universe, anterior and superior to these multi-

form powers. We find in many cases disguised resemblances of that original belief ; but it is with such dislocation of its elements, such exaggerations, such intrusion of ideas foreign to it, as to defy all attempts, at least in the present state of knowledge, to ascend the channel upwards to the source. The schemes become so complex as to defy any rational account of their origin ; even when their basis is found to lie in the several powers of external nature, which were not known to be connected by any common tie, but which received the names of gods, and were combined into religious systems. These popular gods became realities in two senses : first, subjectively, because as they were accepted in the minds of men, the associations connected with them became a source and spring of human action ; secondly, because the images under which they came to be represented gave them a real existence at least in the material sphere. It is, therefore, natural that the Psalms, in phrases concerning deity, should not be confined to the One God, but should say, for example, that among the gods there is none like him, or should exhort the worshipers to give thanks unto the God of gods.*

Yet no reader of the Psalms can fail to see that they are strictly, unconditionally, and exclusively monotheistic. God is undoubtedly the God of Israel, and the worshipers properly describe him in the terms which most closely correspond with his relation to themselves. There seems to be a great mixture of the terms "Elohim" and "Jehovah," and in none of the five books is the use of the properly Hebrew name exclusive.† But, without drawing any argument from this intermixture, the Psalms make it plain that the God whom they adore is from everlasting, and is the God, not of Palestine, but of the whole world : "Sing unto God, O ye kingdoms of the earth ; O sing praises unto the Lord ; who sitteth in the heavens over all from the beginning." ‡ And his eye and care are over all men. "O praise the Lord, all ye heathen : praise him, all ye nations. For his merciful kindness is ever more and more towards us ; and the truth of the Lord endureth for ever." §

No doubt the "Lord" is represented as having special relations with and special care for Israel. But these are relations of affection, not of exclusion. A Psalm declares indeed :

* "Die altjüdische Religion im Uebergange vom Bibelthume zum Talmudismus, von Israel Sack." Berlin, 1839. Einleitung, pp. 13, *seqq.*

† Psalm 122 : 3. [Prayer-Book version used throughout.]

* Psalm 86 : 8 ; 136 : 2. See Exodus 15 : 11.

† Cook's "Introduct.," p. 149.

‡ Psalm 68 : 32, 33.

§ Psalm 117.

"He shall choose out an heritage for us, even the worship of Jacob, whom he loved."

But the very same Psalm had already sounded the trumpet note :

"O clap your hands together, all ye people ; O sing unto God with the voice of melody : for the Lord is high, and to be feared ; he is the great king upon all the earth." *

Among the notes, then, of the supreme position of the Psalms, and of the religion to which they belonged, we find this idea of the one God, who is also the universal God, and the universal Governor of men, and who thereby stands broadly distinguished from what we find to be the character of the polytheistic systems and of their heads ; namely, divinity restrained by limits of the races or countries of antiquity.

But the form of the Almighty, thus divested of the limitations of mere nationality, and exhibited in the majesty of perfect Oneness and Omnipotence, revealed itself through the Psalms in other and more tender aspects. His care for the poor and for the stranger might be learned from the books of the Law, and may be traced in other religions among the remnants of true Theism. Still, that is a function of government only, though of benevolent government, and is compatible with the idea of immeasurable remoteness. But in the Psalms is developed with singular force and beauty the idea of Omnipotence in the attitude of nearness to man. In Heaven, and in the underworld, and at the extremities of earth, "even there also shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me." † The presence thus brought near is not, as in Exodus, ‡ a consuming, but a soothing and sustaining presence. § Thus brought near, the Almighty is invested in relation to us with all those capacities of action and of sympathy, which fill in human nature the department of the affections. In the mouth of the objector this is termed anthropomorphism. I do not presume to say that there is not in it some prefiguration of the Messiah, made in all such things like as we are. But that there is no deflection from the loftiness of the monotheistic idea we know from this, that the same people who gave utterance to the Psalms have been the most rigid and lofty in their definitions of the Godhead. As when it is said by Maimonides that with God "there is neither folly nor wisdom, like the wisdom of a wise man ; neither sleep nor waking ; neither anger nor laugh-

ter ; neither joy nor sorrow ; neither silence nor speech, like the speech of the sons of men." * Yet it is he that is not only the guardian of his people, but, as it were, their sentinel ; and not of his people only, but of every one among them, as truly and as much as of the whole. In truth, the two threads of national and of personal Providence are so intertwined in the Psalms that they scarcely can be severed. "He will not suffer thy foot to be moved, and he that keepeth thee will not sleep ;" and then in the very next verse, by a transition not less gentle than complete, "Behold, he that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep." There is no detail too minute for describing the closeness of this protection : "He is thy defence upon thy right hand ;" "The Lord shall preserve thy going out and thy coming in : from this time forth for evermore." † But no mere selection can rightly convey a picture of the close and intimate care which this and so many others of the Psalms describe in setting forth the attitude of the Almighty toward his worshiper.

I must not quit this portion of the subject without quoting a remarkable testimony to the elevation of the Psalter from a critic generally negative, but one who makes his affirmative declarations with an exemplary sincerity and fervor. He says of the Psalter : "It is as a whole the expression and fruit of the principles of the Jewish religion, as they existed in the minds of pious Israelites. Its one great theme is the clinging of the human spirit to God. In joy and sorrow, in victory and defeat, in moods of saintliness or sin, the spirit of the poor earthly wayfarer here pours out its plaint and prayer to the God of its life. . . . What exultation is here, for high days of victory and joy ! What touching moans of penitence ! What child-like cries for help ! What entreaties from the soul that can only say, 'Out of the depths I have cried unto thee !' What delightful confidences between the trustful spirit and the Shepherd who leadeth by the green pastures and the still waters !" ‡

I must not altogether pass by the Messianic Psalms. These are the songs which show, by the adaptation of their language to him and to his office, either that their composers had a prevision of his coming, or that such prevision was conveyed into their

* Psalm 47 : 4, 1, 2.
‡ Chapter 19 : 12, 13, 21.

† Psalm 139 : 6-10
§ Psalm 23.

* Maimonides, "Yad Hachazakah." Transl. Bernard, Cambridge, 1832, p. 39. Declarations not less remarkable are to be found in the *More Nebuchim*, or "Guide of the Perplexed."

† Psalm 121 : 3, 4, 5, 8.

‡ Seven Lectures by the Rev. J. P. Hopps, vii, pp. 23.

strain by the higher influence which prompted it. It is not necessary here to debate their number. Suffice it to specify Psalms 2, 21, 22, 45, 72, 110. And it is sufficiently plain that the principle of prophecy which is involved in them, whether conscious or unconscious to the composer, is the same which belongs to the other predictions and prefigurations in the books of the Old Testament. But they differ from and go beyond the rest in this important particular: The great and cardinal facts of the lapse of man from righteousness, and of the need and promise of a Redeemer, were thus embodied in the perpetual public worship of the temple, and were systematically forced, so to speak, upon the attention of the people, that they might come into personal and conscious possession of this most precious and absolutely central part of their inheritance.

When the foot of the Greek first, and afterwards of the Roman, trod the streets of Jerusalem, when the treasures of the Hebrew books were unlocked to the Gentile world through the Septuagint, then there happened, we may justly assume, one of two things. There was, as we know upon strong heathen testimony, before the advent of our Lord, an universal and traditional expectation in the East that a great power was to arise in Judæa and to subdue the world. How came it that so remarkable a conception, foreign to the cultivated communities of the Greek and the Italian peninsulas, and apparently menacing the continuance of the Roman dominion, should have been prevalent in the East? The East had, indeed, at certain epochs supposed itself entitled to the mastery of the world: hence the wild expedition of Darius into Scythia, and the repeated conflicts of Persia with the Greeks. It is not strange that this heritage should be reclaimed; for ideas of this kind are tenacious of life, and easy of revival. But what is at first sight most strange is the choice of the spot from which deliverance was to proceed. It was not from any of the seats of ancient power, the fame of which was still on record, but from among the small, isolated, and undistinguished people who inhabited Palestine, and whose brief appearance on the stage of human affairs, as conquerors in the time of King David, was so slight in limit and in duration as to have inscribed no mark upon the page of general history. It had passed away, like the old empire of the Hittites; they were also a people, whose manners and institutions repelled rather than attracted the sympathy of the world. One supposi-

tion explanatory of this remarkable expectation might be that it had lived on from prehistoric times in feebleness and obscurity, but had come to the front when the East felt pressing on it from Rome the hard hand of power, welding it for the first time by a permanent system into uniformity of servitude or inferiority, from which it panted for deliverance. But it seems more probable that the Jewish Scriptures, which had for two centuries become known by translation into Greek, were themselves the fountain-head of this most remarkable anticipation; and in that case it probably proceeded in an eminent degree from the Messianic Psalms, which were of all the available evidence the part most in the eye and mind of the people.

Such being, in outline, the presentation of God to man in the Book of Psalms, let us consider in its turn the manner in which they present man to God. Now this may be set forth in a multitude of particulars, but they are all capable of being summed into one. The Psalms are a book of spiritual communion, not only between God and man, not only between God and his Church, or especially chosen people, but between God and the individual man.

Not that this is the case with every Psalm. Take the noble first Psalm, which opens the book. It sets forth in one part (vs. 3, 4) with a tender beauty, in another with strong and stern denunciation, the positions of the righteous and of the wicked before God. But it sets them forth as it were from the outside. So, again, many of the Psalms, dealing with the Israelites as a whole, have for their theme national deliverance and glory. But let us turn to the penitential Psalms, and most of all to the fifty-first, in which King David * sounds the lowest depths of sorrow and shame for sin, and has provided for the penitent of every age and every character the medicine that his case required. On these Psalms as a whole, on this Psalm in particular, and again on the thirty-eighth Psalm, most of all in its first moiety, let us fasten our attention for a moment. Have modern learning and research succeeded in extracting from all the sacred books of all the ancient religions of the world anything like, I do not say a parallel, but an ever so remote approach to them? The great discourse of our Lord to Nicodemus, in the third chapter of St. John, finds in these compositions a basis broad enough to sustain the whole of his startling doctrine, "Except a man

* Some critics argue that the two last verses are an exilic addition.

be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." *

Penitence thus lying at the door of the process by which man is appointed to ascend to holiness, this golden book supplies, beyond all others, the types and aids for attaining it in all its stages. All that special class of virtues, which were unknown to the civilized world at the time when the Apostles preached them, had been here set forth in act a thousand years before, and stored up for use, first within the narrow circle of the Jewish worship, and then in the Church, which claims, and may yet possess, the wide world for its inheritance. Another standard of virtue, indeed, and in itself a glorious one, the Greek and the Roman world possessed. They had their code of Justice, Fortitude, Temperance, and Wisdom. But this list of virtues contained no recognition of the terrible and world-wide fact of sin, and opened no road to the acquisition of powers capable of contending against it, and of casting down its strongholds to the ground. That road was to be opened by the Beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount, and by the Faith, Hope, and Charity of St. Paul. Is there one of those Beatitudes which has not been, in its blossom or its germ, anticipated by the Psalms? Take the sanctification of sorrow in verse 4: so the Psalm instructs us, "Thy loving correction shall make me great" (Psa. 18: 35). Take the blessing of the meek (v. 5). So says the Psalmist: "Lord, I am not high-minded. I have no proud looks. I refrain my soul and keep it low. My soul is even as a weaned child" (Psa. 131: 1, 3, 4). Principles these not only which the ancient philosophies did not contain, but which they would have repudiated and contemned. Take, again, that blessing of satiety which is promised to "hunger and thirst" after righteousness; words which indicate such an adult age, such a fulness of growth and stature in the new man of the Christian system, that what was at first lesson from without has come to be appetite from within, and part of the untaught spontaneous working of renewed human nature. But this idea is fully developed in the Psalms (Psa. 42: 1, 2): "Like as the hart desireth the waterbrooks, so longeth my soul after thee, O God. My soul is athirst for God, yea, even for the living God: oh, when shall I come to appear before the presence of God." Even the doctrine of forgiveness, of doing good to enemies, to the growth of which the conditions of Hebrew life were less favorable, finds expression in the Psalms.

Take Psalm 35: 12, 13,—“They rewarded me evil for good. Nevertheless, when they were sick I put on sackcloth, and humbled my soul with fasting.” And, again, “If I have rewarded evil unto him that dealt friendly with me: yea, I have delivered him that without any cause is mine enemy” (Psa. 7: 4). It is, I submit, the general strain of the Psalms to which we should look. And who will deny that they habitually abound in humility, in penitential abasement, in the strong faith which is the evidence of things not seen, in fervor, self-mistrust, filial confidence towards God? These and all kindred qualities they develop in what for want of a better word I will term their innerness. Their tones come from the inmost heart, and, not with familiarity, yet with a wonderful nearness, they seem to seek the response, if the phrase may be used without irreverence, from the inner heart of God himself.

All this is severed by an immeasurable distance from the language, ideas, and mental habits of pagan antiquity. What we find there of religion associated with intellectual culture turns upon the external relations between God and man, as between sovereign and subject, or master and dependant. The prehistoric verse of Homer abounds in prayers. They are not such commonly as we should use, yet they indicate fully these external relations. But in the life of later, of classical, Greece, prayer seems wholly to have lost its force and place as a factor in human life.

Again, in the “Odyssey” of Homer we have remaining traces of the personal relation between man and God. In the intercourse of Athene with Odysseus, and reversely in her action on the minds of the guilty suitors, there are distinct traces of the working of a Divine force in the soul of man. I do not remember to have found it in the later classical literature. But the development of the principle and idea of a communion with God, operative on human feeling, thought, and action, is the standing and central thought of the Psalms.

I will only note, in passing, before quitting this subject, two remaining characteristics: the sacredness which the Psalms attach to the claims of the poor, and their sense of the utter worthlessness of all ceremonial observances, though commanded, except in connection with the service of the will, and purification of the heart.

IV.—THE OBJECTIONS TAKEN TO THEM.

Referring to what has been said elsewhere on the presence of a human element in Holy

* John 3: 3.

Scripture, I will now say a few words on the special objection which is lodged against the Psalms.

Let me first endeavor to reduce the question to its true dimensions. The criticism is not here, as it might be in some cases of books claiming to be sacred, that they are feeble, or fanciful, or remote from human interests, or that large veins of clay run through such true metal as they contain. The Psalms, in their sublimity and in their sympathy, so immeasurably divine and so intensely human, are proof against all such criticism, which would be only cavil. The only dart which really rings upon their coat of mail, is the dart which carries the reproach of their severe and unmeasured denunciation of enemies.

And first, in order to disembarass the question of matter which appears to be extreme and exceptional, I will refer to the verse which represents the *ne plus ultra* of the difficulty, as it stands in the Prayer-Book Version of the Psalms; in respect to which, we pay a certain price for its incomparable majesty and beauty, in the shape of occasional, though rare, shortcomings as to accuracy. The Prayer-Book gives verses 21 and 22 of Psalm 139 as follows:

"Do not I hate them, O Lord, that hate thee, and am not I grieved with those that rise up against thee?"

"Yea, I hate them right sore, even as though they were mine enemies."

Which seems to say, "I have a reserved stock of special and superlative hatred for those who have not only sinned in general, but have sinned against me in particular." But this notion is completely put aside in the translation direct from the Hebrew as it stands in the Authorized, and also in the Revised Version, where the second of the two verses runs:

"I hate them with a perfect hatred; I count them mine enemies."

This does not set up the selfish feeling, about offense personally received, above the sentiment of indignation and resentment against wickedness, but says only, "All that I might feel against a personal enemy, all that natural exasperation would suggest, I discharge upon the enemies of God." But the sentiment concerning them has already been expressed in terms not admitting of enlargement: "I hate them with a perfect hatred." And this brings the objection to a point. It is that this unmeasured detestation and invocation of wrath even upon God's enemies cannot be justified, and is not to be referred to Divine inspiration.

Now let us notice, in the first place, that the general tone of the Psalms concerning enemies is not aggressive, but defensive. A sense of trouble and danger from the might of experienced or impending assault, and an appeal to God for protection, form the staple sentiment of the book. I quote a single instance, which is a fair sample of the whole of this class of passages, from Psalm 56: 1, 2:

"Be merciful unto me, O God, for man goeth about to devour me: he is daily fighting and troubling me.

"Mine enemies are daily in hand to swallow me up: for they be many that fight against me, O thou Most Highest."

Let those who question the assertion I have made, that this passage has a character typical of the whole, refer (among other places) to Psalms 5: 8; 6: 7; 7: 5; 6: 27, *passim*; 56: 9; 59: 1; 69: 4; 18: 71, 12; 138: 7; 143: 9.

But undoubtedly a certain number of passages are not defensive, they are denunciatory; such as 54: 5, 7; 59: 10; 92: 11; 143: 12. I will recite this last verse in full, for it brings into view the sentiment which forms the base of all these passages: "And of thy goodness slay mine enemies, and destroy all them that vex my soul, *for I am thy servant.*" If we put these words into paraphrase, the Psalmist pleads that he is engaged in the service of God; that in this service he is assailed and hindered; that, powerless in himself, he appeals to the source of power; and that he invokes upon the assailants and hinderers of the Divine work the Divine vengeance, even to their extinction.

We have, then, to consider these denunciatory passages, first, as they were employed by their authors; secondly, as they are now presented to us for our own use in the services of the Church or in private devotion.

Under the first head, let me observe as follows. There is not one of these passages which tampers with truth or justice; they are aimed at sin, to blast and wither it. "Lead me, O Lord, in thy righteousness, because of mine enemies" (Psa. 5: 8). This is the universal strain. All these passages are strokes delivered with the sword of righteousness, in its unending warfare with iniquity. Nor is there one among them of which it can be shown that they refer to personal feuds, passions, or desires. Everywhere the Psalmist speaks in the name of God, on behalf of his word and will.

But it may be said that such denunciations are excessive in degree, that they are

too severe and savage, and that they are not suitable for the mouth of man.

With respect to their severity, I suggest, and, if need be, contend, that we, in our ignorance and weakness, are no fit judges of the extent to which the wisdom of the Almighty may justly carry the denunciation and the punishment of guilt.

Man, and even civilized man, contemplates with much equanimity the taking of human life for the occasions which he deems sufficient. He knows that in all wars one party must be guilty, and that in most or many wars neither have had a justification for the wholesale bloodshed, which floods the path of destruction that they necessarily follow. Life, which he did not give, and cannot restore, he takes away, for the repression of crime, with general, though not unanimous, approval. It is also taken, even now, in most Christian countries, through duels for private injury or insult; and it is but recently among ourselves that public opinion has become repugnant to the practice. But the scruples, which for ourselves we so easily thrust aside, become active, feverish, and even violent, when, in a world to the abundant wickedness of which our own practice witnesses, the Ruler of that world, who gave life for use, and who sees and judges its abuse, is to be arraigned before our mock tribunal; and we, who cannot and do not rightly guide each our own action, are to undertake to determine his. And this when we have not fully learned and cannot measure either the deep and frightful depravity of the Canaanitish nations, or the purposes with which Penalty descends. We know not whether it comes in mercy to correct the growth of evil before it shall become incurable, and whether, or how far, when opportunity had been exhausted here, resources may still have been held in reserve to be expended for good in the great elsewhere. To pronounce verdicts upon these terrible denunciations may be impious, and is surely at the least unreasonable.

“And who art thou, that on the bench would sit
To judge what is a thousand miles removed,
With the brief vision of a single span?” *

There is certainly more claim to substance in the objection which urges that these denunciations are unsuitable for man. But here I should interpose the question, To what man? The wonderful nature, in which we have been created, is in nothing more wonderful than in the diversity of the conditions under which it can subsist and

work, on its road from embryo to perfection. As those stages accumulate, the moral code becomes multiform and involved. In simple forms of life, and in early stages of society, the roads between right and wrong were short, broad, and clear, like as were the spaces of the battle-field, whereas contending hosts are now divided by miles and leagues from one another.

But, further, the Psalmists, and the nation to which they belonged, lived under a different dispensation from ours. If we accept the Scriptures, that nation held a divine commission to establish the right and to put down the wrong, in a sense in which no such commission is now given. For us it is enough to hope that at any given juncture we may be doing the will of God; but what we hope, they knew; and sight for them was mixed with faith, in a degree and mode remote from the spirit of our later, and in this respect, perhaps, higher, training. They were accustomed to short accounts with the Divine Justice, and to reward or suffering as the immediate consequences, and, therefore, as the direct attestations of the judgment of God upon the moral conduct of man. The responsibility, which is for us diffused and indefinite, was for them concentrated and palpable. But, besides this, they had the great standing institution of prophecy; and the king in whose ears Nathan's words had thundered, “Thou art the man,” might well feel that his contract was a close one with the mind of the Almighty, and that he might, upon occasion, speak his strongest words under guidance from on high.

I do not pursue farther these remarks, which are no more than tentative and approximate. But I do not find myself justified in the assumption that we are in all cases to have a complete cognizance of the conditions under which the Psalms give judgment upon the unrighteous, or are intended to arrive at final judgments on the question what the Jews might, and what they might not, suitably be commissioned by the Almighty to denounce.

More immediately are we concerned in the question as to the place held in Christian devotion, and especially in public ritual, by the denunciatory passages of the Psalms. But the answer to this objection, I apprehend, lies near at hand. All scruple, at least all tolerable scruple in this matter, seems to rest upon the supposition that the passages are aimed at creatures who have characters mixed with good and evil, and who, therefore, are not presumptively fit subjects for our unmixed, indiscriminating

* Dante, *Parad.*, XIX., 81. Pollock's translation.

denunciation. But can any one reasonably suppose that these declarations are in the mind and sense of the Church directed against any human enemy? Our human enemies, if we are so unhappy as to have any, are not the most watchful, the most subtle, the most destructive of our foes. "For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against . . . the rulers of the darkness of this world."* But the Holy Scripture and the Christian religion teach, and our human experience largely testifies, that there are spirits whose meat and drink, so to speak, it is to extend the domain of evil, to deepen corruption, to destroy happiness by destroying innocence, which is its base, to add both in range and in intensity to the misery and the sin which have made the world so sad. If this be so, then I contend that to pray for the abolition or paralysis of their work and of its agents, and this especially when we meet as Christians to set forth solemnly the collective needs and aspirations of mankind, is a practice which requires neither justification nor apology.

Apart altogether from the question, what may be the value or completeness of the foregoing defensive suggestions, I would remind my readers that they relate not to the main body of the question respecting the Psalms, but to a portion of it, which is limited and exceptional. Nor do I perceive how, if we approach this question on the grounds and in the spirit of reason, it is possible for a person so approaching it to set aside the mass of evidence which establishes the unparalleled and unapproached position of the Psalter in its antiquity and use, in its pure and noble theology, and in a moral and spiritual character witnessed afresh in the judgment and practice of each succeeding age. And, if the several parts of this evidence link themselves into a compact and harmonious whole, it is not reason, but unreason in the mask of reason, which declines or omits to acknowledge the presumption thence arising, that the Book is at a level indefinitely higher than has been reached by the unassisted faculties of man, and that the power which raised it to that level can only be Divine. Such a conclusion will survive even the approving reference in Psalm 137 : 9 to a practice of savage warfare. Were it true that the image of gold had feet of clay, we might indeed be perplexed by the combination ; but would not this be just, as we often are perplexed by other combinations presented to us in the

providential government of the world? And not only in the providential government of the world, but in the fulfilment of our personal relations with other men. Yet we do not put an end on that account to such relations ; nor do we cease to believe in God because we, such as we are—God save the mark—cannot comprehend the reason, or even discern the rightfulness of all he does. In like manner, so neither can we refuse to admit sufficient evidence of an origin more than human for the Psalms, on the ground that we see only through a glass darkly, and that they present incidental features analogous in principle to those which in other departments our experience brings before us.

London, England

THE PASSION PLAY AT OBER-AMMERGAU.

From *The Guardian* (Church of England), London, June 4, 1890.

EVERY traveller has experienced the impossibility of conveying his impressions of places he has visited to those who have never been there. And yet some description of Ober-Ammergau is necessary if you have never seen the distant range of the snow-covered Bavarian Alps over the Starnberger See, and watched their peaks grow higher as you approached them, and their glorious valleys grow broad around you as the train sweeps through their forest of dark pines, or over the fertile plains beneath them flourishing with long patches of rye, or glorious with a wonderful wealth of many-colored flowers, among which are thousands of wild pansies and golden immortelles, while on the mountain-side, sprinkled with blue gentians, grow great bunches of the double crimson peony and the white hydrangea, brought down to the stations where the train stops, by merry groups of Tyrolean peasants in their gay costume, with feathers of the *Spielhahn* in their hats, and their alpenstocks in their hands. For this is the framing of the Passion Play picture, the ground carpeted and colored with flowers, the bright green of the young spring leaves of the forest trees against the rising background of dark pines that ends in craggy peaks of gray rock ribbed with snow, and their hollows fluted with glaciers. The line from Munich ends at Oberau, and from here a splendid zig-zag road winds up a beautiful mountain-side, with glimpses of forest-clad valleys and mountain peaks at every turn, to a mountain pass from which the

* Ephesians 6 : 12.

road runs level to the monastery of Ettal, whose monks have long departed, leaving, among other things, a memory of their famous brew, whose successor cheers, but not inebriates, in the inscription still remaining, "God bless the Ettal beer." Soon rises on the left the peak of the Kofel, sweeping upward from a broad, fertile valley, through forest pines, to a rocky peak like the giant fang of some huge lion, crowned with the great cross, now gilded by the setting sun, and standing like a sentinel above the picturesque village of Ammergau immediately below. The first view of the village is very picturesque. A long double row of Swiss chalets, their walls newly colored, and their broad over-hanging eaves fresh painted, leads up to the church, with its curious pagoda-like tower, round which radiate streets in various lines, giving many a picturesque corner of frescoed walls, and drooping eaves, and more pretentious houses, colored outside with huge frescoes representing Scriptural and allegorical scenes, painted with much taste and skill by the "Judas" of the Passion Play and his brother artists. The crystal Ammer winds through this picturesque jumble and the spurs of the Kofel form a rampart beyond, while the broad valley sweeps onward past Unter-Ammergau to the fertile plain.

But if I find it difficult to describe the scenery that surrounds the picturesque town how shall I convey any impression of the character of these refined peasants, whose dignity never suffers from their self-effacing good-nature, their courteous kindness, and their inextinguishable good-humor? We were received on Saturday, the 24th, by Sebastian Zwick, the first violin of the orchestra, who, in spite of the never-ending stream of carriages and omnibuses tourist-laden, stood list in hand, and with the most pleasant good-humor assigned to us, one after another, our respective houses in the village, with a charming welcome and a pleasant word or two about our lodgings.

On Whitsunday the bells of the church rang out at three o'clock on a fresh bright morning, and Mass after Mass was said by priests waiting their turn, until at nine High Mass was most beautifully sung by the chorus of the Passion Play, accompanied by its orchestra and the organ. The church was filled with a congregation whose simple devotion was as remarkable as is sometimes its absence in Italy. The first English celebration provided by the S. P. G. began at eight o'clock in a room of the Art Exhibition, and a second celebration of Holy Communion followed the morning service at ten.

The day was bright and beautiful, and the streets were all day thronged with people. English and American visitors mingled with groups of Bavarian peasants and German tourists, eating and drinking at tables in the street under the blossoming chestnuts or under leafy trellised arbors, with good-humor and happiness supreme. In the evening a procession of all imaginable vehicles followed each other along the road bringing the thousands of spectators who were to witness the play on the morrow; and yet in all this crowd there was no confusion, no hurry, no word or gesture to offend: all were kind, courteous, and happy. On Monday morning the gun was fired at three o'clock, echoing round all the hills like rolling thunder, and the deep bells rang for service after service, until at six o'clock a rattle of drums preceded a burst of music, and the orchestra marched down the street to the church, crowded from end to end, and High Mass was sung with the greatest reverence, all the performers of the play being present. There is nothing to distinguish them from others of their class but their long flowing hair and their peculiar absorbed look. It was curious to hear the remarks in the street as they mingled with the crowd: "There is Petrus;" "That man plays Pilate;" "There is Caiaphas, the Burgomaster Lang, and his daughter, with that sweet, pathetic face, is the Gottesmutter Maria;" "The Christus is a wood-carver, Judas a fresco-painter, St. John waits at our table," and so on.

When Mass was finished the performers and congregation left the church for the theatre, which at eight o'clock was filled to its utmost capacity by a crowd of 4600 people. It was a wonderful sight. From the orchestra swept upward in a gradual rise a dense mass of human heads in the open air, shut in by the high boarding, over which one saw the Alps in the background bright with morning sunshine. The plane of human heads swept backward under the covered places, which, although double the price of the uncovered area, were the worst both for seeing and for hearing. I had a place only three rows from the stage where I could see every expression and hear every word, and the intense fascination that grew upon the audience throughout the play was heightened by the fact that there was not one word, motion, or expression that was not graceful and dignified, and inspired by the highest reverence and the deepest feeling. The beauty of the dresses, nearly all made in the village, the perfect representation of the different *tableaux*, the dignity and grace of bearing, and the deep reverence with

which every word was uttered, were alike remarkable. There was no self-consciousness, no made-up faces, no tinsel ornamentation, and when the stage was crowded by hundreds of people there was no confusion whatever. How these simple peasants can produce such a performance is most wonderful. Their hands are hard with toil, their faces tanned with exposure, and yet they have a beauty of expression and a dignified, unconscious grace in every gesture and motion which could only come from true courtesy of soul. Exactly at eight o'clock a gun was fired, and the orchestra began its solemn introduction. The front part of the stage is a broad platform open to the air; behind this is a square covered building, to the right and left of which are broad passages leading back, and on one side is the house of Pilate, and the other the house of Annas, both approached by a broad flight of steps. The curtain is down. It has in the centre a picture of the Moses of Michael Angelo, and of Isaiah and Jeremiah from the roof of the Sistine Chapel. While the orchestra is playing the members of the chorus slowly emerge from each side and meet in the midst of the broad platform in a long line, the sopranos on the left, the contraltos on the right, and the tenors and basses on each side of the choragus. They are dressed all alike in a cream-colored loose tunic, edged with gold from shoulders to feet, over which is flung a beautiful robe of one rich color (a different color for each), edged with the old Greek pattern in gold. The colors were as follows from the outside to the centre in the same order: Pink, brown, purple, light blue, red, dark blue, crimson, purple, green, dark blue, very dark red, green, and the choragus in the centre in scarlet; each one had gold fillets with a cross over the forehead, and the girls' hair was loose; all were shod with sandals.

The impression is profound as the chorus slowly enters to the solemn music, and the members stand in a row when the choragus, in a noble voice of great power, delivers his greeting in "recitative," and exhorts us to holy contemplation of the sacred drama that represents the purpose of God, Whose wrath is just, but "I will not, so saith the Lord, the sinner's death; he shall live; My Son's own blood shall reconcile him." The theme is taken up by the full chorus in a grand strain of exalted harmony that is a most deeply moving preparation to the whole play. Still singing, the chorus divide in the centre, and gradually sweep backward into a double curve, forming two wings, from the platform to the outside of the central cur-

tain, where they remain. The curtain rises, and discloses the *tableau* of Adam and Eve expelled from Paradise by the angel. The chorus begins, "Mankind is driven from Eden's groves. Flames in the cherub's hand the sword," and continues the theme after the curtain has fallen, and while the next *tableau* is preparing, showing how "The way is barred to the tree of life." Soon the second *tableau* follows, "The adoration of the Cross," wherein the way to the tree of life is restored. The chorus then retire as they came, behind the scenes, and the first scene begins of Christ's entry into Jerusalem. This method is repeated throughout the play. Each act is preceded by the entrance of the chorus in a line, the introduction, and their formation into two wings on each side of the *tableau*. This constant change of theme and sentiment coming between the acts forms the most beautiful feature of the play. It is an ever-varying change of scene and color. The music is so good, the movement so graceful, and the combination of color so beautiful, that one is carried on insensibly from hour to hour during the ten hours that the play lasts without the least sense of weariness or fatigue. It would take so long to explain the *tableaux* in detail that I am unable here to do justice to their beauty and impressiveness. Suffice it to say that it was universally admitted by every one of the hundreds of visitors that I heard discuss the play that the *tableaux* were most wonderful. Indeed, for the most part, in speaking of them, people gave way to expressions of astonishment. The same cannot be said of all the acting. One would willingly refrain from adverse criticism of any part where all was so reverent and devotional, but indiscriminating praise is undesirable if a criticism is to be a statement of true impressions. Let me say, then, that to me in the early scenes the Christus was a disappointment. In the closing scenes the intense weariness that Mayr constantly wears fitted the character completely. But he has only one facial expression the whole time, and that is always the same weary, troubled sorrow, without any emotion whatever. Of all scenes, the Agony in the Garden was the most wanting in this display of variety or depth of feeling. It seemed stilted and unreal. But one gradually forgets his face in the intense pathos of his voice. I think this was most remarkable in the yearning love which spoke in the warning to St. Peter—"Mein Petrus," said he, in a tone of loving anxiety, and then paused—and also in the warning to Judas, spoken with such earnest pity. In conversation Mayr was al-

most perfect. Who shall blame him that his humanity was unequal to the tremendous call upon it, or be other than grateful that his faults were merely those of omission, and that there was not one word or excessive action that could pain or jar the most devout?

The entry of the Christus into Jerusalem was the first scene, and the suggestion of a great multitude was well sustained, while all, even the smallest children, performed their part well as they sang "Heil Dir! Heil Dir! O David's Sohn," waving their hands and branches of palm as the Christus rode through them dressed in a fawn-colored tunic and a pink robe. It was here that the intense weariness of Mayr's face struck me so forcibly. There was an apparent insensibility about it, and the face was so evidently far too old, for Mayr is now forty-seven. The twelve Apostles are a very striking group indeed, bare-headed, with flowing hair and long staves in their hands.

In the second scene, where the Christus drives the merchants from the Temple, the surprise of the people and the anger of the traders are well represented. The scattering of the money, the breaking of the pitchers as the tables fall, and the pigeons flying away, are all sufficiently striking to explain the anger of the traders, while the difference in the simple dress of the Christus and his disciples and the pomp of the priests brings out the reason for their indignation at being flouted and condemned. While in the fourth scene the change in the multitude "who cried Hosanna to-day and crucify to-morrow" is shown to be due to the people's fear of the priests, one of whom "Nathaniel," is a really fine actor, who denounces the curse of Moses on every one who does not hold with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and so terrifies the people by fear of the Law that they turn round and denounce the Christus, and determine to follow the "holy Sanhedrim." So we see the meshes of the net woven round the Christus, and with loud shouts, again and again repeated, of "Moses is our prophet; praised be our Fathers," the first act closes. The chorus enter and describe the "wicked wretches" meditating vengeance, "Auf, lasset uns auf Rache sinnen," and the first *tableau* of the second act is Joseph cast into the pit by his brethren. The suggestion that Joseph's dress is a mark of special dignity gives the motive for the action. The first scene of Act. II. introduces us to the Sanhedrim and the commanding figure of Caiaphas the High Priest, who is represented by Burgomaster Lang. His presence is

noble, his manner imposing, his loud, rich voice is deliberate and commanding, and with his magnificent dress he is altogether a most striking figure. One gets perhaps a little weary of the Sanhedrim, but the plot is like a well-woven net, the malice of the traders supplying an opportunity for the Sanhedrim to revenge themselves upon the Christus for his audacity in condemning them, and they are employed to tempt Judas by a bribe to betray the place where the Christus might be taken, and by suggesting that the informer would "deserve the gratitude" of the holy Sanhedrim in addition; the intention being evidently to show Judas as in reality unnecessary to consummate their designs, but merely as the readiest tool in their hands. And now comes, preceded by a beautiful *tableau* of the departure of Tobias from his home—perhaps the most touching piece of the whole play, judged at least by the results upon the audience. It is called the parting at Bethany. The first scene is the Christus with his disciples, to whom he foretells his approaching passion and death. This scene is very good, their sorrow and perplexity so well represented by their earnest eagerness to know all, restrained by that reverent courtesy that fears to do more than suggest their caution. The second scene gives the meeting with Simon, Martha, and Lazarus, and Simon's invitation to the guest-chamber, where we see them all in the next scene. Peter's anxiety that the Christus should remain in safety among those loving friends is answered by Mayr with the words, spoken most impressively, "Shall the reaper tarry in the shade when the fields are ripe for harvest?" Then follows the anointing by the Magdalene, which was poor in conception, and the carping of Judas followed by the warning entreaty, "Friend Judas, hand on heart, is it only sympathy with the poor that moves you?" As the scene goes on the shadow of a sorrow settles upon them, and as they leave the Christus comforts Magdalene with the words, "The night cometh and the winter storm, yet in the spring garden thou shalt see me again." Then comes the most affecting parting between the Christus and his mother. The Blessed Virgin's part is taken by Rosa Lang, a girl with a beautiful, strongly marked face, and a voice capable of expressing deep emotion. I was so near that I saw every expression, and the flush of real emotion on Mary's face was no mere acting, as she sobbed, "Mein Sohn, mein Sohn!" The strong peasants and foresters round me wept like children at this affecting scene.

Of course, one might criticise the difference of age of these two, Mayr being forty-seven, and Rosa Lang twenty-two, but the actors are chosen for their private characters, as well as their personal fitness; and the Christus must be, so one of the players told me, the most "christlich" man, and the Maria the most holy woman in the village. They must live their parts for ten years before they may act them in the play.

Act IV. is introduced by the Vashti rejected by Ahasuerus, "figuring God's purpose for the synagogue," and Esther chosen queen, preceded by a wonderful chorus, "Jerusalem, awake! awake!" These various *tableaux* form a never-ending series of shifting color and expression. Christus and the disciples approach Jerusalem, and converse as they go upon the events that are to come, and then after warning Judas is left alone. Judas is taken by Johann Zwick, and he is made a very prominent feature. His acting is the only "stagey" part of the whole play. It is said, however, by the villagers to be better than that of Lechner, who took the part previously. His face and manner are quite traditional, and Zwick's idea is that of a shallow, impulsive man, whose good desires are not strong enough to resist the avarice and anxiety about the morrow, which lead him to put gain before principle. After Judas retires in every scene the people laugh among themselves. Why, it is hard to say. It certainly is not at his acting. He is found meditating by "Dathan" and the traders, of whom he is at first suspicious, but when they promise him a large reward and future advancement he consents to betray the place where his Master will be with the disciples that night, and yields. His soliloquy with himself is good. If the Sanhedrim succeeds, he will be powerful. If Christ succeeds he will confess his part. But how now to meet his Master's gaze? "He will see that I am a—; no, I am no traitor. I only show them where he is to be found."

Act V.—"The Last Supper"—is introduced by the entrance of the chorus, who announce the "new feast," which is preceded by the *tableaux* of the "Manna in the Wilderness," represented by falling flakes of paper, and then "The Return of the Spies," bringing a huge bunch of dark grapes, each as large as a cricket-ball. The grouping of the multitude was most impressive, and these types of the new feast most suggestive in their poetic fitness. The grouping of the "Last Supper" is from Leonardo da Vinci's famous picture, but the appointments of the table were peculiar. A

very thick, flat, round "loaf" was in the centre of the table, and this, when the Christus raised it, I saw to be a cake studded with raisins. There were large desert dishes full of apples, pears, and grapes. There was no suggestion of the Jewish Passover. The Christus walked round from one to another, and placed a morsel in every disciple's mouth. The distribution of the cup followed in the same way. The scene was historically incorrect, but the action and the words had a deep pathos, especially the washing of the disciples' feet. The discovery of the traitor was dramatic, and the words "Thou hast said," though spoken loudly, were unnoticed because others were also talking at the time. The "sop" was another morsel of the same bread given to Judas into his mouth as before. The act of the betrayal is preceded by the *tableau* of Joseph sold by his brethren. The guilt of Christ's death is shown to lie entirely with the Sanhedrim, who treat Judas contemptuously as their despicable tool. Act VII., preceded by the *tableaux* of Adam and Eve laboring, and the murder of Amasa by Joab, to signify the labors of the Saviour, and the falseness of His friend, contains the agony and the arrest. The scene of the agony was most disappointing. It was conventional and lifeless; but the scene of the arrest was highly successful. The sudden appearance of the band of armed soldiers and the clank of weapons in the peaceful scene was most startling, and here the quiet dignity of Mayr was most consistent and appropriate.

With the arrest the first part ends, and an interval of an hour and a half followed, during which I took the opportunity of asking all I met their impressions. They all expressed their wonder at the marvellous beauty of the performance. Criticism was, of course, natural, but there was no expression of disappointment at the general result, which in all cases exceeded expectation. The second part opens with a grand chorus of beautiful and affecting music, and the remaining hours of the sacred drama passed like minutes, in the ever-varying interest of the *tableaux* and scenes, which are too long to follow in detail. The despair of Judas was somewhat forced, but his character most distinctly stands out as the realization of a good conception, and his final action, where he tears off his girdle under the gnarled tree, is dramatic and appropriate to this idea, as was his querulous denunciation of the "bloodhounds" who betrayed him. From this time Mayr's expression of the Christus is more and more appropriate to the scenes. The contrast of this weary, dig-

nified, silent sufferer with the proud bombast of Caiaphas, the weak wrangling of Pilate, the contemptuous insult of Herod, and the mocking, laughing, jeering band of cruel soldiers was most impressive. Pilate's action was not haughty, while there was too little pride in Herod; but the haste and eager fanaticism of the Jews were well sustained. "Petrus" and "Johanna" were two most typical figures, and the denial of Petrus, surrounded by a band of soldiers "hail fellow well met," yet cruel and vindictive, who discuss what should be done to the disciple who cut off the ear of Malchus, together give a reasonable conception of the denial scene, and when the Christus comes in and looks on Peter he buries his face in his robe and walks mournfully away. The music of this part is surprisingly good, when we remember that it was written by a resident in the village in the seventeenth century. It is most powerful in appropriate conception, though at times it was not well sung. Part 3, the *Via Crucis*, begins with two *tableaux*, "Isaac bearing the wood up Mount Moriah," and "Moses pointing to the brazen serpent." The procession to Golgotha was very impressive. Mayr carries a very heavy cross on his shoulder, and as he stumbles with it an unconscious sigh of pity passes like a wave through the crowded audience. The Christus is driven on with jeers and blows, shrunk together with pain and weariness, with a rope round his waist, dumb and suffering mutely. A curious mingling of history and legend occurs in the incident of Veronica, which takes place when the Christus says, "Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me," and after the procession has passed the scene closes and the chorus reappear, clothed in black, to sing a long piece of music set to beautiful words, "O who can this high love conceive, which loveth unto death?" The curtain rises, and the two thieves are seen already upon the crosses, their arms over and tied under the transverse beams, and the Christus is seen extended upon the cross, which lies upon the ground. The cross is slowly raised, and there is the marvellous picture before your eyes. I was as near as any one in the theatre, and yet it was quite impossible to detect how Mayr was fastened to the cross. The iron rest under the feet was seen after the bodies were taken down, but the thieves had certainly no other support, and their tied hands became perfectly livid. Mayr was on the cross for twenty minutes, and I heard an English doctor say he could scarcely forbear from shouting "Take him down." It is a feat of great endurance, under which

Mayr has sometimes fainted, while in the summer he says the gnats annoy him fearfully. It is a painful sight, almost too painful, intensified by the dead silence of the vast audience. All the familiar details were gone through. The parting of the garments, the derision of priests, soldiers, people, and the words from the cross, were all carried on in sustained dialogue, during which time it is only possible for Mayr to move his head. And then when the Christus bows his head, thunder is heard, and dark clouds descend, while a messenger rushes up in a fright to say that the veil of the Temple has rent. It was strange to see the mist upon the spurs of Kofel descending upon the mountains about this time, and veiling the whole scene in a gray gloom, during which the bodies of the thieves were first taken from the crosses after their "legs were broken," and, as I saw behind the scene, they staggered away. Then the body of Christus was reverently and carefully taken down, after the piercing of his side with the spear. The details were taken from the picture by Rubens, and the body was laid at the feet of Maria, in a scene quite painful in its intensity. The wound of the spear was on the left side, contrary to every picture I have seen, and was cleverly managed by a thin plate, which when pressed released a dark red fluid that stained the jersey Mayr had on with a large spot of crimson.

Act XVII. is "The Resurrection." The chorus enter again with their beautiful robes, and announce "All is now accomplished. Peace and joy! His strife has brought us freedom, His death has brought us life." The scene is a rocky wall with a huge door that bursts open, and the body of the Christus, clothed in white, floats forth, and disappears. The last scene is hurried on with the appearance to the holy women at the grave. The final *tableau* of "The Ascension" was the most beautiful of the whole play. The Christus slowly ascends, surrounded by a halo of angels, and as the disciples stand with their arms extended the chorus sings a burst of music, "Praises sing all heavenly hosts, To the Lord praise and glory, worship, might, and power be His for evermore."

It is no doubt possible to criticise such a performance adversely if one goes there to do so. But I would ask, what greater proof of power and success can there be than the fact that nearly 5000 people sat spell bound for nearly ten hours in almost perfect silence, through rain and hot sunshine, without one sign of weariness or exhaustion? I

cannot criticise the performance adversely, for it seemed to me to be a wholly reverent and pious act of devotion, performed by these peasants (who, whatever the caviller may say, are still simple and unaffected and sincere) to the very best of their power. To say that the performance is "getting theatrical" is to say what I cannot understand. The dresses and scenery have been redesigned by Lautenschläger, the first theatrical artist in the world, but the peasants are peasants still. Their manners are the same; their play is their own. Their quiet life of ten years between the performances is too uneventful for them to be spoiled. I saw the Christus two hours after the performance in the street, dressed in a poor peasant's clothes, standing, hat in hand, talking to some visitors whom he had recognized, with that courtesy of demeanor which is these people's peculiar charm. They are accused of many things, for rumor is spiteful, and critics are, as I know, not always capable of judging such a performance at all. But they are not extortionate, as my bill will show. 3s. a day for my room and attendance, 1s. 6d. for a well-cooked meal, and this in one of the best houses of the town. I bought some mementoes of wood-carving, and they cost less than half what I should pay in London for them. I met with nothing but cheerful good-humor, kindness and attention. Their only feeling seemed to be that we were doing them honor by coming to see the play, and regret that we were leaving, a regret that we certainly shared. In the evening we strolled about the town. The cows and goats came home to the music of the bells, and as evening settled down the music of a piccolo echoed from the side of the Kofel, which we had climbed the day before. We left the happy valley next morning with regret, but delighted to have witnessed this wonderful representation, and certainly sharing the satisfaction and surprise expressed by all the travellers whom we accompanied on the way, some of whom had seen two previous representations (in 1860 and 1871), and found nothing to suggest degeneration from that high ideal which is the result of the holy vow of 1630.

MEN IN CHURCH.

From *The Church Times*, London, June 6, 1890.

WE never read a discussion of the question "Why do not men go to church?" without being reminded of the well-known story of the mayor of a provincial town who,

when asked why he had not received a Royal visitor with a proper salute of guns, replied that he had, with the utmost respect, exactly forty reasons to offer. "In the first place, your Highness, we have no guns." "We will not trouble you for the rest," was the gracious reply. So for non-attendance of men there may be forty or four hundred reasons adducible, but, unless experience has forsaken her seat, there must be one or two, at the most three, causes lying at the foundation of the neglect, causes which, once understood, will explain the whole position, and materially aid the discovery of remedies.

The numerous letters sent in by our correspondents on this subject easily group themselves into two classes, of which the first, the faddist, is rather the larger. We regret the preponderance, but we are not without gratitude to the writers, who are at least in earnest, and have our respect for their manifestation of determination and courage, seeing that they help us to gauge the probable ratio of Churchmen who are led astray by side issues and hammer away on cross-roads and by-paths, entirely disregarding the sign-posts which would set them right if only they could stop to read them. It would be amusing, were it not provoking, to notice how estimable persons can bring themselves seriously to propound solutions which bear their error on the surface, as, *e.g.*, when one writer gravely suggests that the particular pitch of a reciting note for a tiny part of the Church service has an immediate connection with the crowds of men (and women) who regularly make their Sunday exodus to Henley, or some other delightful resort, for aquatic dissipation, forced there by the agony induced by curates endowed with high tenor voices. Another would have us go to Germany and learn how to draw men to church by a system of popular choral music, but he forgot to tell us whether the Germans have commonly adopted the system, and, if so, why Berlin is worse than London in the matter of church attendance.

Two correspondents, "R. H. A. B.," and "J. S. C.," have avoided fads, and struck at roots, the latter especially, by attributing decay of Church attendance to ignorance and infidelity, and his letter, by the way, has many points which the clergy would do well to consider attentively.

Looking at the question broadly, our answer to it is, "Men don't want to go to church," but if any are not satisfied with this we must adopt the Socratic method and ask "Why should they go?" Why, indeed? Have they not been taught that sermon

hearing is the *Alpha* and *Omega* of church attendance, and can they not read as good, or even better, sermons in books and newspapers at home? And why must they be bound to listen Sunday after Sunday to one who perhaps knows no more than his people of Christian truth? Can they not read their Bibles at home, and get as much good in that way? There it is, the secret lies in that fatal word "get." Church-going must be all getting, otherwise men will not trouble to go. They despise the unfortunate beggar who attends every Sunday in the sure hope of a loaf, or the parson's old coat, and yet unless they too can receive some *quid pro quo*, never a step will they take to the House of God. They must have bright and attractive services, plenty of life and movement, everything must be free and of the best description, nothing must interfere with the comfort of these self-regarding attendants, or else they will stay away and worship their God at home, or in the leafy shades of the peripatetics.

The primal duty, therefore, of all who desire to see the courts of the Lord's House well trodden is to teach true principles of worship, to set before men that for six days' blessings their Father asks at least a part of one day's public acknowledgment; that an all-receiving, never-yielding life is but another term for decay and death: and that a religion without sacrifice is worth exactly, or rather less than, nothing. In the Church of England we have wrought more harm than good by our system of spiritual pauperization, doing too much for the many at the cost of a few, by pandering to selfish instincts, and by allowing present generations to enjoy spiritual blessings at the cost of their forefathers; and the decay we are lamenting we have taken the surest means of producing.

Before reform can eventuate, Churchmen must face that question, Why should they go? and offer a better answer than many of us have hitherto given. Suppose, instead of tempting, bribing, cajolling, huckstering, and what not, we try the other course, and offer room for the expansion of man's highest powers. Then "Why should they go?" will be answered thus: To exercise the prerogative of their royal priesthood, first in that glorious consummation of priestly effort, the Mass, and then in whatever branch of worship may be specially theirs.

With this first principle well in view, it is legitimate to proceed to other important, but still subsidiary, matters; to show, *e.g.*, that on the chief priest of each congregation there lies the weighty responsibility of per-

forming the several details of his office with edification and encouragement to his brethren, that the order, frequency, and character of services should be settled with due regard to the powers and capacities of individuals, as well as of the general body of the faithful, that no let or hindrance be put in the way of each member rendering according to his ability and will whatever may contribute to the general welfare. We repeat, however, that these are subsidiary matters, and can only be determined healthily when the main principle is thoroughly conceded and understood.

But turning to the first answer we offered, viz., that "men do not want to go to church," other considerations of a practical nature come into operation. The very term "want" affords a glimpse of the truth, and indicates, what so many who discuss this question are inclined to forget, that some process is needed by which men are to be brought to a sense of their need and duty as worshippers of God. That worship, *scilicet* Church-going, is not a natural want of man is evident to all who know anything of human nature. Men can and do live very comfortable lives without it, as anyone may see who will stroll around the parks on a Sunday morning, or make himself acquainted with the lives of some thousands of people in and out of London: they can live without worship as easily as the blind fish in Kentucky caves live without sight or light, and are equally ignorant of their loss. If the sense of the want is to be active, we will not say acute, a man must have conviction and habit, or habit and conviction, the order is immaterial, although both are necessary, and it matters but little practically which comes first in realization. The habit is entirely under human control, conviction is only in part dependent upon human effort, yet that part is a necessary correlative of the secret and higher Agency. In the rule of the English Church it is assumed and intended that conviction is to be brought about by instruction and grace while the habit is being formed. Children, being baptized, are to be treated as integral parts of the divinely human body, and as the consciousness of divine relationship is being developed, so we must endeavor that the habit is in process of settlement.

All this, we grant, is mere commonplace teaching, and yet as we read of and observe the actions of many professing Churchmen nothing is more clear than that the commonplace is ignored and sometimes denied. Otherwise how are we to explain the coldness and indifference with which numbers of

Churchgoers regard the development of spirituality in their children? Thousands of parents never trouble themselves as to what sort of Christian teaching their children get, or whether they get any at all or not. Children are left to choose church or chapel, the streets or the school, on Sundays, just as they please; and then people wonder how it is that with our enormous apparatus for inculcating the Christian Faith, so many persons grow up and live in total disregard of one of the plainest duties of Christians. We shall cheerfully risk the danger of being called faddists by some of our friends, and assert that the initial and chief cause of neglect of Church attendance lies with the parents. The home is the God-appointed training place for young Christians, and if parents were to see to their duty, and pray and labor for the conviction of their children, while they at the same time take them to church, and so train them in the habit of regular worship, we should have far less complaint about the non-attendance of men at church. Until parental duty is performed, all other efforts can only meet with comparative failure, but when the father and mother do their share, secondary methods will act with real force. The little feet that have learned the way to church by the side of father or mother will and do continue in the same path when they are no longer little, and father and mother are lying at rest in God's acre. Home influences never die, they may be strained to breaking point, may be reduced almost to the last thread, but break altogether never. We know and recognize this in every other department of child life, why then are men so blind as to ignore the fact in that side which is above all and beyond all important to the future well-being of child and Church? Let us bring a little common sense into our religious affairs.

Habit and conviction create want, and without them men "don't want to go to church," and for our part we don't see why they should, certainly least of all for the base reason of getting what they can as cheaply as touting religionists choose to provide it for them.

We have not yet dealt with the special question of the attendance of men, as compared with women, at church, nor was it possible to do so without settling preliminaries. Many of our correspondents have given true and sensible reasons for the disparity, but the list is not exhausted. There are more women than men, to begin with; the army and navy, foreign travel, and commerce help to decrease the available supply

of men; men more easily than women can take their Sunday exercise on tricycles, and they are doing so increasingly; and men have their clubs and lecture halls open on Sundays: these are causes which must be taken into the reckoning. But there is a darker side. Men, as a whole, are more prone to certain forms of anti-social sins, and, say what we will, are honest enough not to attend church and pretend godliness while they are following impure, drunken, or gambling courses. The vices of women are generally less socially dangerous and open, and many a woman whose evil temper, pride, vanity, self-love, or lying is as sinful in the sight of God as the more gross sin of her brother or father, feels the social disablement less and attends church with open if not self-regarding composure. Men have a natural hatred of mere appearances, and although, as a whole, more charitable in judgment of others than women are, are more candid in self-acknowledgment of sin.

Let any guide of souls probe the first half-a-dozen non-attending men whom he meets, and we venture to predict that, next to parental neglect, sin rather than unbelief, or positive dislike, is at the bottom of the most of the neglect. The helping hand is wanted, with the re-assuring voice that in worship the Father of all will welcome the weakest and pitifullest of His children, and the encouragement which only men who have fought the enemy themselves can give to their fellows. Let spiritual men, priests or laymen, see to this, and we shall be surprised if many a vacant place be not speedily filled. To the clergy generally we say, without reserve or hesitation, that it is their duty not to rest until they have made the personal acquaintance of all the men in their parishes, and obtained from them the reasons why they do or do not take their place in public worship. For clerical groaners and ecclesiastical fad-mongers we have scant respect. They are neither useful nor ornamental; their wails and lamentations are distressful to true workers, and the sooner they cease their idle tasks and take to honest labor the better for the Church and their own souls. They will never fill their churches by groaning over the empty benches or devising paper toys for the children of God.

DON'TS FOR MINISTERS.

From *The United Presbyterian*, Pittsburgh, June 19, 1890.

A "CHARGE," thrown into the form of don'ts.

Don't study without prayer.
 Don't pray without study.
 Don't feed people with unbaked dough.
 Don't tell all you know in one sermon.
 Don't put the hay too high in the ricks.
 Don't offer them sentimental confections
 or intellectual shavings.

Don't mistake philosophy for Christianity, cant for piety, noise for zeal, or crowds for success.

Don't be so broad that you can float nothing but intellectual chips on your shallow stream.

Don't scold.

Don't wear the cap and bells.

Don't mistake length for profundity nor brevity for wit.

Don't lash the back of the sinner instead of the back of his sin.

Don't offer to other people manna which you have not tasted yourself.

Don't imagine your sermon to be a revelation, or anything but the text to have "Thus saith the Lord" written across it.

Don't let your harp have only one string.

Don't be a vender of nostrums.

Don't try to make bricks without straw.

Don't be anybody but yourself.

Don't let any religious hobby ride you, but don't be afraid to ride any religious hobby, if you have one.

Don't live in the third century.

Don't live in the twentieth century.

Don't live in the clouds.

Don't follow everybody's advice.

Don't try to do anybody's duty but your own.

Don't spare the people's pockets, for therein lie their hearts.

Don't expect the sun to shine through all the twenty-four hours of the day.

Don't expect that all your geese will be swans, or all your believers saints.

Don't restrain too much; it is well, often, that steam escapes.

Don't drive, but lead.

Don't ask anyone to work harder than you do yourself.

Don't see everything that is wrong in the congregation.

Don't carry all your ecclesiastical eggs in one basket.

Don't despise the rich and dishonor the poor, nor esteem yourself wiser than your brethren.

Don't feel yourself responsible for the universe, nor try to spread yourself over creation.

Don't be an evangelist without a message, a preacher without a doctrine, a pastor without devotion, a presbyter without responsi-

bility, or a bishop without watchfulness, and you will not be a servant without reward.

Don't despair.

A DAY WITH THE CHURCH ARMY.

From *The Nonconformist and Independent*, London, June 5, 1890.

"STEADY, lad! God loves you, and wants to make a gentleman of you!" It was a clergyman who spoke. The man whom he addressed was standing outside a public-house, swearing dreadfully. And the clergyman put his arm round the man's neck and checked him thus. The man was touched. There was something good in him beneath his bad language, after all, and he dragged the clergyman into the house, and—strange gift to such a one!—offered him the remainder of his beer. It was all he had to give!" These extracts are quoted from an article in the *Quiver* for June, by Mr. F. M. Holmes. The incident is good to illustrate "in a striking manner, the chief object and aim of the work of the Church Army," which is further spoken of as "a working people's mission to working people." "Its agents engage in house-to-house visitation, but work in the streets is the greater point. In fact, 'chumming up'—as Mr. Carlile calls it—in the streets is intended to be the principal feature of the work. But its methods are very elastic. It never enters a parish without the invitation of the vicar, and the officer who is sent in response is under the vicar. Should the latter desire the big drum to be beaten, it is thumped vigorously; should quieter measures be desired, they are adopted. In short, the Church Army is in each parish what the vicar desires it to be."

The Church Army "was founded in 1882 by the Rev. W. Carlile, who has since remained with it, and is, we suspect, its real superintendent, with a committee. He was a curate at St. Mary Abbot's, Kensington, and was wont to go out to the High-Street, opposite the railway station, and endeavored to develop the power of some grooms and butlers to speak instead of himself. He found the audience listened even more attentively to their own fellows than to him. That set him thinking, and the Church Army grew out of it. He left the parish where he had been curate, and set to work at Westminster to train workingmen evangelists. At first the organization, if such it could then be called, had no home. There was a good deal of failure; but some success

rewarded its founder, who toiled on with perseverance. The principal helper at the commencement was Mr. Edward Clifford, who visited Father Damien at the leper island of Molokai, and he has been treasurer right through. The movement was not much opposed, however, until a real change was wrought in several members of a gang of thieves. Then opposition began. One of the leaders of the gang endeavored once, in the open air, to win back an old companion. Mr. Carlile stepped in between them, and the thief struck him on the head and body, and when he fell to the ground, kicked him on the head. The clergyman was raised and taken into a house, while his assailant was marched off to prison. He was sentenced to six months in jail. Yet in this case again, beneath the sad surface of the man's character and life, there must have been something good, for one of his chums was heard by Mr. Edward Clifford to say—'If he gets three stretchers' (years) 'I shall get a brick and break some head, and work alongside.' There must have been something good, we say, in the man to have inspired such affection, and in his companion also that such feeling should be aroused. In jail the prisoner wrote to Mr. Carlile, apologizing for his assault, and signing himself 'Your loving friend.' When he was released he entered the Army, and the last Mr. Carlile heard of him was that he was engaged in mission work in Chicago. Mr. Carlile cannot say that any change in the man was due to the efforts of the Church Army. It is quite likely, he thinks, that the man became disgusted with and ashamed of himself."

Its efforts appear to have been crowned with success. It has over 12,000 members or soldiers, the majority of whom are rescued drunkards, thieves, gamblers, and others of bad character, who have been reached in the streets. About 170 officers or evangelists and 35 mission nurses, are engaged besides the staff, and it is calculated that about 40,000 outdoor, and 50,000 indoor, meetings are held yearly, while 400,000 visits are paid annually, with Bible-reading or prayer. The Bishop of Liverpool has said of the Army that it "has succeeded in reaching the lowest stratum." The income received at headquarters is something over £4500, and the amount received locally, mostly in the pence of working people, is over £13,000. It is also estimated that the honorary work in connection with headquarters amounts to £1000 yearly.

The method of training these workingmen and workingwomen evangelists is described,

and the remarkable testimony of the Bishop of Bedford is quoted—"that he regards it as having 'settled forever' the question, 'How the masses are to be reached;'" and the article concludes: "Much of the progress the movement has made during the seven years is no doubt largely due to the comparative sobriety and elasticity of its methods—sobriety and elasticity, however, which apparently are never permitted to interfere with the central principle that it is a working-people's mission to working-people."

It is perhaps worth the while of Nonconformists to notice that such an organization has grown up within the borders of the tied and bound State Church, which, in this movement at least, seems to recognize the value of elasticity of methods and the utilization of the cornet and the big drum.

THE PREACHER'S ROOM.

From *The Christian Evangelist* (Disciple), St. Louis, July 3, 1890.

THE following from one of our exchanges brings vividly to mind some sad recollections in the experience of the Associate of the *Christian Evangelist*. We shall always remember that cold, sleety night in December, when we rode three miles on horseback through rain and sleet without umbrella, with a warm friend. We finally reached the house. My clothing on the outside were icy, the inner garments damp, my feet and head were cold and my body chilly. We entered the house, the fires were almost out and all had retired. But there was a nice preacher's room. Although there had been no fire that winter in the room everything was nice for the coming of the preacher. It was now ten o'clock, too late to make a fire and so my good friend turned down the bed at once; everything was perfectly neat and clean. Even the sheets were starched. Yes; and they were soon like two sheets of ice. A poor preacher suffered that night. He was on the sick list for two weeks. He had slept in the preacher's room. Beware of preacher's rooms. Loving hearts prepare them, but they have death in them sometimes. But read the following clipping:

"It ain't ev'rybody I'd put to sleep in this room," said old Mrs. Jinks to the fastidious and extremely nervous young minister who was spending the night at B—, at her house. "This room is full of sacred associations to me," she went on; "my first husband died in that bed, with his head on

these very pillars, and poor Mr. Jinks died settin' right in that corner. Sometimes when I come into the room in the dark, I think I see him settin' there still. My own father died laying right on that lounge under the winder. Poor pa! He was a Speeritualist, and he allus said he'd appear in this room after he died, and sometimes I am foolish enough to look for him. If you should see anything of him to-night, you'd better not tell me; for it'd be a sign to me that there was something in Speeritualism, and I'd hate to think that. My son by my first man fell dead of heart disease right where you stand. He was a doctor, and there's two whole skeletons in that closet that belonged to him; and half a dozen skulls in that lower drawer. Well, good-night, and pleasant dreams."

A SKETCH OF MY LIFE.

BY FRANZ DELITZSCH.

From *The British Weekly*, London, July 4, 1890.

Published in 1883, in the "Norwegian Missionary Journal."

I WAS born in Leipzig on February 23d, 1813, and on March 7th I was baptized there in the Church of St. Nicholas. My father, who belonged to Leipzig, kept at that time, and during my boyhood, a sort of old curiosity shop. He had a very small income, and my childhood was passed in narrow circumstances. My father died on April 9th, 1836, at the age of fifty-four.

My benefactor from my early days was a Jew named Hirsch Levy; he lived near us, and was a bookseller. But for him I could never have made progress with my studies. I went first to a boys' school, and afterward to the free public school of the town, where at that time Plato was director, and Dolz sub-director: there I became a thoroughgoing rationalist. I felt a drawing toward God, but the person of Jesus was veiled for me in deepest gloom. I went to the University to study philosophy and philology, and in my search after truth, I buried myself in the writings of the great German philosophers, and was specially attracted by Fichte.

But one of my fellow-students, named Schütz, who had found and loved the Saviour, labored unceasingly for my conversion. I resisted long, but at this very day I could show the place (in one of the streets of Leipzig) where a ray from heaven brought me

into the same position in which Thomas was when he cried, "My Lord and my God!" From that time I became a theologian. I associated with students who had been awakened by the grace of God, and there were Christian circles in Leipzig in which I moved as a friend. The years 1832—1834, my last three years at the University, were the most beautiful of my life; they were the springtime of my spiritual life, the days of my first love.

I also had intercourse with the Jewish missionaries Goldberg and Becker, who visited the fairs in Leipzig and labored there. These two men taught me to love the nation to which the Saviour belonged, and to pray that it might be converted by the Christ whom it betrayed. Now that I am called "the celebrated Hebraist," it sounds almost comical for me to say that the missionary Becker gave me my first instruction in the Rabbinical writings, and yet it was so. I had learned some Hebrew at the Gymnasium, and this language became my favorite study, but my acquaintance with the Rabbinical writings began when the missionary Becker read with me the tract "Or le'ethereb" (Light at Evening-time).

I tried to have some influence on my benefactor Hirsch. My confession to him bore late, but mature fruit; on May 10th, 1848, my beloved benefactor was baptized, and two years later he passed away in peace.

For seven years I gave public instruction to a meeting gathered at the house of a believing friend: some of the members are still alive. Thank God, they are still firm in the faith, and when we meet we confess that our anchor still rests on the old foundation. While on the one hand I was occupied with these practical duties, on the other I was devoted to Hebraic and Old Testament studies. These led me to the school of Rosenmüller, and brought me the acquaintance of Fleischer and of my dear friend Paul Caspari. His object and mine were the same; and, although we differed very widely, still we loved each other; we were intimate friends, and now that I see my friend among the representatives of the Norwegian Church and the Norwegian mission, I praise the gracious leadings of God.

So far I have said nothing about my mother; she was the daughter of the town musician in a little place between Leipzig and Halle. When she became a widow, and was left alone in the world, she started a little shop for the sale of antiquities, and after I had become a professor my mother was still carrying on her trade in old books. The contrast grieved me very much, but she

wished to be independent, and one could not blame her. She was a noble woman. By those who knew her she was loved and honored. She had had little joy in this world, and when, on December 7th, 1857, she breathed her last in my arms, she was glad to be able to die. I am not the only one that from time to time visits her grave. She was a steadfast bearer of the cross, and to her the words in Luke vii. 47 may be applied.

I have often been asked to give some account of my life, but I have never been so communicative on the subject as I am now to my Norwegian brethren. My later life and work may be described in a few words. In the year 1842 I published in Leipzig my work on the Prophet Habakkuk. My book on the Communion arose from the public instruction which I gave; and in my youthful enthusiasm for Jewish literature I wrote my book on "The History of the Post-Biblical Poetry of the Jews." In the year 1846 I became a professor at Rostock, in 1850 at Erlangen, and in 1867 at Leipzig, where I hope to remain for the rest of my life. In Erlangen, at the request of the Jewish Missionary Society of Bavaria, I started in 1863 the Jewish Missionary paper, *Saat auf Hoffnung*. My Hebrew New Testament, which appeared in 1877, is now in its fifth edition. It was pre-eminently the self-sacrificing spirit of my Norwegian brethren which made the publication of this work possible.

I became acquainted with my wife through my religious instructions. Her mother and her brother accepted Christ. On April 27th, 1845, we were betrothed. Four children were the offspring of our union. Johann, the eldest, died on February 3d, 1876, as a licensed professor of theology, just as he had completed a treatise on the symbolism of Oehler. He is buried in the Protestant cemetery at Genoa. On January 17th, 1872, his brother Ernst had passed away: he had taken part as an army surgeon in the Franco-German War from its opening to its close. Not till long after peace was concluded was he at liberty to return to us. After being in feeble health for some time he succumbed to acute pneumonia. His grave is in Leipzig. My youngest sons are still alive. The elder, Hermann, holds a position in the German "Credit Bank," and the younger, Friedrich (born September 3d, 1850), is licensed as a professor of Assyriology, and is at present (1883) working in the British Museum in London, where he is carrying on the preliminary studies necessary for the publication of an Assyrio-Babylonish lexicon.

On February 23d I completed my seventieth year. Although I hate all ovations, I was fêted more than I can tell you. Many blessings, too, were lavished on me, especially from missionary societies outside Germany, and these sounded sweetly in my ears—as sweetly as the cradle-song to the child when it is about to sleep.

THE CATHOLIC APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

BY W. W. ANDREWS, MINISTER.

From *The Independent*, New York, June 26, 1890.

IN your issue of June 5th, you speak of the extinction of the Sandemanians as an organized body, and after briefly sketching their history, and describing their peculiarities, you say, "One other kindred denomination, called the Catholic Apostolic Church, yet holds a dying existence in congregations in America, founded by Edward Irving, the friend of Coleridge, Chalmers and Carlyle, and the most brilliant preacher of his day."

From your words, it might be inferred that the congregations in America, forming a part of the "Catholic Apostolic Church," were founded by Edward Irving; that in them alone this body has now an existence; and that they are about to become extinct.

I beg permission as a minister in this communion, and one acquainted with the movement almost from the beginning, to state in few words the principal facts regarding its origin, and its present position.

It began in the revival of the supernatural gifts of the Holy Ghost in Scotland, in 1830, in members of the Presbyterian Church; and in London, in the following year, in members of the Anglican Communion. It was not in the congregation of Mr. Irving that these gifts first appeared, though when he became convinced that they were of God, he defended them with his great and peculiar powers of eloquence and argument, and gave liberty for their exercise in his own church. But he was never the founder of any ecclesiastical organization. When these supernatural manifestations burst forth, deeply agitating the religious world, he was simply a Presbyterian minister in charge of a congregation in Regent Square, London, and he fulfilled no other ministry till after his deposition for alleged heresy as to the Human Nature of Christ, by the Scotch Presbytery of Ayr, of which he was a member.

But before this, an important step had been taken, by which the whole character of the movement was defined. Toward the close of 1832, after many Christian people of all ranks and all professions had become satisfied that the Holy Ghost was speaking again in tongues and prophesying, it pleased God to revive the Apostolic office, the first and highest in the primitive Church, but which had long been suspended in its exercise. One had already been called to this office by the voice of the Spirit (as in the case of Barnabas and Saul at Antioch), when Mr. Irving was deposed. This act, unjust as it was, was recognized as within the range of the constitutional powers of the Presbytery, and he was directed by the Apostle, whom he received as divinely called, to abstain from the administration of sacraments till he should be re-ordained, which was done a very few days after.

Mr. Irving, therefore, so far from being a founder of churches, and the head of a new ecclesiastical organization, was under the authority of the Presbyterian Church, till he was cast out of its communion, and then came under the spiritual rule of one whom he recognized as clothed with apostolic authority. From this time till his death, which took place in December, 1834, he was no more than the chief pastor of the church to which he had ministered as a Presbyterian clergyman, and which had followed him when he was driven from the stately walls and towers of Regent Square, because he would not restrain the utterances of the Holy Ghost.

There was never a more groundless charge than this making of Edward Irving to be the leader of a new sect. The two chief features of this spiritual movement are the revival of Apostleship and Prophecy; the latter being prior in time. But Mr. Irving was neither a prophet nor an apostle. He laid claim to no supernatural gift, wonderful as his spiritual endowments were; nor was he called to the apostolic office. As a preacher, an evangelist, his powers were of the mightiest; but he organized no party, he formulated no creed, he instituted no forms of worship. The majestic church system, which has grown up within the last half century, has not been of his framing. He bore a powerful witness to many great truths pertaining to the Incarnation, the Kingdom of Christ, and the work of the Holy Ghost; but the organizing of a new religious community was no work of his.

Nor are these churches "holding a dying existence." in America or Europe. They were never so numerous as to-day. The

movement has extended into most of the Protestant, and some of the Roman Catholic, countries of Europe and into Russia, besides the congregations among the English-speaking people of America, and in Australia. But their increase has certainly been slow; and they form at this day one of the smallest bodies of the Christian Church. Their relation to the whole company of Christ's flock is expressed (as we believe) by the symbol of the sheaf of *first-fruits*, which was numerically small as compared with the *harvest*, but in which the first full ripening of the grain took place. The work of preparation for the coming of Christ begins in a small company, where it can most easily and effectually be carried on; and afterward He delivers the innumerable multitude of the faithful who stand in white robes, and with palms in their hands (Rev. vii), singing the song of victory before the throne of God.

It is this plainly Scriptural distinction between first-fruits and harvest, which shows how this movement can be at once circumscribed in its activities, and Catholic in its spirit and aims. We look upon ourselves not as *the* Church, but as a small part of the one flock of Christ to *all* of whom the name "Catholic Apostolic" belongs equally with ourselves. We have constructed no new creed, but have remained content with the three great creeds of Christendom—the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian. We have not cut ourselves loose from the past, in the worship of the Church, but have preserved and formed into a harmonious system all that is purest and most truly Catholic in all the Rituals of Christendom—Greek, Roman, and Protestant; we cherish the one hope of the early Church, the coming and kingdom of Christ, and look for no regeneration of human society before it; we claim liberty for the Holy Ghost to manifest Himself in gifts and the powers of the world to come, according as He will; we look upon Christianity as having for its present mission the sanctifying of all the relationships of human life and the foreshadowing of the glory of the kingdom, though the curse still remains on man and the earth; and we sternly resist the spirit of unbelief which rejects the mysteries of Revelation, and the lawless spirit which despises and defies authority.

The movement is one which presents the strongest claims to the attention of the whole Christian Church; for it gathers into itself the excellences of every part, and presents a miniature model of what Christ would have His Church to be, in the fulness of its faith, in the brightness of the heavenly hope,

in the comprehensiveness and beauty of its worship, in the completeness of its structure, and in the order and harmony of its workings.

It is a work for the time of the end, as was John the Baptist's. We do not expect it to continue for generations. It is no rival sect struggling for a foothold side by side with other sects, but the rising up in the midst of all of a living witness for unity and holiness, and the manifested power of the Holy Ghost; no alien and hostile body, but a living part instinct with the Spirit, and obedient to the law, of the whole, and furnished anew with the long-lost ministries which the common welfare imperatively demands.

WETHERSFIELD, CONN.

THE SHORT-CUT TO THE MINISTRY.

BY A "SHORT-CUT" MAN.

From *The Watchman* (Baptist), Boston, June 26, 1890.

THERE has been of late earnest discussion of a matter vital to the Baptist Christian ministry—a discussion calculated to stimulate men to the most thorough preparation for the work of preaching. Rochester Theological Seminary has decided not to receive pupils unable to pursue the Greek or Hebrew course. Other theological schools of our denomination furnish the "English Course," but strongly urge that the students be prepared to take the full course, for the sake of proficiency in the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures. There is no danger that too much learning will render a man insane in his ministerial work. The training afforded by competent teachers in college or in theological seminary, the acquired resources of science and history and the languages, equip a person none too well for preaching. The Christian ministry is worthy of the finest attainments, and demands them. Lemuel Haynes, at one time hearing a man boldly assert that ministers were more useful without classical or theological education, silenced him by the sharp question, "How much ignorance do you think is necessary to constitute a successful preacher?"

But it is a prominent fact in our denominational history—it seems a decree of Providence—that earnest and capable "short-cut" men (what a convenient term!) have been assigned responsible labor in the ministry, and have done their work well. They would gladly have taken the full course, but because of sufficient reasons, this was im-

possible. Yet their call to the ministry seemed imperative, God giving them no peace day or night until the pledge was sealed. Four proofs are offered that a man is ordained of the Lord to the ministry: 1. That he wants to preach; 2. That he can preach; 3. That the people like to hear him preach; 4. That he is successful in his work. There are many of the "short-cut" men who fulfil these conditions. They are good English scholars, and some of them understand other languages. They have been lawyers or teachers, or writers for newspapers. Their intellectual discipline has been thorough. They proclaim the truths of the Bible systematically, clearly and forcibly. They are determined to do the best work possible, that God may be honored, the spiritual interests of men advanced, and that the "long-cut" graduates need not blush because of their incompetency.

About one in four or five of our Baptist pastors has not taken the full collegiate and theological course. Yet in this class are found men deeply pious and some of signal ability. What if our State Legislature could and should pass a law that all non-graduates shall leave the ministry? It would be a decree worse than death to us who are all absorbed in our holy work. But would it not prove a very bad policy, because that apparently God has not ordered it so? He hath chosen, both in the past and present, to put side by side the finest scholar and the one of more limited education. And these two work harmoniously in all spiritual, intellectual and loving relations for the upbuilding of Christ's kingdom. Education alone will not fit a man for the ministry. Other qualities of soul and disposition are needed, and are often found to a marked degree in the one whose scholarship is comparatively inferior. But as one of the "short-cut" class, I bear cheerful testimony to the almost unfailing courtesy and help and encouragement received from the full graduates. They are patient concerning our faults, bestow all the honors on us that we deserve, and rejoice in our solid advancement. They measure us according to what *we are* and what *we accomplish*, and not chiefly by our educational advantages. We have no right to find fault with such honest testing.

But the "short-cut" man must possess untiring ambition. He must not expect to be coddled like an infant. He has his own destiny to hew out by patient and continuous strokes. He must prove himself, in the noblest sense, a digger. The fact that he has not taken the full course should goad

him year by year to the severest mental labor and acquisition. If he is strong and persevering, he may attain almost anything in his profession in theology or science or history. Such works are to be had giving the best thought in the clearest English. It will be his own fault if he goes limping. If he is *lazy*, we say, Stay out of the ministry; we have too many of that sort now. We do not want the man in our ranks who is supremely satisfied to be "a bolt of nothing shot at nothing."

Perhaps the writer will be pardoned if he outlines somewhat the course of study that he has pursued. He abhors, as every faithful student must, mere book cramming. He has compared author with author, has sought to analyze and synthesize thought, and to test all religious teaching by Scripture statement. He has followed Hodge, Dwight and Augustus H. Strong in Systematic Theology; Horne's "Introduction to the Bible;" Dean Stanley, Edersheim and Schaff in Church History; Farrar, Geikie, Andrews, Weiss and Edersheim on the Life of Christ; Geology by Dana and Le Conte; Astronomy by Newcomb; and the Ocean and Atmosphere by Reclus. Good commentaries, reliable histories, works of poetry and of fiction are familiar companions in his daily work. He has carefully read Bushnell and Newman Smythe and Charles Briggs, that he might know all their truth and heresy. He has sought in the midst of theological conflict to form a sufficient reason for his own faith, and out of the clashing of ideas to bring forth thoughts and principles loyal to God's Word. His library, volume by volume, has been made a part of himself. How dear to his soul are the patient books that submit to any usage, and never find fault, but cheerfully afford facts from all ages and lands! New books are constantly added to this store. These personal references are not intended as boasting—God forbid!—but to encourage others to do as well or better. The writer lashes himself because he has not accomplished greater things.

The "short-cut" man who knows but little at the beginning of his ministry, and is satisfied with such mental narrowness, deserves the contempt of the Church and of the world. It should be our pride and ambition to keep abreast of the times. There is nothing to hinder our doing this. We live in a peculiarly favored age. Good books seem as plenty as leaves on the trees, and scholarly men are ever ready to encourage and help. Persistent study will master all the facts that we need. If our growth does

not keep pace with the progress of the years, there is great personal fault. The non-graduate who sulks, keeping aloof from his best friends, the graduates, and who fills his life with sloth, will be served much the same as the drones in the hive. He deserves such treatment. It is fortunate that he never tried to go through college and theological seminary, for he would have known about as little at the close as at the beginning of his course, and have visited sorrow and mortification on the faithful professors. But if he is ambitious and consecrated, he will find strong helpers on all sides. The world demands preaching fresh, vigorous and practical. Sermons must contain something more than pious exhortations, amens and lamentations. We lose our audience except we furnish, Sunday by Sunday, sturdy thoughts as substantial mental and spiritual food. Can we "short-cut" men answer the requirements of the Gospel ministry of to-day? If not, we are in the wrong place, and should have the grace to resign our position. Paul's exhortation should always stimulate us: "Study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth." The Head of the Church demands of His ministers a course long and thorough. Year by year their education is to progress. The "short-cut" men will be all we make ourselves, and no more. We shall be given as large places as we can fill, and no larger. The scales will tell our exact weight. Do we complain of and fight against such a law? We shall only bruise ourselves against the pitiless wall of fate. If we want higher honors, let us prove worthy of them by increased moral, spiritual and intellectual greatness.

THE END OF SANDEMANIANISM.

From *The Examiner* (Baptist), New York, June 12, 1890.

To the average man, well-informed about most things, the name Sandemanian is quite as likely to suggest some new variety of insect as a religious sect. Most Americans have never met a person of this persuasion. The body originated among the Presbyterians of Scotland about 1728, at a time whose separatist tendencies are well illustrated by the tale of one to whose kirk nobody belonged but himself and his brother Sandy, and he "had doots o' Sandy's soundness." Combined with this crankiness of personal belief was a rabid intolerance of all who did not agree in the smallest details with the

particular system set forth; and as each "crank's" belief changed about as rapidly as the moon, the result was something bewildering. John Glas was the founder of the sect, and he began with opposition to an established church as unscriptural. His son-in-law, Robert Sandeman, was an abler and also a more erratic man. He became the leader of the sect, and in this country and in England it has always been called by his name.

The distinguishing theological feature of the sect was taught by Sandeman. It is that the faith of the New Testament is mere belief, an intellectual assent to the teaching of the apostles and Scripture. On this "faith" men are to be baptized. This principle was adopted by Alexander Campbell, and though some Disciples do not accept it as a full and satisfactory definition of faith, many Disciple preachers proclaim it in all of Sandeman's boldness. In this way the doctrine has been widely spread, but the Sandemanians themselves have never made much progress. This is largely due to certain peculiarities in their polity and practice. They professed to be very scrupulous in exactly following the New Testament order in all things, yet they practised aspersion. Their devotion to the original order was shown in celebrating the Lord's Supper every Lord's day; in holding a "love-feast" on Sundays between services; in practising foot-washing as a religious rite; in abstaining from blood and things strangled; and in practising a sort of communism like that of Acts 2:44, 45.

For some years there has been but one church of this faith and order in the United States. Robert Sandeman came to this country in 1764, and first founded a church at Danbury, Conn. Other congregations founded by him and others have passed away, but this one has continued until now. But four women remain, the youngest of whom is sixty years of age, and the property is to be sold and the church formally dissolved. It is rather an ignominious end of what might have been under other circumstances a great religious movement.

The chief hindrances to the growth of Sandemanianism were its crankiness and its inconsistency. Its doctrine of faith—though, as we believe, profoundly erroneous—was no obstacle to progress, and was, indeed, favorable to rapid growth, as it dispensed with all need of moral conversion. Its principle of faithfulness to the New Testament was also a popular principle, as well as a true one. This principle was, however, carried out in an obviously inconsistent

and freaky way. A sect that is so careful to follow Christ's example as to make foot-washing a religious ordinance, while yet it refuses to be buried with Christ in baptism, commits suicide at the outset. To tithe mint, anise, and cumin, and yet to neglect the weightier matters of the law may make a good Pharisee, superbly conscious of his own righteousness, but it does not deceive a shrewd world. A cause so weighted runs a losing race, and the day of its absolute failure may be postponed, but cannot be avoided.

EVERLASTING PUNISHMENT.

From *The Congregationalist*, Boston, June 12, 1890.

WE do not propose to enter upon a theological controversy with the Boston *Transcript*, for the same reason which led Plato to decline arguing with one who had not the temper of a philosopher, but was only a partisan—"for the partisan when he is engaged in a dispute cares nothing about the rights of the question, but is anxious only to convince his hearers of his own assertions." That journal insists that "a very large proportion of the members" of the Orthodox churches, as a matter of fact, do not accept the doctrine of "everlasting" future punishment, and accuses those churches of "dishonesty" in retaining the statement of it in their creeds. In support of this flagrant charge it adduces two proofs, viz.: (1) that "many of the most reliable, well-informed and well-known members of Orthodox churches do not tell the truth" if it be not so; and (2) that "one of the most distinguished pastors of one of the largest Orthodox Congregationalist churches of this city said, some time since, 'We have got to give up our eternal punishment.'"

It would strike some minds as being a little hasty to accuse five thousand Christian churches, and as many ministers, of absolute "dishonesty," on the judgment of a dozen or two persons—more or fewer—whose assurances have been given to this editor, with the added impression of a single minister, who does not, it seems, assert that the doctrine has already passed out of the general belief, but only that "we have got to give it up;" but the kind of religious "liberality" which is regnant in the *Transcript* office is quite equal to any such little *non sequitur* as that.

As we said, we do not intend to argue the question, but merely to state, as fairly and as frankly as we can, what we understand the facts to be, and leave the subject there.

We understand it to be true, in the first place, that the Orthodox churches no longer interpret that imagery, through which the Scripture sets forth the condition of the finally impenitent, with that literalness which once was common to the whole Christian world. They hold it to be spiritually rather than materially suggestive—the literal fire and worm standing for some painful condition of the soul. Had the *Transcript* taken the trouble carefully to read that article written by Dr. Phelps, over which it persistently howls, it would have discovered that his contention for more frequent recurrence in the modern pulpit to the imagery of the Scriptures with regard to the future and final effects of sin, is not in favor of the idea that those awful threats are to come upon the lost soul in their literal sense, but only that it is fair to think there must be wrapped up in their tremendous word-painting some psychical dangers of which our modern thought risks too little regard.

And, in the second place, we understand it to be true that the Orthodox churches have felt the effect, with other Evangelical bodies, of that drift of the public mind away from what used to be known distinctively as “doctrinal,” toward what it has been more common to call “practical,” preaching. It is true that the doctrine of eternal punishment is not as often as formerly distinctively taught as a doctrine. But it is equally true that the existence of God, inspiration, the Trinity, the divinity of Christ, sin and its exceeding sinfulness, the atonement, regeneration, justification, sanctification, the perseverance of the saints, the glory of heaven, and many other of the vitalest and sublimest truths of our theology, are not now taught lecture-wise as they formerly were. But this is not because they do not enter into our current religious belief and life as really as they used to do; but because it is the preference of our day to reach all such subjects from their executive rather than their theoretic side; and to comprehend, illustrate and emphasize them rather in their relation to the living and working of Christian principles as exemplified in the life of Christ, than after a mere theoretical and purely theological fashion.

As thus explained we do most sincerely believe that the great body of the Orthodox churches and ministry continue firmly to hold substantially to the theology of our fathers as to the eternal issues of our earthly life. As directly involved through their relation to the National Council, their faith on this subject is stated thus: “the final judgment, the issues of which are eternal

life and everlasting punishment.” As indirectly worded through the Creed Commission of that Council, it is: “in a final judgment, the issues of which are everlasting punishment and everlasting life.”

Orthodox believers receive the Bible as a revelation from God, and meekly accept its teachings as their only safe guide into the unknown. To them Scripture says that the future punishment of the finally impenitent will be without end. As to this they do not fight against God. They do not pretend to understand its mysteries. They are not careful to justify it to human unreason. But, meekly accepting what to them is the divine voice, they try so to live that the question will never become, in their experience, a practical one; and so to purify and hallow human society that for all men such questions—like the beams of the morning star—may melt away into the light of heaven.

THE PROGRESS OF THE NEGRO.*

BY REV. ATTICUS G. HAYGOOD, D.D.,
BISHOP OF THE SOUTHERN METHODIST
EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

From *The Christian Register* (Unitarian), Boston, June 19,
1890.

1. THE colored population is believed to be about seven millions. The great mass is made up of pure-blood negroes. Those who think that all negroes are black mistake the case: the larger part are brown people. The hair more than the skin determines the race status of these wonderful people. It is absolutely settled that the tendencies against miscegenation increase in both races. Fewer mulattoes are born each year. The moral tone of the negroes does improve: the white man recoils from amalgamation more than in former days, and law teaches all. If one should look only for the bad, he can find facts enough to satisfy him that my views are all wrong and my hopes all delusive.

2. The negro race in the South makes progress upward. The barbarous moral debasement of many of them may be admitted without weakening the statement that there is a real uplift. At least two millions of them can read. The American people have too much faith in education to put a light estimate upon such facts. Moreover, not less than one million of these people are now at school. There are more than sixteen thousand common schools for negro youth

* A communication read at the Lake Mohonk Conference for the Negro, June 5, 1890.

in the Southern States, supported out of the public money for elementary education. These schools are taught by negro teachers with hardly an exception, the teachers having been taught mostly in the higher institutions maintained by Northern benevolence, largely in normal schools aided by the State governments. These are not ideal schools; but they are as good as the conditions of the case allow, and they steadily grow better. Many of them are better than many schools for white children, because their teachers are, many of them, better trained than many white teachers are trained.

In law the negro children share equally with white children: in fact, the negro children receive more and more benefit from the public school systems in the South. Much of whatever inequality there may be grows out of the condition of the colored people themselves. It is not strange that a race so circumstanced fails to secure the best results from their schools. The negroes are as determined to teach their public schools as Southern white people are not to teach them. Indeed, the negroes show so marked a desire to control the colleges built for their benefit that their best friends are anxious lest the impatience of the very people they labor for should mar their best-planned efforts to help them. One proof that elementary education among the negroes grows better is this: those who apply for admission into the higher schools come better prepared each year. This should be so; for the teachers of the primary schools each year show a larger number who have received training in the higher schools. And the higher schools with improving material do better work, year by year. One most important and cheering proof of the gradual betterment of the negro population I have found in my long-continued studies of the subject: the children of parents who had training a decade or two ago begin on a higher plane. Of this there can be no doubt.

3. The present educational movement in the Southern States is toward longer terms for the public schools for both races. For nearly ten years the white people, who pay nearly all the taxes, have been contented to divide the school moneys according to population, without respect to race or previous conditions. Not every white man was content with this, but it was the universally accepted law in the case. At this time, while there is no concerted movement to change the method of distribution, there is an unmistakable tendency that way. As to the causes leading this way I may be mistaken,

but I believe that I state it correctly: (1) this tendency manifested itself coincidentally with the talk of Congressional action as to overseeing elections; (2) during the last two years particularly some prominent negro leaders—editors and politicians—have been extremely unwise in their public utterances. It is true that the relations of the two races in the South are more strained than for years past.

4. A great work has been attempted, and great results have been achieved. In carrying on the higher schools, Northern benevolence has expended about sixteen millions of dollars, and hundreds of good men and women have expended themselves. This benevolence has been magnificent, this personal consecration sublime. In carrying on the public schools and in aiding normal schools, the Southern States have expended considerably over forty millions. This is a most creditable showing. Considering the conditions that followed the war and the poverty of the Southern people for the twenty years following the war, it is extraordinary.

No poor and illiterate people ever received so much help during twenty-five years, as no such people ever made such progress before during the same length of time. Not a few worthy people seem so impatient to have done with this work that they cannot be grateful for the great results that have been achieved. As to the best method of helping them, experienced people gravely question whether direct aid—as money given without any conditions—is not more hurtful than beneficial. The money that most aids them is money earned. The approved method now is to give aid for work actually done. This plan secures them the money, and develops self-respect and tends toward self-support.

5. The essential goodness of industrial training in connection with the ordinary school training is now universally admitted by experienced and practical people. In the schools aided by the Slater Fund during the school year 1889-90, as many as ten thousand young people were taught in books and in some branch of useful industries. This sort of training is vital now. Mere book-schooling with poor and illiterate people breeds wants faster than it develops ability to provide for them: the outcome is misery. Tool-craft helps to realize the aspirations that book-learning inspires.

6. The dangers grow out of the facts. Many white people North are unduly impatient; many white people South are unduly anxious; many colored people do not sufficiently realize how much has been done for

them and achieved by them to be patient with conditions that cannot be changed at once, or to be happy in the hopes that are born of gratitude to the God who has led them.

MINISTERS' SALARIES.

From *The Christian Intelligencer* (Reformed Dutch), New York, June 18, 1890.

"A CONSTANT READER" writes to the *Intelligencer*, prompted by the recent editorial on "The Ministry and Well-to-Do Families," asking, "Can you tell me what is the average salary of our city ministers, and what is the usual amount given by the majority of fairly well-to-do churches to acceptable and useful pastors?" Our correspondent also had listened a few days before "to pretty strong assertions in regard to the high salaries paid city ministers and the consequent inducements to enter the ministry from worldly motives." The brief letter also suggests that these large salaries are "perhaps what a man of equal ability might earn in a profession—for argument's sake, let us admit more."

The range of ministers' salaries in this city is wide, being from \$3500 to \$17,000 and a house, the latter being the equivalent of about \$20,000 a year. But the large sums are paid to a decided minority of the city pastors. The majority probably do not average above an annual income of about \$6000. Out of this must be paid for house rent from \$2000 to \$2500. Names cannot be mentioned, but the preachers receiving the large salaries, if they had devoted themselves to the law, would probably earn from \$40,000 to \$50,000 a year. In the medical profession their fees would not fall short probably of from \$25,000 to \$30,000. They are men not only of eminent mental ability and acuteness, but also are endowed with superior judgment and executive ability. Besides, in the professions, as they grow old, their incomes would continue; but in the ministry they frequently decline. At threescore and ten the legal opinion of a learned lawyer is often cheap at any price. It is not so with a pastor, in public opinion.

In Brooklyn and neighboring cities the salaries of pastors are much below those paid in New York, and would probably average about \$4000, with a much greater probability of a large decline in old age.

The average salary of a pastor in our own Church, outside of the cities, is about \$800 and a parsonage. If well-to-do churches only are taken into the reckoning the aver-

age would be somewhere between \$1200 to \$1500 a year. And the general average in our Church is rather higher than that in other denominations.

It does not seem to us that many men are induced by "worldly motives" to enter the ministry. Our experience does not warrant that conclusion. Our knowledge of the men has formed the conviction that they serve as pastors with considerable self-sacrifice, and elected their profession through a sincere desire to serve the Lord and Redeemer and to minister to the welfare of men.

PARAGRAPHIC.

REV. DR. TWITCHELL, of Hartford, Conn., on taking the chair to preside at an after-supper speech-making, recently, said: "On receiving the invitation, I asked my better half why she supposed I was called to this position, and she replied, 'Why, to get rid of you, I presume, and do be short.' This method is a very good one to try, but it doesn't always work, for one of my brother pastors in Hartford once told me in a ministers' meeting how much he suffered from an old brother who always made lengthy remarks. Undertaking to head him off, on one occasion, he said: 'Brother, will you please lead in prayer?' The brother arose, and said sadly: 'I was intending to make a few remarks; but perhaps I can throw them into the form of a prayer,' and he proceeded to do so."—*Christian Herald, Detroit.*

It is related of Pope Clement XIV. that, when he ascended the papal chair, the ambassadors of the several States represented at his court waited on him with their congratulations. When they were introduced and bowed, he returned the compliment by bowing also, on which the master of the ceremonies told his highness that he should not have returned their salute. "Oh, I beg your pardon," said the good pontiff; "I have not been Pope long enough to forget good manners."—*Christian Register, Boston.*

WHEN Lord Ellenborough was Lord Chief Justice, a laborer was once brought into court as a witness. When he came up to be sworn his lordship said to him: "Really, witness, when you have to appear before the court it is your bounden duty to be more clean and decent in your appearance." "Upon my life," said the witness, "if your lordship comes to that, I'm thinking I'm every bit as well dressed as your lordship." "What do you mean, sir?" asked his lordship, angrily. "Why, faith," said the laborer, "you come here in your working clothes, and I come in mine."—*Presbyterian Journal, Philadelphia.*

THE Persian author, Saadi, tells a story of three sages—a Greek, an Indian, and a Persian—who, in the presence of the Persian monarch, debated this question: Of all evils incident to humanity, which is the greatest? The Grecian declared, "Old age oppressed with poverty;" the Indian answered, "Pain with impatience;" while the Persian, bowing low, made answer, "The greatest evil, oh king, that I can conceive is the couch of death without one good deed of life to light the darksome way!"

IX.

AGNOSTICISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

BY PROFESSOR THOMAS H. HUXLEY.

(Continued from the July number, p. 247.)

supposed by the reader to be intended for a true version of what Herod said. In the "Antiquities," written some seventeen years later, the same writer gives another report, also in the first person, of Herod's speech on the same occasion. This second oration is twice as long as the first, and though the general tenor of the two speeches is pretty much the same, there is hardly any verbal identity, and a good deal of matter is introduced into the one which is absent from the other. Now Josephus prides himself on his accuracy; people whose fathers might have heard Herod's oration were his contemporaries; and yet his historical sense is so curiously undeveloped, that he can, quite innocently, perpetuate an obvious literary fabrication; for one of the two accounts must be incorrect. Now, if I am asked whether I believe that Herod made some particular statement on this occasion; whether, for example, he uttered the pious aphorism, "Where God is, there is both multitude and courage," which is given in the "Antiquities," but not in the "Wars," I am compelled to say I do not know. One of the two reports must be erroneous, possibly both are: at any rate, I can not tell how much of either is true. And, if some fervent admirer of the Idumean should build up a theory of Herod's piety upon Josephus's evidence that he propounded the aphorism, is it a "mere evasion" to say, in reply, that the evidence that he did utter it is worthless?

It appears again that, adopting the tactics of Conachar when brought face to face with Hal o' the Wynd, I have been trying to get my simple-minded adversary to follow me on a wildgoose chase through the early history of Christianity, in the hope of escaping impending defeat on the main issue. But I may be permitted to point out that there is an alternative hypothesis which equally fits the facts; and that, after all, there may have been method in the madness of my supposed panic.

For suppose it to be established that Gentile Christianity was a totally different thing from the Nazarenism of Jesus and his immediate disciples; suppose it to be demonstrable that, as early as the sixth decade of our era at least, there were violent divergencies of opinion among the followers of

Jesus; suppose it to be hardly doubtful that the Gospels and the Acts took their present shapes under the influence of these divergencies; suppose that their authors, and those through whose hands they passed, had notions of historical veracity not more eccentric than those which Josephus occasionally displays—surely the chances that the Gospels are altogether trustworthy records of the teachings of Jesus become very slender. And as the whole of the case of the other side is based on the supposition that they are accurate records (especially of speeches, about which ancient historians are so curiously loose), I really do venture to submit that this part of my argument bears very seriously on the main issue; and, as ratiocination, is sound to the core.

Again, when I passed by the topic of the speeches of Jesus on the cross, it appears that I could have had no other motive than the dictates of my native evasiveness. An ecclesiastical dignitary may have respectable reasons for declining a fencing-match "in sight of Gethsemane and Calvary"; but an ecclesiastical "infidel"! Never. It is obviously impossible that, in the belief that "the greater includes the less," I, having declared the Gospel evidence in general, as to the sayings of Jesus, to be of questionable value, thought it needless to select, for illustration of my views, those particular instances which were likely to be most offensive to persons of another way of thinking. But any supposition that may have been entertained that the old familiar tones of the ecclesiastical war-drum will tempt me to engage in such needless discussion had better be renounced. I shall do nothing of the kind. Let it suffice that I ask my readers to turn to the twenty-third chapter of Luke (revised version), verse thirty-four, and he will find in the margin

Some ancient authorities omit: And Jesus said, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

So that, even as late as the fourth century, there were ancient authorities, indeed some of the most ancient and weightiest, who either did not know of this utterance, so often quoted as characteristic of Jesus, or did not believe it had been uttered.

Many years ago, I received an anonymous letter, which abused me heartily for my want of moral courage in not speaking out. I thought that one of the oddest charges an anonymous letter-writer could bring. But I am not sure that the plentiful sowing of the pages of the article with which I am dealing with accusations of evasion, may not seem odder to those who consider that the main

strength of the answers with which I have been favored (in this review and elsewhere) is devoted not to anything in the text of my first paper, but to a note which occurs at page 171.* In this I say :

Dr. Wace tells us : " It may be asked how far we can rely on the accounts we possess of our Lord's teaching on these subjects." And he seems to think the question appropriately answered by the assertion that it " ought to be regarded as settled by M. Renan's practical surrender of the adverse case."

I requested Dr. Wace to point out the passages of M. Renan's works, in which, as he affirms, this " practical surrender" (not merely as to the age and authorship of the Gospels, be it observed, but as to their historical value) is made, and he has been so good as to do so. Now let us consider the parts of Dr. Wace's citation from Renan which are relevant to the issue :

The author of this Gospel [Luke] is certainly the same as the author of the Acts of the Apostles. Now the author of the Acts seems to be a companion of St. Paul—a character which accords completely with St. Luke. I know that more than one objection may be opposed to this reasoning ; but one thing, at all events, is beyond doubt, namely, that the author of the third Gospel and of the Acts is a man who belonged to the second apostolic generation ; and this suffices for our purpose.

'This is a curious " practical surrender of the adverse case." M. Renan thinks that there is no doubt that the author of the third Gospel is the author of the Acts—a conclusion in which I suppose critics generally agree. He goes on to remark that this person *seems* to be a companion of St. Paul, and adds that Luke was a companion of St. Paul. Then, somewhat needlessly, M. Renan points out that there is more than one objection to jumping, from such data as these, to the conclusion that " Luke" is the writer of the third Gospel. And, finally, M. Renan is content to reduce that which is " beyond doubt" to the fact that the author of the two books is a man of the second apostolic generation. Well, it seems to me that I could agree with all that M. Renan considers " beyond doubt" here, without surrendering anything, either " practically" or theoretically.

Dr. Wace (" Nineteenth Century," March, p. 363)† states that he derives the above citation from the preface of the fifteenth edition of the " Vie de Jésus." My copy of " Les Evangiles," dated 1877, contains a list of Renan's " Œuvres Complètes," at the head of which I find " Vie de Jésus," 15^e édition. It is, therefore, a

later work than the edition of the " Vie de Jésus" which Dr. Wace quotes. Now " Les Evangiles," as its name implies, treats fully of the questions respecting the date and authorship of the Gospels ; and any one who desired, not merely to use M. Renan's expressions for controversial purposes, but to give a fair account of his views in their full significance, would, I think, refer to the later source.

If this course had been taken, Dr. Wace might have found some as decided expressions of opinion in favor of Luke's authorship of the third Gospel as he has discovered in " The Apostles." I mention this circumstance because I desire to point out that, taking even the strongest of Renan's statements, I am still at a loss to see how it justifies that large-sounding phrase " practical surrender of the adverse case." For, on p. 438 of " Les Evangiles," Renan speaks of the way in which Luke's " excellent intentions" have led him to torture history in the Acts ; he declares Luke to be the founder of that " eternal fiction which is called ecclesiastical history" ; and, on the preceding page, he talks of the " myth" of the Ascension—with its *mise en scène voulue*. At p. 435, I find " Luc, ou l'auteur quel qu'il soit du troisième Evangile" [Luke, or whoever may be the author of the third Gospel] ; at p. 280, the accounts of the Passion, the death and the resurrection of Jesus are said to be " peu historiques" [little historical] ; at p. 283, " La valeur historique du troisième Evangile est sûrement moindre que celles des deux premiers" [the historical value of the third Gospel is surely less than that of the first two].

A Pyrrhic sort of victory for orthodoxy this " surrender"! And, all the while, the scientific student of theology knows that the more reason there may be to believe that Luke was the companion of Paul, the more doubtful becomes his credibility, if he really wrote the Acts. For, in that case, he could not fail to have been acquainted with Paul's account of the Jerusalem conference, and he must have consciously misrepresented it. We may next turn to the essential part of Dr. Wace's citation (" Nineteenth Century," p. 365)* touching the first Gospel :

St. Matthew evidently deserves peculiar confidence for the discourses. Here are " the oracles"—the very notes taken while the memory of the instruction of Jesus was living and definite.

M. Renan here expresses the very general opinion as to the existence of a collection of "logia," having a different origin from the

* Page 17.

† Page 77.

* Page 80.

text in which they are imbedded, in Matthew. "Notes" are somewhat suggestive of a shorthand writer, but the suggestion is unintentional, for M. Renan assumes that these "notes" were taken, not at the time of the delivery of the "logia," but subsequently, while (as he assumes) the memory of them was living and definite; so that, in this very citation, M. Renan leaves open the question of the general historical value of the first Gospel, while it is obvious that the accuracy of "notes," taken, not at the time of delivery, but from memory, is a matter about which more than one opinion may be fairly held. Moreover, Renan expressly calls attention to the difficulty of distinguishing the authentic "logia" from later additions of the same kind ("Les Evangiles," p. 201). The fact is, there is no contradiction here to that opinion about the first Gospel which is expressed in "Les Evangiles" (p. 175).

The text of the so-called Matthew supposes the pre-existence of that of Mark, and does little more than complete it. He completes it in two fashions—first, by the insertion of those long discourses which gave their chief value to the Hebrew Gospels; then by adding traditions of a more modern formation, results of successive developments of the legend, and to which the Christian consciousness already attached infinite value.

M. Renan goes on to suggest that besides "Mark," "pseudo-Matthew" used an Aramaic version of the Gospel originally set forth in that dialect. Finally, as to the second Gospel ("Nineteenth Century," p. 365):*

He [Mark] is full of minute observations, proceeding, beyond doubt, from an eye-witness. There is nothing to conflict with the supposition that this eye-witness . . . was the apostle Peter himself, as Papias has it.

Let us consider this citation also by the light of "Les Evangiles":

This work, although composed after the death of Peter, was, in a sense, the work of Peter; it represents the way in which Peter was accustomed to relate the life of Jesus (p. 116).

M. Renan goes on to say that, as an historical document, the Gospel of Mark has a great superiority (p. 116), but Mark has a motive for omitting the discourses; and he attaches a "puerile importance" to miracles (p. 117). The Gospel of Mark is less a legend than a biography written with credulity (p. 118). It would be rash to say that Mark has not been interpolated and retouched (p. 120).

If any one thinks that I have not been warranted in drawing a sharp distinction between "scientific theologians" and "counsel for creeds"; or that my warning against the too ready acceptance of certain declarations as to the state of biblical criticism was needless; or that my anxiety as to the sense of the word "practical" was superfluous, let him compare the statement that M. Renan has made a "practical surrender of the adverse case" with the facts just set forth. For what is the adverse case? The question, as Dr. Wace puts it, is, "It may be asked how far can we rely on the accounts we possess of our Lord's teaching on these subjects." It will be obvious that M. Renan's statements amount to an adverse answer—to a "practical" denial that any great reliance can be placed on these accounts. He does not believe that Matthew, the apostle, wrote the first Gospel; he does not profess to know who is responsible for the collection of "logia," or how many of them are authentic; though he calls the second Gospel the most historical, he points out that it is written with credulity, and may have been interpolated and retouched; and as to the author "quel qu'il soit" of the third Gospel, who is to "rely on the accounts" of a writer who deserves the cavalier treatment which "Luke" meets with at M. Renan's hands?

I repeat what I have already more than once said, that the question of the age and the authorship of the Gospels has not, in my judgment, the importance which is so commonly assigned to it; for the simple reason that the reports, even of eye-witnesses, would not suffice to justify belief in a large and essential part of their contents; on the contrary, these reports would discredit the witnesses. The Gadarene miracle, for example, is so extremely improbable, that the fact of its being reported by three, even independent, authorities could not justify belief in it unless we had the clearest evidence as to their capacity as observers and as interpreters of their observations. But it is evident that the three authorities are not independent; that they have simply adopted a legend, of which there were two versions; and instead of their proving its truth, it suggests their superstitious credulity; so that, if "Matthew," "Mark," and "Luke" are really responsible for the Gospels, it is not the better for the Gadarene story, but the worse for them.

A wonderful amount of controversial capital has been made out of my assertion in the note to which I have referred, as an *obiter dictum* of no consequence to my argument,

that, if Renan's work * were non-extant, the main results of biblical criticism as set forth in the works of Strauss, Baur, Reuss, and Volkmar, for example, would not be sensibly affected. I thought I had explained it satisfactorily already, but it seems that my explanation has only exhibited still more of my native perversity, so I ask for one more chance.

In the course of the historical development of any branch of science, what is universally observed is this : that the men who make epochs and are the real architects of the fabric of exact knowledge are those who introduce fruitful ideas or methods. As a rule, the man who does this pushes his idea or his method too far ; or, if he does not, his school is sure to do so, and those who follow have to reduce his work to its proper value, and assign it its place in the whole. Not unfrequently they, in their turn, overdo the critical process, and, in trying to eliminate errors, throw away truth.

Thus, as I said, Linnæus, Buffon, Cuvier, Lamarck, really "set forth the results" of a developing science, although they often heartily contradict one another. Notwithstanding this circumstance, modern classificatory method and nomenclature have largely grown out of the results of the work of Linnæus ; the modern conception of biology, as a science, and of its relation to climatology, geography, and geology, are as largely rooted in the results of the labors of Buffon ; comparative anatomy and paleontology owe a vast debt to Cuvier's results ; while invertebrate zoölogy and the revival of the idea of evolution are intimately dependent on the results of the work of Lamarck. In other words, the main results of biology up to the early years of this century are to be found in, or spring out of, the works of these men.

So, if I mistake not, Strauss, if he did not originate the idea of taking the mythopœic faculty into account in the development of the Gospel narratives ; and, though he may have exaggerated the influence of that faculty, obliged scientific theology hereafter to take that element into serious consideration ; so Baur, in giving prominence to the cardinal fact of the divergence of the Nazarene and Pauline tendencies in the primitive Church ; so Reuss, in setting a marvelous example of the cool and dispassionate application of the principles of scientific criticism over the whole field of Scripture ; so Volkmar, in his clear and forcible statement of the Nazarene limita-

tions of Jesus, contributed results of permanent value in scientific theology. I took these names as they occurred to me. Undoubtedly, I might have advantageously added to them ; perhaps I might have made a better selection. But it really is absurd to try to make out that I did not know that these writers widely disagree ; and I believe that no scientific theologian will deny that, in principle, what I have said is perfectly correct. Ecclesiastical advocates, of course, can not be expected to take this view of the matter. To them, these mere seekers after truth, in so far as their results are unfavorable to the creed the clerics have to support, are more or less "infidels," or favorers of "infidelity" ; and the only thing they care to see, or probably can see, is the fact that, in a great many matters, the truth-seekers differ from one another, and therefore can easily be exhibited to the public, as if they did nothing else ; as if any one who referred to them, as having each and all contributed his share to the results of theological science, was merely showing his ignorance ; and, as if a charge of inconsistency could be based on the fact that he himself often disagrees with what they say. I have never lent a shadow of foundation to the assumption that I am a follower of either Strauss, or Baur, or Reuss, or Volkmar, or Renan ; my debt to these eminent men—so far my superiors in theological knowledge—is, indeed, great ; yet it is not for their opinions, but for those I have been able to form for myself, by their help.

In "Agnosticism : a Rejoinder" (p. 96) I have referred to the difficulties under which those professors of the science of theology, whose tenure of their posts depends on the results of their investigations, must labor ; and, in a note, I add :

Imagine that all our chairs of astronomy had been founded in the fourteenth century, and that their incumbents were bound to sign Ptolemaic articles. In that case, with every respect for the efforts of persons thus hampered to attain and expound the truth, I think men of common sense would go elsewhere to learn astronomy.

I did not write this paragraph without a knowledge that its sense would be open to the kind of perversion which it has suffered ; but, if that was clear, the necessity for the statement was still clearer. It is my deliberate opinion : I reiterate it ; and I say that, in my judgment, it is extremely inexpedient that any subject which calls itself a science should be intrusted to teachers who are debarred from freely following out scientific methods to their legitimate conclusions, whatever those conclusions may be. If I

* I trust it may not be supposed that I undervalue M. Renan's labors or intended to speak slightly of them.

may borrow a phrase paraded at the Church Congress, I think it "ought to be unpleasant" for any man of science to find himself in the position of such a teacher.

Human nature is not altered by seating it in a professorial chair, even of theology. I have very little doubt that if, in the year 1859, the tenure of my office had depended upon my adherence to the doctrines of Cuvier, the objections to those set forth in the "Origin of Species" would have had a halo of gravity about them that, being free to teach what I pleased, I failed to discover. And, in making that statement, it does not appear to me that I am confessing that I should have been debarred by "selfish interests" from making candid inquiry, or that I should have been biased by "sordid motives." I hope that even such a fragment of moral sense as may remain in an ecclesiastical "infidel" might have got me through the difficulty; but it would be unworthy to deny or disguise the fact that a very serious difficulty must have been created for me by the nature of my tenure. And let it be observed that the temptation, in my case, would have been far slighter than in that of a professor of theology; whatever biological doctrine I had repudiated, nobody I cared for would have thought the worse of me for so doing. No scientific journals would have howled me down, as the religious newspapers howled down my too honest friend, the late Bishop of Natal; nor would my colleagues in the Royal Society have turned their backs upon me, as his episcopal colleagues boycotted him.

I say these facts are obvious, and that it is wholesome and needful that they should be stated. It is in the interests of theology, if it be a science, and it is in the interests of those teachers of theology who desire to be something better than counsel for creeds, that it should be taken to heart. The seeker after theological truth, and that only, will no more suppose that I have insulted him than the prisoner who works in fetters will try to pick a quarrel with me, if I suggest that he would get on better if the fetters were knocked off; unless, indeed, as it is said does happen in the course of long captivities, that the victim at length ceases to feel the weight of his chains or even takes to hugging them, as if they were honorable ornaments.*

* To-day's "Times" contains a report of a remarkable speech by Prince Bismarck, in which he tells the Reichstag that he has long given up investing in foreign stock, lest so doing should mislead his judgment in his transactions with foreign states. Does this declaration prove that the chancellor accuses himself of being "sordid" and "selfish," or does it not rather show that, even in dealing with himself, he remains the man of realities?

X.

"COWARDLY AGNOSTICISM."*

A WORD WITH PROF. HUXLEY.

BY W. H. MALLOCK.

I WELCOME the discussion which, in this review and elsewhere, has been lately revived in earnest as to the issue between positive science and theology. I especially welcome Prof. Huxley's recent contribution to it, to which presently I propose to refer in detail. In that contribution—an article with the title "Agnosticism," which appeared a month or two since in "The Nineteenth Century"—I shall point out things which will probably startle the public, the author himself included, in case he cares to attend to them.

Before going further, however, let me ask and answer this question. If Prof. Huxley should tell us that he does not believe in God, why should we think the statement, as coming from him, worthy of an attention which we certainly should not give it if made by a person less distinguished than himself? The answer to this question is as follows: We should think Prof. Huxley's statement worth considering for two reasons: Firstly, he speaks as a man pre-eminently well acquainted with certain classes of facts. Secondly, he speaks as a man eminent, if not pre-eminent, for the vigor and honesty with which he has faced these facts, and drawn certain conclusions from them. Accordingly, when he sums up for us the main conclusions of science, he speaks not in his own name, but in the name of the physical universe, as modern science has thus far apprehended it; and similarly, when from these conclusions he reasons about religion, the bulk of the arguments which he advances against theology are in no way peculiar to himself, or gain any of their strength from his reputation; they are virtually the arguments of the whole non-Christian world. He may possibly have, on some points, views peculiar to himself. He may also have certain peculiar ways of stating them. But it requires no great critical acuteness, it requires only ordinary fairness, to separate those of his utterances which represent facts generally accepted, and arguments generally influential, from those which represent only some peculiarity of his own. Now, all this is true not of Prof. Huxley only. With various qualifica-

* "The Bishop of Peterborough departed so far from his customary courtesy and self-respect as to speak of 'cowardly agnosticism.'"—PROF. HUXLEY, p. 15.

tions, it is equally true of writers with whom Prof. Huxley is apparently in constant antagonism, and who also exhibit constant antagonism among themselves. I am at this moment thinking of two especially—Mr. Frederic Harrison and Mr. Herbert Spencer. Mr. Harrison, in his capacity of religious teacher, is constantly attacking both Mr. Spencer and Prof. Huxley. Prof. Huxley repays Mr. Harrison's blows with interest; and there are certain questions of a religious and practical character as to which he and Mr. Spencer would be hardly on better terms. But, underneath the several questions they quarrel about, there is a solid substructure of conclusions, methods, and arguments, as to which they all agree—agree in the most absolute way. What this agreement consists in, and what practical bearing, if taken by itself, it must have on our views of life, I shall now try to explain in a brief and unquestionable summary; and in that summary, what the reader will have before him is not the private opinion of these eminent men, but ascertained facts with regard to man and the universe; and the conclusions which, if we have nothing else to assist us, are necessarily drawn from those facts by the necessary operations of the mind. The mention of names, however, has this signal convenience—it will keep the reader convinced that I am not speaking at random, and will supply him with standards by which he can easily test the accuracy and the sufficiency of my assertions.

The case, then, of science, or modern thought, against theological religion or theism, and the Christian religion in particular, substantially is as follows:

In the first place, it is now an established fact that the physical universe, whether it ever had a beginning or no, is, at all events, of an antiquity beyond what the imagination can realize; and also that, whether or no it is limited, its extent is so vast as to be equally unimaginable. Science may not pronounce it absolutely to be either eternal or infinite, but science does say this, that so far as our faculties can carry us they reveal to us no hint of either limit, end, or beginning.

It is further established that the stuff out of which the universe is made is the same everywhere and follows the same laws—whether at Clapham Common or in the farthest system of stars—and that this has always been so to the remotest of the penetrable abysses of time. It is established yet further that the universe in its present condition has evolved itself out of simpler con-

ditions, solely in virtue of the qualities which still inhere in its elements, and make to-day what it is, just as they have made all yesterdays.

Lastly, in this physical universe science has included man—not alone his body, but his life and his mind also. Every operation of thought, every fact of consciousness, it has shown to be associated in a constant and definite way with the presence and with certain conditions of certain particles of matter, which are shown, in their turn, to be in their last analysis absolutely similar to the matter of gases, plants, or minerals. The demonstration has every appearance of being morally complete. The interval between mud and mind, seemingly so impassable, has been traversed by a series of closely consecutive steps. Mind, which was once thought to have descended into matter, is shown forming itself, and slowly emerging out of it. From forms of life so low that naturalists can hardly decide whether it is right to class them as plants or animals, up to the life that is manifested in saints, heroes, or philosophers, there is no break to be detected in the long process of development. There is no step in the process where science finds any excuse for postulating or even suspecting the presence of any new factor.

And the same holds good of the lowest forms of life, and what Prof. Huxley calls “the common matter of the universe.” It is true that experimentalists have been thus far unable to observe the generation of the former out of the latter, but this failure may be accounted for in many ways, and does nothing to weaken the overwhelming evidence of analogy that such generation really does take place or has taken place at some earlier period. “Carbonic acid, water, and ammonia,” says Prof. Huxley, “certainly possess no properties but those of ordinary matter. . . . But when they are brought together under certain conditions they give rise to protoplasm; and this protoplasm exhibits the phenomenon of life. I see no breach in this series of steps in molecular complication, and I am unable to understand why the language which is applicable to any one form of the series may not be used to any of the others.”*

So much, then, for what modern science teaches us as to the universe and the evolution of man. We will presently consider the ways, sufficiently obvious as they are, in which this seems to conflict with the ideas of all theism and theology. But first for a

* “Lay Sermons, Addresses, and Reviews,” pp. 114, 117.

moment let us turn to what it teaches us also with regard to the history and the special claims of Christianity. Approaching Christianity on the side of its alleged history, it establishes the three following points: It shows us first that this alleged history, with the substantial truth of which Christianity stands or falls, contains a number of statements which are demonstrably at variance with fact; secondly, that it contains others which, though very probably true, are entirely misinterpreted through the ignorance of the writers who recorded them; and, thirdly, that though the rest may not be demonstrably false, yet those among them most essential to the Christian doctrine are so monstrously improbable and so utterly unsupported by evidence that we have no more ground for believing in them than we have in the wolf of Romulus.

Such, briefly stated, are the main conclusions of science in so far as they bear on theology and the theologic conception of humanity. Let us now consider exactly what their bearing is. Prof. Huxley distinctly tells us that the knowledge we have reached as to the nature of things in general does not enable us to deduce from it any absolute denial either of the existence of a personal God or of an immortal soul in man, or even of the possibility and the actual occurrence of miracles. On the contrary, he would believe to-morrow in the miraculous history of Christianity if only there were any evidence sufficiently cogent in its favor; and on the authority of Christianity he would believe in God and in man's immortality. Christianity, however, is the only religion in the world whose claims to a miraculous authority are worthy of serious consideration, and science, as we have seen, considers these claims to be unfounded. What follows is this—whether there be a God or no, and whether he has given us immortal souls or no, science declares bluntly that he has never informed us of either fact; and if there is anything to warrant any belief in either, it can be found only in the study of the natural universe. Accordingly, to the natural universe science goes, and we have just seen what it finds there. Part of what it finds bears specially on the theologic conception of God, and part bears specially on the theologic conception of man. With regard to God, to an intelligent creator and ruler, it finds him on every ground to be a baseless and a superfluous hypothesis. In former conditions of knowledge it admits that this was otherwise—that the hypothesis then was not only natural but necessary; for there were many seeming

mysteries which could not be explained without it. But now the case has been altogether reversed. One after another these mysteries have been analyzed, not entirely, but to this extent at all events, that the hypothesis of an intelligent creator is not only nowhere necessary, but it generally introduces far more difficulties than it solves. Thus, though we can not demonstrate that a creator does not exist, we have no grounds whatever for supposing that he does. With regard to man, what science finds is analogous. According to theology, he is a being specially related to God, and his conduct and his destinies have an importance which dwarfs the sum of material things into insignificance. But science exhibits him in a very different light; it shows that in none of the qualities once thought peculiar to him does he differ essentially from other phenomena of the universe. It shows that just as there are no grounds for supposing the existence of a creator, so there are none for supposing the existence of an immortal human soul; while as for man's importance relative to the rest of the universe, it shows that, not only as an individual, but also as a race, he is less than a bubble of foam is when compared with the whole sea. The few thousand years over which history takes us are as nothing when compared with the ages for which the human race has existed. The whole existence of the human race is as nothing when compared with the existence of the earth; and the earth's history is but a second and the earth but a grain of dust in the vast duration and vast magnitude of the All. Nor is this true of the past only, it is true of the future also. As the individual dies, so also will the race die; nor would a million of additional years add anything to its comparative importance. Just as it emerged out of lifeless matter yesterday, so will it sink again into lifeless matter to-morrow. Or, to put the case more briefly still, it is merely one fugitive manifestation of the same matter and force which, always obedient to the same unchanging laws, manifest themselves equally in a dung-heap, in a pig, and in a planet—matter and force which, so far as our faculties can carry us, have existed and will exist everywhere and forever, and which nowhere, so far as our faculties avail to read them, show any sign, as a whole, of meaning, of design, or of intelligence.

It is possible that Prof. Huxley, or some other scientific authority, may be able to find fault with some of my sentences or my expressions, and to show that they are not professionally or professorially accurate. If

they care for such trifling criticism they are welcome to the enjoyment of it; but I defy any one to show, putting expression aside and paying attention only to the general meaning of what I have stated, that the foregoing account of what science claims to have established is not substantially true, and is not admitted to be so by any contemporary thinker who opposes science to theism, from Mr. Frederic Harrison to Prof. Huxley himself.

And now let us pass on to something which in itself is merely a matter of words, but which will bring what I have said thus far into the circle of contemporary discussion. The men who are mainly responsible for having forced the above views on the world, who have unfolded to us the verities of nature and human history, and have felt constrained by these to abandon their old religious convictions—these men and their followers have by common consent agreed, in this country, to call themselves by the name of agnostics. Now there has been much quarreling of late among these agnostics as to what agnosticism—the thing which unites them—is. It must be obvious, however, to every impartial observer, that the differences between them are little more than verbal, and arise from bad writing rather than from different reasoning. Substantially the meaning of one and all of them is the same. Let us take, for instance, the two who are most ostentatiously opposed to each other, and have lately been exhibiting themselves, in this and other reviews, like two terriers each at the other's throat. I need hardly say that I mean Prof. Huxley and Mr. Harrison.

Some writers, Prof. Huxley says, Mr. Harrison among them, have been speaking of agnosticism as if it was a creed or a faith or a philosophy. Prof. Huxley proclaims himself to be "dazed" and "bewildered" by the statements. Agnosticism, he says, is not any one of these things. It is simply—I will give his definition in his own words—

a method, the essence of which lies in the vigorous application of a single principle. . . . Positively, the principle may be expressed: In matters of the intellect, follow your reason as far as it will take you, without regard to any other consideration. And negatively: In matters of the intellect, do not pretend that conclusions are certain which are not demonstrated or demonstrable. That I take to be the agnostic faith, which if a man keep whole and undefiled, he shall not be ashamed to look the universe in the face, whatever the future may have in store for him.

Now anything worse expressed than this for the purpose of the discussion he is engaged in, or, indeed, for the purpose of con-

veying his own general meaning, it is hardly possible to imagine. Agnosticism, as generally understood, may, from one point of view, be no doubt rightly described as "a method." But is it a method with no results, or with results that are of no interest? If so, there would be hardly a human being idiot enough to waste a thought upon it. The interest resides in its results, and its results solely, and specially in those results that affect our ideas about religion. Accordingly, when the word agnosticism is now used in discussion, the meaning uppermost in the minds of those who use it is not a method, but the results of a method, in their religious bearings; and the method is of interest only in so far as it leads to these. Agnosticism means, therefore, precisely what Prof. Huxley says it does not mean. It means a creed, it means a faith, it means a religious or irreligious philosophy. And this is the meaning attributed to it not only by the world at large, but in reality by Prof. Huxley also quite as much as by anybody. I will not lay too much stress on the fact that, in the passage just quoted, having first fiercely declared agnosticism to be nothing but a method, in the very next sentence he himself speaks of it as a "faith." I will pass on to a passage that is far more unambiguous. It is taken from the same essay. It is as follows:

" 'Agnosticism [says Mr. Harrison] is a stage in the evolution of religion, an entirely negative stage, the point reached by physicists, a purely mental conclusion, with no relation to things social at all.' I am [says Prof. Huxley] quite dazed by this declaration. Are there then any 'conclusions' that are not 'purely mental'? Is there no relation to things social in 'mental conclusions' which affect men's whole conception of life? . . . 'Agnosticism is a stage in the evolution of religion.' If . . . Mr. Harrison, like most people, means by 'religion' theology, then, in my judgment, agnosticism can be said to be a stage in its evolution only as death may be said to be the final stage in the evolution of life."

Let us consider what this means. It means precisely what every one else has all along been saying, that agnosticism is to all intents and purposes a doctrine, a creed, a faith, or a philosophy, the essence of which is the negation of theologic religion. Now the fundamental propositions of theologic religion are these: There is a personal God, who watches over the lives of men; and there is an immortal soul in man, distinct from the flux of matter. Agnosticism, then, expressed in the briefest terms, amounts to two articles—not of belief, but of disbelief. *I do not believe in any God, personal, intelligent, or with a purpose; or, at least, with any purpose that has any concern with man.*

I do not believe in any immortal soul, or in any personality or consciousness surviving the dissolution of the body.

Here I anticipate from many quarters a rebuke, which men of science are very fond of administering. I shall be told that agnostics never say "there is no God," and never say "there is no immortal soul." Prof. Huxley is often particularly vehement on this point. He would have us believe that a dogmatic atheist is, in his view, as foolish as a dogmatic theist; and that an agnostic, true to the etymology of his name, is not a man who denies God, but who has no opinion about him. But this—even if true in some dim and remote sense—is for practical purposes a mere piece of solemn quibbling, and is utterly belied by the very men who use it whenever they raise their voices to speak to the world at large. The agnostics, if they shrink from saying that there is no God, at least tell us that there is nothing to suggest that there is one, and much to suggest that there is not. Surely, if they never spoke more strongly than this, for practical purposes this is an absolute denial. Prof. Huxley, for instance, is utterly unable to demonstrate that an evening edition of the "Times" is not printed in Sirius; but if any action depended on our believing this to be true, he would certainly not hesitate to declare that it was a foolish and fantastic falsehood. Who would think the better of him—who would not think the worse—if in this matter he gravely declared himself to be an agnostic? And precisely the same may be said of him with regard to the existence of God. For all practical purposes he is not in doubt about it. He denies it. I need not, however, content myself with my own reasoning. I find Prof. Huxley himself indorsing every word that I have just uttered. He declares that such questions as are treated of in volumes of divinity "are essentially questions of lunar politics, . . . not worth the attention of men who have work to do in the world": and he cites Hume's advice with regard to such volumes as being "most wise"—"Commit them to the flames, for they can contain nothing but sophistry and illusion." * Quotations of a similar import might be indefinitely multiplied; but it will be enough to add to this the statements quoted already, that agnosticism is to theologic religion what death is to life; and that physiology does but deepen and complete the gloom of the gloomiest motto of paganism—"Debe-mur mortui." If then agnosticism is not an

absolute and dogmatic denial of the fundamental propositions of theology, it differs from an absolute and dogmatic denial in a degree that is so trivial as to be, in the words of Prof. Huxley himself, "not worth the attention of men who have work to do in the world." For all practical purposes and according to the real opinion of Prof. Huxley and Mr. Harrison equally, agnosticism is not doubt, is not suspension of judgment; but it is a denial of what "most people mean by religion"—that is to say, the fundamental propositions of theology, so absolute that Prof. Huxley compares it to their death.

And now let us pass on to the next point in our argument, which I will introduce by quoting Prof. Huxley again. This denial of the fundamental propositions of theology "affects," he says, "men's whole conception of life." Let us consider how. By the Christian world, life was thought to be important owing to its connection with some unseen universe, full of interests and issues which were too great for the mind to grasp at present, but in which, for good or evil, we should each of us one day share, taking our place among the awful things of eternity. But at the touch of the agnostic doctrine this unseen universe bursts like a bubble, melts like an empty dream; and all the meaning which it once imparted to life vanishes from its surface like mists from a field at morning. In every sense but one, which is exclusively physical, man is remorselessly cut adrift from the eternal; and whatever importance or interest anything has for any of us, must be derived altogether from the shifting pains or pleasures which go to make up our momentary span of life, or the life of our race, which in the illimitable history of the All is an incident just as momentary.

Now supposing the importance and interest which life has thus lost can not be replaced in any other way, will life really have suffered any practical change and degradation? To this question our agnostics with one consent say Yes. Prof. Huxley says that if theologic denial leads us to nothing but materialism, "the beauty of a life may be destroyed," and "its energies paralyzed"; * and that no one, not historically blind, "is likely to underrate the importance of the Christian faith as a factor in human history, or to doubt that some substitute genuine enough and worthy enough to replace it will arise." † Mr. Spencer says the same thing with even greater clearness: while, as for

* "Lay Sermons, Addresses, and Reviews," p. 125.

* "Lay Sermons, Addresses, and Reviews," p. 127.

† Page 50.

Mr. Harrison, it is needless to quote from him; for half of what he has written is an amplification of these statements.

It is admitted, then, that life, in some very practical sense, will be ruined if science, having destroyed theologic religion, can not put, or allow to be put, some other religion in place of it. But we must not content ourselves with this general language. Life will be ruined, we say. Let us consider to what extent and how. There is a good deal in life which obviously will not be touched at all—that is to say, a portion of which is called the moral code. Theft, murder, some forms of lying and dishonesty, and some forms of sexual license, are inconsistent with the welfare of any society; and society, in self-defense, would still condemn and prohibit them, even supposing it had no more religion than a tribe of gibbering monkeys. But the moral code thus retained would consist of prohibitions only, and of such prohibitions only as could be enforced by external sanctions. Since, then, this much would survive the loss of religion, let us consider what would be lost along with it. Mr. Spencer, in general terms, has told us plainly enough. What would be lost, he says, is, in the first place, “our ideas of goodness, rectitude, or duty,” or, to use a single word, “morality.” This is no contradiction of what has just been said, for morality is not obedience, enforced or even instinctive, to laws which have an external sanction, but an active co-operation with the spirit of such laws, under pressure of a sanction that resides in our own wills. But not only would morality be lost, or this desire to work actively for the social good; there would be lost also every higher conception of what the social good or of what our own good is; and men would, as Mr. Spencer says, “become chiefly absorbed in the immediate and the relative.”* Prof. Huxley admits in effect precisely the same thing when he says that the tendency of systematic materialism is to “paralyze the energies of life,” and “to destroy its beauty.”

Let us try to put the matter a little more concisely. It is admitted by our agnostics that the most valuable element in our life is our sense of duty, coupled with obedience to its dictates; and this sense of duty derives both its existence and its power over us from religion, and from religion alone. How it derived them from the Christian religion is obvious. The Christian religion prescribed it to us as the voice of God to

the soul, appealing as it were to all our most powerful passions—to our fear, to our hope, and to our love. Hope gave it a meaning to us, and love and fear gave it a sanction. The agnostics have got rid of God and the soul together, with the loves, and fears, and hopes by which the two were connected. The problem before them is to discover some other considerations—that is, some other religion—which shall invest duty with the solemn meaning and authority derivable no longer from these. Our agnostics, as we know, declare themselves fully able to solve it. Mr. Spencer and Mr. Harrison, though the solution of each is different, declare not only that some new religion is ready for us, but that it is a religion higher and more efficacious than the old; while Prof. Huxley, though less prophetic and sanguine, rebukes those “who are alarmed lest man’s moral nature be debased,” and declares that a wise man like Hume would merely “smile at their perplexities.”*

Let us now consider what this new religion is—or rather these new religions, for we are offered more than one. So far as form goes, indeed, we are offered several. They can, however, all of them be resolved into two, resting on two entirely different bases, though sometimes, if not usually, offered to our acceptance in combination. One of these, which is called by some of its literary adherents Positivism or the Religion of Humanity, is based on two propositions with regard to the human race. The first proposition is that it is constantly though slowly improving, and will one day reach a condition thoroughly satisfactory to itself. The second proposition is that this remote consummation can be made so interesting to the present and to all intervening generations that they will strain every nerve to bring it about and hasten it. Thus, though humanity is admitted to be absolutely a fleeting phenomenon in the universe, it is presented relatively as of the utmost moment to the individual; and duty is supplied with a constant meaning by hope, and with a constant motive by sympathy. The basis of the other religion is not only different from this, but opposed to it. Just as this demands that we turn away from the universe, and concentrate our attention upon humanity, so the other demands that we turn away from humanity and concentrate our attention on the universe. Mr. Herbert Spencer calls this the Religion of the Un-

(To be continued.)

* “Since the beginning, religion has had the all-essential office of preventing men from being chiefly absorbed in the relative or the immediate, and of awaking them to a consciousness of something beyond it.”—“First Principles,” p. 100.

* “Lay Sermons,” pp. 123, 124.

GOODLY WORDS.

Readings from the Mystics, selected by C. H. A. BJORRE-GAARD, of the Astor Library.

In order to trace the ascending progression toward absolute unity of consciousness, of which even the most concentrated attention is but a very faint outline, we need not have recourse to probable hypotheses, nor need we proceed theoretically and *a priori*. I find in the "*Castillo interior*" of Saint Theresa a description, step by step, of this progressive concentration of consciousness, which, starting from the ordinary state of diffusion, assumes the form of attention, passes beyond the latter, and by degrees, in a few rare cases, attains to perfect unity of intuition. The observation deserves our fullest confidence. It is a confession made at the behest of the spiritual power, the work of a very delicate mind and a very able observer that well knew how to wield language to express the finest shades of thought.

There exists, says she, a castle built of a solitary diamond of matchless beauty and incomparable purity; to enter and to dwell in that castle is the supreme aim of the mystic. This castle is within us, within our soul; we have not to step out of our selves to penetrate its recesses; though, nevertheless, the road thereto is long and difficult. To reach it, we have to pass through seven stations; we enter the castle through the seven degrees of "prayer." In the preparatory stage we are still immersed in bewildering varieties of impressions and images—occupied with "the life of the world;" or, as I should prefer to translate it, consciousness still follows its usual and normal course.

The first objective point, or stage, is reached through "oral prayer." Which interpreted, means, that praying aloud, articulate speech in other words, produces the first degree of concentration, leading the dispersed consciousness into a single, confined channel.

The second stage is that of "mental prayer," which means that the inwardness of thought increases; internal language is substituted for external language. The work of concentration becomes easier; consciousness, to prevent aberration, no longer requires the material support of articulate or audible words; consciousness is now satisfied with a series of uncertain images unfolding before it.

The "prayer of recollection" (*oraison de recueillement*) marks the third stage. What this means, I must confess, slightly puzzles me. In this state I can only perceive a still higher form of the second period, separated from it by a very subtle shade, and appreciable only to the mystic consciousness.

Up to this point there has been activity, movement, and effort. All our faculties are still in play; now, however, it becomes necessary "no longer to think much, but to love much." In other words, consciousness is about to pass from the discursive form to the intuitive form, from plurality to unity; it tends no longer toward being a radiation around a fixed point, but a single state of enormous intensity. And this transition is not the effect of a capricious, arbitrary will, nor of the mere movement of thought left to itself; it needs the impulsion of a powerful love, the "touch of divine grace"—that is, the unconscious co-operation of the whole being.

The "prayer of quietude" brings us to the fourth station; there "the soul no longer produces, but receives;" this is a state of high contemplation, not exclusively known to religious mystics alone. It is

truth appearing suddenly in its totality, imposing itself as such, without the long, slow process of logical demonstration.

The fifth station, or "prayer of union," is the beginning of ecstasy; but it is unstable. It is "the meeting with the divine betrothed," but without lasting procession. "The flowers have but half opened their calyxes, they have only shed their first perfumes." The fixity of consciousness is not as yet complete, it is still liable to oscillations and deviations; as yet it is unable to maintain itself in this extraordinary, unnatural state.

Finally it attains to ecstasy in the sixth degree, through "the prayer of rapture." The body grows cold; speech and respiration are suspended, the eyes close; the slightest motion may cause the greatest efforts. . . . The senses and faculties remain without. . . . Although usually one does not lose all feeling (consciousness), still "*it has happened to me to be entirely deprived of it*"; this has seldom come to pass, and has lasted but for a short time. Most frequently, feeling is preserved, but one experiences an indefinable sort of agitation, and although one ceases to act outwardly, one does not fail to hear. It is like some confused sound, coming from afar. Still, "*even this manner of hearing ceases when the entrancement is at its highest point*."

What, then, is the seventh and last station that is reached by "the flight of the spirit?" What is there beyond ecstasy? Union with God. This is accomplished "suddenly and violently . . . but with such force that we should strive in vain to resist the impetuous onset." God has now descended into the substance of the soul, and becomes one with it.

TH. RIBOT, *The Psychology of Attention*. Authorized transl. by Open Court Publ. Co., Chicago, 1890.

THE DIVINE DISCIPLINE FOR SANCTIFICATION.

It is sometimes the case that souls, in the experience of God's favor, are perverted by the very gifts which they receive from His hand. They mistake the gift for the Giver, the joy for Him who is the source of their joy. And God then, if He has determined to sanctify that soul, so orders His providences as to render it the subject of both inward and outward sorrow; and in such a degree and in such a manner that He will appear to it to have entirely withdrawn His favors. This is a very trying situation. It is impossible for the soul to live in it for any length of time without the experience of a very high degree of faith. The soul that can stand this test, that can drink the bitterness of this cup, especially when it is offered without any mitigating ingredient, cannot have anything less than an assured faith, a faith which fully purifies the heart and overcomes the world. He who has this confidence in God is necessarily the friend of God, according to the promise, and cannot be separate from Him either in the affections or the will. It is from that moment that the death of nature is experienced, which is nothing else than the cessation of all wrong and inordinate desires and purposes, and entire union with God in everything that He wills. Thus is the declaration of Scripture made true, Whosoever is born of God overcometh the world, and this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith.—Madame Guyon, quoted by Rev. Henry T. Cheever, *Correspondencies of Faith*, London, 1887, pp. 50, 51.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE CREED. By HARVEY GOODWIN, D.D., D.C.L., Lord Bishop of Carlisle, Honorary Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. London, John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1889. 8vo, pp. 408, 14s.

This book is intermediate between a scientific and a popular exposition of the Creed. It is intended neither for professed theologians nor for the uneducated. It has been written chiefly for intelligent and thoughtful persons of a higher range of general culture, who are supposed to have intellectual difficulties concerning the Christian faith. It does not attempt to explain the mysteries of our holy religion or to remove real difficulties which reason may encounter, but simply aims at defining the precise sphere which faith holds. In so doing it at once removes from the domain of faith much that perplexed inquirers or confused believers have earnestly struggled to know or apprehend. The classical work of Pearson on the Creed is constantly referred to, with the greatest reverence, and has, evidently, been a general model to the author. But he contends that, with the lapse of centuries, there must be an adaptation of methods to the changing circumstances, and that weapons, most admirably suited for one age, must be supplanted by those which have to meet new phases of error. Nor is it enough to warn the reader of errorists outside of the Church; he must be protected against the difficulties which arise in his own heart. The Apostles' Creed, as the baptismal confession, is regarded as containing all that should be required for the Christian profession, however important that the acceptance of many doctrines outside of it should be demanded of those who are commissioned to preach the Gospel to others, or that they should even be frequently preached in the pulpit. Such are the doctrines which Bishop Goodwin explicitly enumerates—viz.: "The Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation;" "Original or Birth Sin;" "The Justification of Man, Predestination and Election;" "The Authority of the Church." The sacraments can scarcely be added to this list, from the fact that when the catechumen comes to baptism, the very act shows the importance of this sacrament, while "with regard to the other great sacrament, it may be suggested that it would be time enough to express faith concerning it when the ap-

proach to the Lord's Table should make the question a practical one." The Incarnation is taken as not only the central, but the most fundamental article, and the other articles are viewed in its light. While some regard it "as the crowning truth, toward which the soul must laboriously climb by the help of evidences, of Scripture proof, of the doctrine of inspiration," etc., he prefers to "begin with the Incarnation and to work downward," and, with this assumption, finds all the elements of Christian belief falling into their places, and the whole becoming "consistent and satisfying to the human soul." Thus, in physical science, the treatment usually begins not with the proof for, but with the assumption of the principle of universal gravitation.

This plan the author has very successfully developed into a solid, discriminating, and well-written, but by no means exhaustive—for he makes no such attempt—discussion of the several articles of the Creed. He gives great prominence to his endeavor to trace the three sources from which the articles are derived. At three places—viz., in the Table of Contents, at the head of each chapter, and in a special table on page 21, the three capitals, R, H and F, are employed to indicate these sources, as Reason, History, and Faith. It seems strange to find the source of an article of *faith* referred to as not faith, but reason. The objection, however, is chargeable more to the mode of statement than to what Bishop Goodwin means. This will be seen from his defence of the proposition that the words, "I believe in God" are to be ascribed to Reason. He justifies this by urging that there can be no revelation unless we first recognize a revealer, and that conviction of the existence of God must precede all confidence in what he offers for our faith. This conviction, however, comes ultimately by an exercise of reason, whereby we examine the foundations of such belief communicated to us by tradition. Hence he writes the letter R opposite the article. We, however, object that, after all, such process of reason does not yield faith, but only probability. We thereby may reach, according to the correct discrimination of the author, the *opinion* of, but not *belief* in a God. The remainder of the article he freely concedes to faith. The second article, "and in Jesus Christ, His only Son," is ascribed to History and Faith, and marked H. F. In the discussion which follows he inclines to the opinion that he might have added R., because the Incarnation is "a truth which the intelligence of man may be prepared to wel-

come as reasonable and probable on general grounds." "Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried," is referred exclusively to History. But the limitation is made, that "it needs the element of faith to transform dry facts into something capable of supporting spiritual life." Yet is it not the real meaning of the article, that the *Son of God* suffered and was crucified, dead and buried? And what other province but that of faith do we have here? That Jesus suffered and died is a matter of history; that this Jesus who suffered and died is God's only Son is a matter of faith. So throughout the other articles, reason and history seem to us to be raised to too high a position as co-ordinates of faith, instead of simply giving the basis from which faith ascends.

A distinction is made between shades of belief "from the otiose acceptance of a proposition" "to the apprehension of truth with the tenacity of a life and death struggle." The error of those who imagine that the belief professed by a Christian is that of mathematical certainty is exposed. In a certain sense, we are told that the term "agnostic" belongs to the vocabulary of Christianity rather than of scepticism, as it implies the need of faith as contrasted with complete and absolute knowledge. Bishop Goodwin applies the term *apistic* to those who desire to be known as *agnostics*. There is an interesting excursus concerning the possibility and necessity of certainty concerning matters of religious belief. The author argues that this cannot be attained by any process of reasoning, or as the result of a mere inward feeling, or by resort to Papal Infallibility, or by any Infallibility of the Church in its corporate capacity, or even by Scriptural Infallibility. "The infallibility of the Book [*i. e.*, of the Holy Scriptures] cannot be proved by anything within the book," but the proof must come from without. He finds the only means of assurance in "the religious faculty," called into activity "when Divine truth is put before the soul," and "more or less developed in different individuals according to their gifts" (Luke 10 : 21 ; 1 Cor. 2 : 14, 15).

An earnest plea is made for the exercise of forbearance in controversies with unbelievers, since "unbelief has different causes, different degrees, and even different meanings. It may mean the craving of a logical intellect for clearer proof than it can find ; it may mean a revolt from really untenable views of the Divine nature ; it may mean mere laziness and indifference to solemn subjects, and it may mean rebellion

against moral law." There is no attempt made to enter upon the theistic argument. Its conclusion is assumed, and only the one argument from cause adverted to. The success of Mohammedanism, at its first proclamation, is referred to the fact that it republished the dogma of the Unity of God after the Christian Church had permitted it to fall into obscurity. Too much, we believe, is asserted when the self-limitation of God's Omnipotence is discussed. The possibility of a self-limitation may be admitted. Even its occurrence may be proved. But when we are taught that in the material creation "the laws of geometry must be observed," and "the relations of space are independent of all choice or volition," and that "the Almighty will is limited by those laws," we are unable to follow the author. For what are the laws of geometry but the expression of the Divine will in the ordinary relations of nature? What, then, is to hinder the Framers of Nature from varying from His own order when He so wills? The bishop's argument would lead to a denial of the doctrine of Omnipotence. In accommodating himself to the weakness of those who have difficulties, he encounters other difficulties that are still more serious.

It requires only a reference to a concordance to show that a slip is made when we read that, while before our Lord's departure His disciples usually and familiarly called him Jesus, since then, "none of His most notable disciples have either wished or apparently dared to use" the name, except in connection with His official names, Christ and Lord, or as Son of God. See Acts 2 : 22 ; 4 : 2, 13 ; 5 : 30, 40 ; 6 : 14 ; 7 : 55 ; 8 : 35 ; 9 : 27 ; 10 : 38 ; 13 : 33 ; 17 : 3, 18 ; 26 : 9 ; Rom. 3 : 26 ; 8 : 11 ; 1 Cor. 12 : 3 ; 2 Cor. 4 : 5, 11 ; 11 : 4 ; Eph. 4 : 21, etc. Very interesting and far more correct is the statement that, in the Gospels, the name "Jesus Christ" occurs only thrice—viz., in Matt. 1 : 1 ; Mark 1 : 1, and John 17 : 3. John 1 : 17 has been overlooked. These are only slight blemishes in a very eloquent and forceful discussion of the historical significance of our Lord, as over against the advocates of the mythical theory. So, when discussing the extended description of the Sonship of our Lord, found in the Nicene Creed, the suggestion is made that the representatives of the Church at Nice must have been specially inspired, in order to devise such a precise definition in language so magnificent. And yet of the twenty-four words which it comprises sixteen belong to the older creed of

Eusebius, while five were not adopted at Nice, but were added to its creed at Constantinople in 381 ! The words "of God" in the clause "Son of God," and "very God of very God," are all that are original with the Council of Nice. This digression to the Nicene Creed leads the author to the statement that the Apostles' Creed is the Baptismal Confession, while the Nicene Creed is for those who are to partake of the Lord's Supper. The consideration of this article concludes with an excellent discussion of Gibbon's hypotheses for the rapid propagation of the Christian religion, in which the causes suggested are regarded as auxiliary or secondary causes, utterly inexplicable without a motive power back of them, and this power is found in the person and character of Jesus Christ.

On the third article there is a long discussion of the account of the conception in Luke, and the reasons for silence concerning it in the other Evangelists (except the brief account in Matthew), and in the Apostolic Epistles. This subject brings in also the possibility of the miraculous and the consideration of the uniformity of nature. Phil. 2 : 5-8 is interpreted several times in the book as though it were the Divine nature that was involved in the humiliation. The treatment of the article of the suffering of Christ appeals to the heart as well as the intellect. It shows much spiritual depth and fervor, and suggests that Bishop Goodwin is experienced and skilful in the care of souls. It would have been most natural, he tells us, for the Creed to have stated, after the birth of Christ, what He *did* on earth ; but instead it tells us only that He *suffered*. The acceptance of a suffering Messiah was necessary to become a Christian. What Christ did and taught could be readily learned after admission to the company of believers by baptism. After an examination of how far the doctrine of a suffering Messiah entered into Old Testament prophecy, and was mingled with the expectations of the chosen people, there is an eloquent conclusion concerning the need of such a Saviour. The world is a suffering world, and a suffering Head is in sympathy with it. A mere teacher, a mere exemplar, could never regenerate the world ; for many have neither the wish nor power to follow teaching or example. From the different view of the Cross, before and since the Crucifixion, an argument for the Divine origin of Christianity is derived. The consideration here of the Old Testament doctrine of the Cross introduces a question of Old Testament interpretation, which is, we believe, correctly

stated—viz., that many passages of the Old Testament, while not directly or explicitly teaching a New Testament doctrine, may be found to have such bearing when the doctrine itself is learned in its proper seat. The marvellously dispassionate tone of the records of Christ's death is forcibly shown. Bishop Goodwin has no sympathy with the moral theory of Christ's suffering, but defends its sacrificial and vicarious character. The manner in which Christ foretold His death is considered as a mark of His superhuman character, a contrast being made with the discourses of Socrates in prospect of death. "The Lord regarded His death not in relation to Himself, but in relation to His disciples ; not as a condition of rest, but as the beginning of His real activity ; not as death, in fact, at all, but as life."

In the article of the *Descensus* he classifies and rejects a number of views. It was not a mere virtual descent by transmitting the effects of His passion into regions where lost souls are in keeping. Nor is it that He Himself suffered in Hell ; for the chief pain of Hell is separation from God, and remorse—impossible in the case of the Eternal Son. Nor is it a mere statement of burial, which would be tautology. But it was an act by which He asserted His perfect and continued manhood. The Resurrection is shown to be potentially involved in the idea of the Incarnation. It was in accord with our Lord's predictions and contrary to the expectations of His disciples. Improbable as it might seem, the world soon accepted it as a fact. It produced a great change in the general tone of educated thought with respect to human life. The reason why there are not more and fuller accounts of the Ascension is ascribed to the fact that it is a necessary sequel to the Resurrection. It was not something to be argued about, but "the very foundation upon which their lives were built." Modern critics forget that the Evangelists never attempted to write complete biographies of their Lord. Hence there are other omissions, as, for instance, that of the Lord's Supper, by St. John, that are just as significant. The Session at the Right Hand is interpreted as a figurative description of the completion of Redemption, Christ's continued office and work for humanity, and His Eternal Manhood. There is in the language a necessary anthropomorphism. The discussion of the Final Judgment introduces the proof for conscience and a Moral Governor. Eliminating all anthropomorphism, it is made synonymous with "the regeneration—the rec-

tification of all that is amiss, the complete establishment of the Kingdom of a perfectly righteous God and King." The anticipation of such judgment or regeneration is shown to be almost demanded by the instincts of man. The relation of space and time to God, and the relation of the Gospel of St. John to the Synoptics are also treated in this connection. The Judgment is regarded as not the end of all things, but only as introductory to the new order that is to prevail.

The doctrine of the Holy Ghost is traced, as taught by Christ, almost exclusively in St. John. The Gospels are the history of the ministry of the Son; the Acts the history of the ministry of the Spirit. This leads to a discussion of the Trinity, and the sometimes quoted heathen testimonies for it, especially those of Plato and Seneca. The opinion of Cudworth concerning the former is antagonized; that of Bishop Lightfoot concerning the latter is accepted with some modifications. On the article of the Church, Bishop Goodwin has erred in his grammatical construction of the words. We do not profess belief *in* the Holy Catholic Church, as we do in each person of the Trinity. In the original the words "Holy Catholic Church," "Forgiveness of sins," "Resurrection of the body," etc., are subject accusatives to an infinitive that is understood. "I believe that there is a Holy Catholic Church, forgiveness of sins," etc. There is a slip of another kind, unconsciously betraying a theory of church organization, when he refers to the Apostles "as a recognized nobility, an aristocracy by themselves!" The Church is defined as "the society which the Apostles formed around them, in accordance with the directions which they had received of their Master." The Apostolic work was not principally that of preaching, but that of planting new branches of the Church. The Communion of Saints is taken as the definition of the Church. "When we regard the world, not as we should wish it to be, but as it is, we may fairly make a division between those who call Jesus Lord, and those who do not; this is a clear and distinct line of division; and for certain good and intelligible purposes, those who are on the one side of the line may be said to constitute 'the Holy Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints,' and those who are on the other side, not to constitute any part of that Church." This concession he believes not inconsistent with answering in the negative the questions, "Is, then, one church no better than another? Is it a matter of indifference

whether in England a man is in communion with the ancient historical Church of the land?" The *Te Deum* is shown to bring out in clearest form the conception of the Church, as the Communion of Saints, while the idea of the article in all its fulness is made, "that this society has an undying life, that it has superhuman principles, that it is animated by the Holy Ghost, that it must spread and conquer the earth, that it is bound by spiritual ties to an unseen living society which is in the immediate presence of God."

We cannot appreciate the author's criticism of the translation of 1 John 3 : 4 in the Revised Version. "Sin is lawlessness" is preferable to "sin is the transgression of the law," not for the sole reason that thus one word in English corresponds to one in Greek. The meaning is different. A "transgression" is a positive act, while sin is deeper and more comprehensive than mere "transgression." As the Law is what God has commanded us to be, to do, and to omit doing, sin is the want of conformity with the Law, in state, habit, or disposition, as well as by overt act, or failure to act. It is a beautiful view of Holy Scripture that is here presented, when it is said that what gives unity to the Bible, which is not properly one, but many books, is that the subject-matter of all these books is sin and its forgiveness. "The Bible is the book of the forgiveness of sins." All, however, that the Bible, in all its breadth and depth, has taught concerning the forgiveness of sins, we are here correctly taught, is set forth, epitomized, and concentrated in the service of the Holy Communion.

When a contrast is made between the words of the Apostles' Creed, "the resurrection of the *body*," and the language of the office of Holy Baptism, "Dost thou believe in the resurrection of the *flesh*?" the venerable bishop has forgotten that the original of the Creed reads : *Resurrectionem carnis, Σαρὸς ἀνάστασιν*. The discussion of the resurrection does not seem to us as satisfactory as the most of the chapters in the book. A contrast is made between the Christian doctrine and that, first, of the Egyptians, and then of the Old Testament. The material identity of the resurrection body with that of the present life is denied, with a reference to Matt. 22 : 29, 30, and 1 Cor. 15 : 35-38, as proofs. To resort, as a substitute, to the doctrine of the identity of præ-resurrection and post-resurrection personality seems to be a begging of the question.

The treatment of the final article of

"Eternal Life" dwells upon the identity of the "eternal" and "everlasting;" rises from the consideration of life, even in its lowest forms, to that described in Is. 6 : 1-3 ; Rev. 4 : 2-8 ; grows eloquent in developing a thought of Maurice concerning John 17 : 3, that the knowledge of God and Jesus Christ does not procure, but constitutes eternal life, and explains the omission of any allusion to eternal death in the Creed, by the fact, first, that it is implied in the article concerning the Judgment, and, secondly, that the Creed does not "profess to contain all things which it is right and well that Christians should believe." Eternal life is regarded as the culmination of the Incarnation of the Son of God.

The concluding chapter points to the importance of the English-speaking population in the present state of the world, their dominant influence, and the source of this influence as largely dependent upon the faith which their ancestors at the time of the Reformation professed and maintained. Several of the substitutes proposed for Christianity are successively examined at some length, such as the "Religion of Humanity" as taught by John Stuart Mill, and that of a "Reformed Christianity, adapted to an enlightened age." These are found to have nothing to commend them to the acceptance of the influential races of the world. The Creed has not lost its hold upon the heart and mind of the country, for which interesting statistical proofs are given. As the English language, therefore, must be a principal factor in the world's history, and wherever the English language establishes itself the name of Christ will be proclaimed, and the worship of God established upon the basis of the Apostles' Creed, Bishop Goodwin claims that there is a great future before the English Church, and that, without intending to disparage other agencies, "the most important part has been assigned to that ancient portion of the Church which we describe as the Church of England."

The survey thus made will satisfy our readers that the work, while by no means what the Germans would call "epoch-making," and at places betraying a lack of critical acumen, is one of more than ordinary merit. It is so full of solid argument, and suggestions, derived, evidently, from a wide range of reading, that, while its style is attractive, it should be read slowly and with ample time for thoughtful meditation upon what it offers. A minister or intelligent layman who reads through it once, will

generally endeavor to review its argument throughout a second time. It is a book whose interest grows upon the student as he proceeds.

H. E. JACOBS.

PHILADELPHIA.

PALESTINE IN THE TIME OF CHRIST. By EDMOND STAFFER, D.D., Professor in the Protestant Theological Faculty of Paris. Translated by Annie Harwood Holmden. Third Edition, with Map and Plans. New York : A. C. Armstrong & Son [1890]. Pp. xii., 527 ; post 8vo, \$2.50.

This is the third edition of an excellent work. And this third edition adds greatly to the excellence of the work. For while the second edition was simply a reproduction of the first, this third edition has been subjected to and shows the results of a careful revision. What comes to us as thus revised is one of the best authorities we now have on the Palestine of Christ.

In the Preface to this third edition the author, after acknowledging the friendly criticisms and cordial reception accorded to the former editions of his work, differs from some of his critics in two particulars. The first has reference to the closing chapter of the volume on the Person and Teachings of Jesus ; according to the author, necessary to the completeness of the book ; according to others, not strictly belonging to the work, and in itself incomplete. The author indicates the real difficulty in the fact that the chapter is largely intended to serve as a point of departure between this present work and a forthcoming work on the person and preaching of Christ. Should, then, the chapter in question constitute an appendix to the present work or an introduction to the coming one ? Under the circumstances, perhaps it would be better that it constitute neither : for while in the main the statements made in the chapter must meet with approval, still there are others about which there would be hesitation as to their acceptance, as, *e.g.*, that regarding the slow development in Christ as to His spiritual conception of the Messiahship. However, we are anxious to possess ourselves of the scholarly results of the author's forthcoming work, and of which this present work gives admirable promise.

The other point of difference between the author and some of his critics is in regard to the admission of Philo among the authorities to be consulted upon the subject treated in the present work. The author gives good reason for his non-admission of

Philo as an authority. Still we believe that the evil effect of the Alexandrine Philology was at that time, as well as later, far more prevalent than is generally supposed.

The author divides his work into two principal parts: *The Social Life* and *The Religious Life*. The treatment under these two heads is thorough, complete. It shows large research, excellent judgment, high scholarship. It is, in short, the work of a master hand.

The authorities consulted are good. The Scripture passages cited in proof or illustration are ample and for the most part accurate. In some instances, however, the author has seemed to put too much dependence upon versions as distinguished from the original text. Note may also be taken of a few other places where some minor corrections might be made. "The circle of the earth" in Isa. 40 : 22 was a circular *globe*, not circular *plane*, according to the author. This is substantiated by Job. On the same page (248) we cannot agree with the definition given of *Rakia*, translated "firmament." And in general as to science, we believe the Jew and other Semitic nations had far more cosmical and astronomical knowledge than that with which they are generally credited. We must differ from the author as to the lilies of the field being the red anemones (p. 220). A mistranslation makes *aloes* to be included among the perfumes. There is also a mistranslation of Cant. 1 : 10, as they did not wear the bands mentioned to keep up the hair (p. 194). Another mistranslation occurs as to the same Book (Cant. 8 : 6), for the signet, as a ring, was not worn suspended round the neck (p. 199). Instead of *Al Kenna* (p. 196), it should read *Al Henna*. Dinner, or the principal meal, is not always taken at mid-day, but more frequently in the evening (p. 183). It is an old mistake that people lie on couches during the meal. In some of the countries mentioned on p. 254 leprosy is not becoming more rare, but increasing. The Arab does not so revere the serpent (p. 228) or so ill-treat the dog (p. 224). The *Tan* in Job 30 : 29 can by no possibility be rendered "jackal" (p. 227). We are at a loss to know how the author can say, "We can understand the hesitation (as to admission) that may have been felt about Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs. They had neither religious nor moral worth to recommend them" (p. 364). These are minor inaccuracies. As a whole, the work is of the greatest value and highest authority. As to the subject treated, and both as to com-

prehensiveness of grasp and faithfulness in treatment, no other one work can equal it.

J. G. LANSING.

NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J.

SEVEN YEARS IN CEYLON. Stories of mission life. By MARY and MARGARET W. LEITCH, missionaries of the A. B. C. F. M. With portraits and many illustrations. London: S. W. Patridge & Co., 9 Paternoster Row [1890]. Sq. 8vo, vi., 170. 2s. 6d.

On taking up this book one is much struck by its pictured cover; and on opening it the many handsome illustrations strengthen the favorable first impression. There is a helpful map of Southern and Western India on page 4. As a picture-book it is a success. The letter-press is for the first 89 pp. a reproduction of letters to friends, written, of course, hastily and full of detail, but giving an inside view of mission work. From page 90 to page 128 is miscellaneous matter, such as sketches of pupils, and of the work of Miss Eliza Agnew, whose forty years' service has been so remarkable. From page 129 to the end is a plea for the Jaffna College, to complete whose endowment of £30,000 (£17,000 has been secured) the Leitch sisters have given themselves, and for the Medical Agency. This is the valuable part of the book. The numerous illustrations throughout are independent of the letter-press. Praise should be given to them, and if the authors had recast their book so as to bring them in they would have imparted more instruction.

Their present chief interest, however, is manifestly in the Jaffna College. Of it they say: "The Jaffna College, situated at Batticotta, in North Ceylon, is, as far as we know, the first attempt of a Christian community in a heathen land to establish a college of their own" (p. 129). It originated in a spontaneous effort, made by the native Christians of Jaffna in 1867, and £1700 was raised in Ceylon; £6000 was contributed in America, and the American Board gave land and buildings worth £5000. In 1872 the college was opened. While not denominational it is thoroughly Christian. Its directors are the senior missionaries of the three missions working in Jaffna—namely, the Church of England, the Wesleyan, and the A. B. C. F. M.—the British Government agent of the Northern Province, and representative native Christian gentlemen of the community. The Rev. S. W. Howland, of the Class of 1873 of Union Theological Seminary, New York City, is now president. In the preparatory

school are 167, in the college about 100 students. While a profession of Christianity is not a prerequisite to admission nor a condition of continued instruction, it is to be expected that the strong Christian influences will issue in conversion. Such has been the case. "Of the 326 who have entered its doors, 142 have gone out into the world as professed Christians and communicants; others have professed Christ after leaving the college, and the majority of the nearly 100 students at present in the college are Christians. Many of the graduates of the institution have become pastors, catechists, and teachers, not only in missions in Ceylon, but also in India" (pp. 131-32). The cost of educating a student in the Jaffna College, including food, clothing, books, incidentals, and tuition, does not exceed £10 a year. "The graduates are willing to become pastors, catechists, and evangelists on small salaries, supplied entirely by native churches. Of the 22 native churches in Jaffna, the majority are self-supporting" (p. 141).

The last chapter in the book deals with the proposed Medical Missionary Agency, both for men and women. A country in which "the water in which the feet of a fakir are washed is given to the sick to be drunk as a medicine" (p. 159) is surely in great need of medical relief. One hundred pounds will endow a bed in the hospital.

The causes thus brought to notice in this book merit liberal support. Money may be sent to the Misses M. and M. W. Leitch, care of S. Stanton, Esq., 17 Southampton Row, London, W. C.

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NEW YORK CITY.

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NOTICES OF MAGAZINES AND MINOR BOOKS.

A COLLEGE OF COLLEGES, led by D. L. Moody, and taught by Rev. I. D. Driver, Bishop C. D. Foss, D.D., Professor W. R. Harper, Rev. M. D. Hoge, D.D., Rt. Rev. M. E. Baldwin, Rev. A. J. Gordon, D.D., Rev. A. T. Pierson, D.D., Mr. George C. Needham and others. Session of 1889. Edited by Fred L. Norton. New York and Chicago. F. H. Revell [1890]. pp. 301, 12mo. Cloth, \$1, net.

Those who have not attended any of the sessions at Northfield scarcely understand the enthusiasm of those who have, when they recount their experiences and impressions. To such the reading of the volume before us will be a revelation. Not only the fact that there is scarcely a dull page in the whole book, but the intense interest of parts and the spirit that pervades the whole, give the book a character of its own. One can take it up for a few moments and get instruction or impulse, according to the page to which one opens, or one can read it from end to end with the liveliest interest and a growing understanding of what others may have reported and the cause of their enthusiasm.

A considerable part of the volume is taken up with an account of the work of the College Young Men's Christian Associations. One of the most interesting chapters deals with "The Student Missionary Uprising." Thirty-six pages are devoted to the work in Japan, and a letter from Mr. L. D. Wishard, the well-known College Secretary. The first hundred pages relate largely to the work among our college students, while the rest of the volume is taken up with addresses made at the convention of 1889. The names on the title-page are a sufficient guarantee of the quality of the latter part, while the former will speak for itself.

Under the title, *Many Infallible Proofs*, F. H. Revell has issued a new edition of *The Evidences of Christianity; or, the Written and Living Word of God*, by Arthur T. Pierson, D. D. [pp. 317, paper, 35 cents; cloth, \$1]. The book consists of the following parts: Introductory chapter, "Weighing the Proofs;" and two subdivisions or parts of the discussion—Part I. being divided into "The Prophetic Seal," "The Ruin of Jerusalem," "Miracles," "Scientific Accuracy of the Bible," "Scientific Truth of the Bible," "The Moral Beauty of the Bible," "The Moral Sublimity of God's Word." Part II. contains the following chapters: "Christ in the Old Testament," "The Person of Christ," "The Mystery of the God-Man," "Christ, the Teacher from God," "The Originality of Christ's Teaching," "The Power of Christ's Teaching." The author has indicated the scope and purpose of the book in a "Word Preliminary," in which he has indicated that he here gives others the benefit of the thoughts and proofs which have made clear to his own mind that in the Bible we have the Book of God, and in Christ the Son of God. The contents of the volume are already sufficiently indicated above, and it only remains to say that it is in the author's clear and straightforward style, which many of us have enjoyed in the pulpit.

Another book, or rather booklet, from the same publisher, is Rev. Dr. C. H. Parkhurst's sermon, *The Swiss Guide*, sq. 16mo, pp. 31, gilt top, rough edges. It is one of the sweetest and most inspiring of sermons, and deserves the dainty dress it has received. It will make an excellent gift for Christmas or other anniversary. The parallel between the traveller's relation to his guide and the soul's to its Saviour, is cleverly conceived and beautifully worked out. C. R. GILLET.

HARPER'S for August has an attractive table of contents. For one thing, there is the brief article of Francis Parkman's, which relates an unusual experience. Forty years ago he was for a few days an inmate of the convent of the Passionists at Rome. He was thus able to study the order from the inside. But he did not like the experience; in fact, says that he preferred his later life among the American savages to that among the Roman monks. Another article, which appeals to the religious reader, is on "Street Life in India," which is capably illustrated in an unconventional way. It is another evidence that India must be a very interesting country to visit. Edward Everett Hale, who has lately devoted himself to serious historical study, brings out one of the fruits of it in "The True Story of Magellan and the Pacific."

It has not been possible to give the story so fully till recently. Theodore Child's "Impressions of Berlin" is a lively article. It gives a good picture of the surface life of Berliners. Readers should be reminded that Mr. Child gives only the impressions of a tourist, who has no opportunity to study the people. The famous house of Plantin, at Antwerp, comes up for notice in Miss Octavia Hensel's article. All visitors to the same will remember that the house is now a museum, and one of the most attractive in Europe. The illustrations are good and well chosen. "Port Tarascon" is continued, and there are other articles of interest and value.

THE CENTURY for August has these articles: "The Treasures of the Yosemite" (by John Muir); "The Making of the Pearl" (by Mrs. Harriet Prescott Spofford); "Italian Old Masters" (by W. J. Stillman); "The Perils and Romance of Whaling" (by Gustav Kobbé); "The Emancipation of Joseph Peloubet" (by John Elliott Curran); "The Autobiography of Joseph Jefferson"; "The Forgotten Millions" (by President Charles W. Eliot); "Poems" (by F. D. Sherman); "An Artist's Letters from Japan" (by John La Farge); "They Said" (by Miss Edith M. Thomas); "The Anglomaniacs, III." ("A Provincial Pilgrimage, II." (by Mrs. Harriet W. Preston); "Marian Drurie" (by Bliss Carman); "The Women of the French Salons" (by Mrs. Amelia Gere Mason); "A Song of Growth" (by Charles G. D. Roberts); "A Yankee in Andersonville" (continued, by Dr. T. H. Mann); "Erland Olivia" (continued, by Mrs. Amelia Barr); "Guilielmus Rex" (a poem on Shakspeare, by Thomas Bailey Aldrich). These articles are followed by the three departments—*Topics of the Time*, *Open Letters*, and *Brio-à-Brac*. Of the articles thus enumerated that by President Eliot may be first recommended to thoughtful readers. It is a study of the common American mode of life, as typified by the permanent native population of Mount Desert. It states and demonstrates that in that town \$250 a year suffices to support comfortably a family of 7 or 8 persons. Is it owing to our "protective" tariff that the men there are obliged to wear clothing made of cotton with only little wool in it, and which soon gets shabby? Dr. Mann concludes his thrilling story of his Andersonville imprisonment.

SCRIBNER'S for August contains a welcome article from Mr. Edward Marston, the veteran London publisher, and one of the firm which publishes Stanley's latest volume, "How Stanley Wrote his Book," meaning the book referred to, "In Darkest Africa." It shows that Stanley kept elaborate data in the shape of pocket note-books, and also two volumes of calculations of astronomical observations, etc., and from these, while in darkest Africa, prepared the narrative which has now been given to the world. So the famous narrative was by no means so hastily gotten ready as the stories of Stanley's tremendous literary labors at Cairo would lead one to expect. On the contrary, ere he emerged to civilization—and it seems to marriage—he had carefully, though roughly, executed his great task. Mr. and Mrs. E. H. Blashfield give us a description of the "Paris of the Three Musketeers," that queer old Paris, with its narrow streets and dangerous lanes, which exists so near to and yet is so far from the Paris of Baron Haussmann. The same contrast may be found in New York. The majority of its inhabitants know nothing of the parts of the city like the "Bend." It is so with all great cities. They have their open secrets. The busy man has no time, even had he the inclination, to go where crime lurks and where misery lifts its horrid head. Such ignorance is really desirable. Mr. Thomas Bailey Aldrich, since he has left the editor's room of the *Atlantic*, has found time to pursue literature with greater freedom, and appears in the congenial garb of poet in *Scribner's* this month, as he does also in the *Century*.

LIPPINCOTT'S for August has the following table of contents: "What Gold Cannot Buy" (a complete novel, by Mrs. Alexander); "Zantho—My Friend" (a poem, by Miss Elizabeth Stoddard); "Lawn Tennis for Women" (by the Misses Bertha L. Townsend and Margaret Lyman Ballard); "Veiled" (by Miss Margaret Vandegrift); "At the End of the Passage" (by the rising novelist, Mr. Rudyard Kipling, whose life in India is yielding him golden fruitage, and to whom the fact is a great temptation to write himself out while still in his early manhood); "Ebb and Flow" (by H. W. F.); "Contemporary Biography—Harriet Beecher Stowe" (by Miss Eleanor P. Allen); "The Pale Cast of Thought" (by Mr. Owen Wister); "Woman" (a poem, by Mr. Charles H. Crandall); "The Lapse of Tolstoi" (by Rev. Frederic M. Bird, the famous hymnologist, who takes Tolstoi to task, in no gentle fashion, for his "Kreutzer Sonata," which, he says, "ought never to have been printed, nor written either. But for the eminent name it bears, it would hardly have found a publisher here in America or in England. Its only legitimate effects will be to disgust decent people and injure a great reputation." The illegitimate effect of which criticism will be to increase the sale of Tolstoi's latest book. It is wiser to enter into a conspiracy of silence when a really bad book appears. Every one knows that the pulpit denunciation of "Robert Elsmere" gave that novel a great sale); "Milk Legislation" (by Mr. R. M. Elfreth); "The Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences" (by Mr. Charles Morris). Then follow the three regular departments—*Book Talk*, *New Books*, and *With the Wits*.

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CALVINISM AN EPOCH OF PROGRESS.

BY PROFESSOR EML. V. GERHART, D.D., PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY, THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF THE REFORMED (GERMAN) CHURCH, LANCASTER, PA.

THE system of Christian doctrine which starts with the hypothesis of unconditional foreordination, commonly known as Calvinism, was, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and onward into the first half of the present century, the most potent factor of orthodox theological thought in the Protestant churches on the Continent of Europe, in Great Britain, and in America.

This ascendancy was not accidental. It was due to the fact that John Calvin, and the system which his name represents, made a decided advance upon the theology of the middle ages.

The principle of Calvinism is open to valid criticism. A revision of Calvinistic Standards is called for by present Christian belief and by a better knowledge of New Testament teaching. But this concession should not betray us into closing our eyes to the great theoretical and practical value of the theological system whose strength is now on the wane. Calvinism marks an epoch of progress on the doctrine of God, no less, also on the doctrine respecting the extent and certitude of salvation as well for unbaptized infants dying in infancy as for adults.

If we would estimate the positive significance of Calvin's theology and anthropology, his system must be studied, not chiefly in comparison with doctrinal results which, since the sixteenth century, have on the basis of original Calvinism been developed, but studied in contrast with doctrines respecting God, respecting the Mediator and personal salvation, which were dominant during the middle ages, and continued to wield the sceptre onward to the dawn of the Reformation.

Calvin affirmed the majesty and holiness of God as explicitly as divine majesty and

holiness were affirmed by mediæval scholastics. But instead of putting God at an infinite distance from men, clothed with austere, repellent righteousness, not directly accessible to the prayers of His children; instead of removing the Saviour from contact with sinners, and representing Him as approachable most effectually through the mediation of the Virgin Mary, of prophets, apostles, and martyrs, Calvin, with Luther and Zwingli, brought prominently to view the immediate accessibility, by the Spirit, of Jesus Christ enthroned in glory, and the direct loving fellowship of God with believers in His incarnate Son.

Special stress Calvin laid on God as the God of *love* and grace. The efficiency of saving love was, indeed, limited by sovereign will. "Men are not all created with a similar destiny; but eternal life is foreordained for some, and eternal damnation for others" (Inst. III., pp. 21-25). Nevertheless it is *love* that elects, not cold will. It is love to multitudes of mankind of all races and all nations, love to the unworthy and guilty, that becomes the dominant force in Calvin's doctrine of God, an ethical force that essentially modified the traditional conception of God's majesty and holiness prevalent in the Roman Church.

This doctrine of God's immediate communion of love with multitudes of elect men, alienated by sin from divine righteousness, was an extraordinary advance on the mediæval dogma, a dogma which denied both the fact and the possibility of such direct fellowship of God with any man. The sanctity of divine majesty excluded not only multitudes, but all from *direct* access. It is the assertion and vindication of electing *love*—that is, of *free grace* bestowing the blessing of salvation and eternal life on sinners, not the limitation to a definite num-

ber, that was the new theological truth, new in contrast with Gottschalk, with all the scholastics, and in contrast with Augustine.

These ideas—the love of God to sinners and God's direct fellowship in Christ with His people—have proven themselves to be imperishable factors of evangelical theology. Though important modifications have in opposite directions been developed, yet all evangelical theologies—Arminianism, modern Calvinism, the federal school, and the christological school—have distinguishing features which are referable to the new truth concerning God's character declared by the Reformers, and declared with special emphasis by John Calvin.

I am in sympathy with the revisionists ; but I cannot concede that the advocates of revision in the memorable discussion before the New York Presbytery did full justice to the Westminster Standards on the question respecting divine love. Judging from published reports of the debate, the opponents of revision seem to have yielded that point without much resistance ; and in doing this they failed to use their resources for rebuttal which the Standards furnish.

The truth is that the Standards lay special stress, as Calvin did, on divine love. The Confession says : " God, according to the good pleasure of His will, hath chosen in Christ those of mankind that are predestinated unto life, 'out of His mere free grace and love.' " Again : When God translates the sinner into the state of grace He, " by His grace alone," enables him freely to live and do that which is spiritually good (Chapter IX., p. 4). The " effectual call is of God's free and special grace alone " (Chapter X., p. 2). On Justification the Confession says (of the elect) that " their justification is only of free grace ; that both the exact justice and rich grace of God might be glorified in the justification of sinners " (Chapter XI., p. 3). Let these references suffice.

The Westminster Standards may use the word *grace* more frequently than *love*. But this usage strengthens the vindication of the Westminster divines. What is grace but the love of God to the transgressor, depraved, guilty, helpless and hopeless ? What but the most intense action and the unique manifestation of *love* ? Contrasted with the doctrine of Romanism on Soteriology, it is the emphasis put on divine *grace*, on God's *love* to the sinner condemned for his sins, that distinguishes all Reformed confessions, on the one hand from Romanism, and on the other from Arminianism.

The Westminster Standards refrain from

quoting the class of proof texts represented by John 3 : 16, not so much because these passages declare the love of God, but because they bring into prominence God's love to *the world*—in other words, because they teach God's love, not to *some* men, but to *all* men.

The system of theological thought which starts with the idea of God's *election* to eternal life of some persons to the exclusion of others, as represented by Zwingli, Luther, and Calvin (for all were predestinarians), was the first system in the entire history of Christianity that, turning from man, looked exclusively to the superabounding *grace* of God, and laid the foundation of hope, not on man's works of obedience and acquired worthiness, but on God's forgiving love freely bestowed, for the sake of Christ's merits alone, on all sinners who were willing to accept forgiveness.

The vulnerable spot on the body of the system is the arbitrary limitation of love to a part only of our race.

No less truly does Calvinism mark an epoch of progress as regards the doctrine respecting the *certitude* and *extent* of salvation. The comparison is to be made with mediæval dogmas, not with Protestant beliefs of our time.

Pre-Reformation doctrines on personal salvation hung a menacing cloud of doubt over the church. According to Thomas Aquinas, the Doctor Angelicus, a Christian cannot certainly know that he is a subject of saving grace except by direct revelation from God, all other evidences being uncertain ; but God very seldom makes use of revelation, and then only as a special favor—" *Revelat Deus hoc aliquando aliquibus ex speciali privilegio*" (Summa II. I., Q. 112, Art. 5). To the teaching of Aquinas and the common sentiment of the schoolmen, the Council of Trent affixes its seal. Says this council : " Except by special revelation, it cannot be known whom God hath chosen unto Himself" (Sixt. Sess., Chapter XII.). Doubts and fears relative to the future world were the common inheritance, not only of heretics and lawless men, but of the whole body of the faithful. With single exceptions, the immediate prospect of all who died in the communion of the Church was admission to the horrors of purgatory, where for unknown ages the souls of the departed had to suffer the agonies of expiation and purification in burning flames. Aquinas, the most influential teacher of the mediæval age (died 1274), says of the sufferings in purgatory : " *Respondeo : Dicendum, quod supposito ignis inferni non sit metaphorice*

dictus, nec ignis imaginarius, sed verus ignis corporeus, oportet dicere quod anima ab igne coporeo pœnas patietur; cum Dominus ignem illum diabolo et angelis ejus paratum esse dicat, Matt. 25, qui sunt incorporei, sicut ipsa anima. Sed quomodo pati possit, multipliciter assignatur (Ter-tiæ Partis Sum. Theo. Supp., Q. 70, Art. 3.)

In opposition to the spiritual bondage of Roman dogmas, none among the reformers affirmed more definitely than Calvin, and none with greater force of logic supported the truth that believers enjoy in Jesus Christ a *present* salvation, and in Him possess the sure ground for the hope of triumph in the hour of death. The unconditional decree of election was the immovable foundation of an uplifting confidence for scores of thousands of all climes and in all ages—a multitude which no man can number (Rev. 5 : 11 ; 7 : 9).

Also regarding the salvation of infants, Calvinism makes an epoch of progress. From the age of Augustine, theology during all the centuries before the Reformation denied the hope of blessedness to “the little ones” dying without baptism. The entire infant world, *extra ecclesiam*, was consigned to the confines of perdition. “It may be correctly affirmed,” Augustine says, “that such infants as quit the body without being baptized will be involved in the mildest condemnation of all. That person, therefore, greatly deceives both himself and others who teaches that they will not be involved in condemnation” (De pecc. mer., et remiss., I., 21). Elsewhere the same great theologian speaks in still stronger terms. The innumerable souls of these little ones, he says, who leave the body without being baptized, “are justly given over to eternal death by Him with whom there is no unrighteousness” (Ep. 180., 2). From this tenet Calvinism dissented; and the divines of the Reformation were the first to take a firm stand against this severe doctrine.

The decree of unconditional election, as taught by Calvin, includes not a nation, nor a family, but *individuals*; and includes them not on the ground of nationality, or of parentage, or of innate disposition, or of personal worthiness, but on the ground solely of the good pleasure of God. Says Calvin: “If, therefore, we can assign no reason why He grants mercy to His people but because such is His pleasure, neither shall we find any other cause but His will for the reprobation of others. For when God is said to harden or show mercy to whom He pleases, men are taught by this declaration

to seek no cause beside His will” (Institutes III., Chapter XXIII., II.).

Harshly such words may sound in the ears of Christians now. But when, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, this doctrine was promulgated, it was an inestimable joy. The hope of salvation for infants dying in infancy was not only confirmed, but also confidently enlarged. The sovereign decree elects unto life a definite number from among *all* nations, *all* classes, and *every* age. There is no cause for the inclusion of some and the exclusion of others “beside His will.”

True, eternal life is accorded only to *elect* infants; but the decree of election embraces multitudes of all lands and nations.

Calvinism came laden with rich blessings of comfort, furnishing a solid basis for the belief that an innumerable company of “little ones” born and dying in the darkness of heathenism, or quitting the body without baptism in Christian lands, instead of being “given over to eternal death,” as traditional theology maintained, were the objects of Christ’s redeeming love, and would attain to the full fruition of the blessedness of glorified spirits.

The doctrine of predestination as held by the Reformers, but most rigidly in all its consequences by Calvin, opens an era of peace for Christian experience, an era of freedom for Christian obedience, an era of joy for believers in death—of peace and freedom and joy which was unknown during the reign of Roman Catholicism.

When rightly compared with the theology and soteriology of pre-Reformation times, it must be conceded that the Calvinism of John Calvin ennobled the idea of God, established on a firmer basis the belief in the forgiveness of *all* sins,* and enriched the life of the Christian by turning a service of fear and anxiety into a service of thankfulness and praise.

And these inestimable blessings of faith, love, and hope have passed from Augustinian predestination, as inherited by Luther, as interpreted and advanced by Calvin, to all divergent theological systems of the modern Protestant world.

* Original sin and actual sins. The theology of the schoolmen held that the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ on the cross atoned only for original sin and for actual sins committed before baptism. The guilt of actual sins committed after baptism was remitted on the ground of the meritoriousness of works. So Anselm taught, Thomas Aquinas, and all leading theologians. Hence the prevailing sense of uncertainty as to personal salvation. The value of the atonement of Christ, Dorner says, “ist daher nach beiden Confessionen [Reformed and Lutheran] *allumfassend*, i.e., bezieht sich auf alle Sünden, die Erbsünde und die wirklichen, die Sünden nicht bloss vor, sondern auch nach der Taufe, während die Katholische Kirche die Kraft der Veröhnung auf die Erbsünde beschränkt” (Christliche Glaubenslehre, Vol. II, p. 556).

FOR THE MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

JOHN WILLIAMSON NEVIN, D.D.,
LL.D.

"The Life and Work of John Williamson Nevin, D.D., LL.D.," by Theodore Apple, D.D., *Pectus Facit Theologum*. Philadelphia: Reformed Church Publication House, 907 Arch Street, 1889.

BY REV. W. M. REILLY, PH.D.

THE volume before us is the result of the labor of a pupil and colleague of Dr. Nevin, who was selected as the proper person for the task, by the Alumni Association of Franklin and Marshall College. The author devoted several years of unremitting toil to the undertaking, and has placed a large circle of readers under lasting obligations to him for the fidelity and ability with which he has accomplished it. His aim as far as possible was to enable the reader to form a just estimate of the subject of the biography, by allowing him to speak for himself through judiciously selected excerpts from his writings. The work is prefaced by an admirable introduction from the pen of Dr. F. A. Gast.

Dr. Nevin's name has been so closely identified during the last half century with the history of the Reformed (Ger.) Church in the United States, that his "Life and Work" covers the ground embraced in this important chapter of its history; while his character, his ability, and his career, render him a conspicuous and interesting figure in the history of the American Church and its theology. A prominent living divine of the Presbyterian Church speaks of him as "one of the greatest, best, and most influential men that the American Church has yet produced."*

He was born in Franklin County, Pa., Feb. 20, 1803; graduated at Union College, under the presidency of Dr. Nott, studied theology at Princeton under Drs. Alexander and Miller, and served as *locum tenens* for Dr. Charles Hodge, as professor of Oriental and Biblical Literature, while the latter was taking a two years' course in the Universities of Germany. He served the Western Theological Seminary at Alleghany ten years as professor of Biblical Literature and Church History. In 1840 he accepted a call to Mercersburg, and while teaching Didactic Theology, presided over Marshall College until 1853. He served ten years as president of the same institution, now Franklin and Marshall College at Lancaster, where with youthful freshness and zeal, he studied

and taught in the departments of Ethics, Æsthetics, and the Philosophy of History. He continued to think and write, with the intensest moral and intellectual vigor, up to his eightieth year. He died at Caernarvon Place, near Lancaster, Pa., June 6th, 1886, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

At Princeton a solid foundation in theological scholarship was laid by assiduous attention to exegetical and biblical study in general. Stimulated by urgent request, which he says he had no right to refuse, he here wrote his "Biblical Antiquities," a work which, in the hands of the American Sunday-School Union has been circulated far and wide, and continues in general popular use without a rival in Christian families to the present time. In Mercersburg he wrote his famous polemic against the Anxious Bench system, which produced as much excitement in one portion of the religious public mind, as did "The Mystical Presence," which soon followed, in another. In the latter work he describes, vindicates, and, under the light of later theological and philosophical inquiry, develops the Reformed or Calvinistic doctrine of the Lord's Supper. It was favorably reviewed by Dr. Ebrard, in the *Studien und Kritiken*, who congratulates himself that in the essentials of his own theory, as brought out in his work of two volumes on that subject, he had been anticipated by the American divine. In his "Dogmatics" he quotes from Dr. Nevin's work in commendatory terms. Then followed the controversy between the author of the "Mystical Presence" and Dr. Charles Hodge. Dr. Nevin was further brought into notice when he found a respectful and respectable antagonist in the person of Orestes A. Bronson, the famous American convert to the Roman Catholic Church. Dr. Dorner, of Berlin, gave an account of Dr. Nevin's position, with strictures upon it, in his own *Jahrbücher*, which was answered by an elaborate double article in the *Mercersburg Review*. The columns of this periodical (whose name was changed to that of the *Reformed Quarterly Review*) were enriched from time to time up to the year 1883, by contributions from his pen, all of which are characterized in equal measure by pointed ethical and doctrinal zeal, by spirited and forcible presentation, philosophical acumen, scholarly breadth and comprehensiveness of view, manly independence and self-renewing freshness of thought, making a body of theological literature which will continue to prove deserving of the studious attention of thinkers intent upon the investigation of the great problems

* See "Life and Work," p. 91.

which lie at the basis of the science of revealed religion.

At Alleghany, Dr. Nevin was awakened to the importance of German theological literature. He tells us that he never knew what history was until he learned it from Neander. He studied the German language in order to have access to all the writings of the great historian. Not only was a new world of thought opened up before him; now, to use his own language, began a new theological and religious life. When he came to Mercersburg, he found here his future colleague and friend, Dr. Rauch, the author of the "Psychology," whom Dr. Nevin designates as "one of the finest minds of Germany, one which, under other circumstances, might well have been counted an ornament to the oldest and most conspicuous institutions in the land." After the death of Dr. Rauch, the services of Dr. P. Schaff, a pupil of Neander, and at that time a member of the theological faculty of Berlin, were secured, with whom Dr. Nevin was associated many years in teaching, in study, and in controversy. Thus aided, directed, and stimulated, he devoted himself with all energy to the study of the speculative philosophers, as well as to the leaders of the various German schools of theological thought. Two articles written about his time, one entitled "A Plea for Philosophy," the other on "Human Freedom," reveal the fact of his having sounded the depths of that great movement represented by Kant and his successors; while his familiarity, especially with Richard Rothe, is evinced on every hand. At one time he pronounced Rothe's "Anfänge der Christlichen Kirche" the most suggestive book he had ever read. Dr. Schaff still speaks of the enthusiasm with which his colleague threw himself into the study of the works of this eminent moralist and historian. Eberard speaks of Dr. Nevin's "depth, precision, and perspicuity of thought," and adds that "he acquired for himself the priceless credit of having transplanted the ripe fruits of the German theological mind into the American world of thought."*

Dr. Nevin was no polyhistor. His was, indeed, an inquiring mind, and in the field now entered he found new truths and facts in every way calculated to gratify it. His was also an active mind, and if anywhere in all the world, he here met with material which challenged independent thought. But if there was one feature which distinguished his character more than another, it

was moral earnestness. His was pre-eminently an ethical nature. Dr. Schaff was always of the opinion that, as this quality shone out so conspicuously in Dr. Nevin's life, it was to be regretted that he had not concentrated his energies upon a system of ethics, as he might have produced one eminently deserving of the name. Veneration for divine law, which could assert itself as such, in whatever form it might appear, was the ruling force of his being; the law of God, especially as revealing itself in "the grand and glorious objectivities of the Christian life," was the magnet to which, above all else, the iron of his Scotch-Irish blood was quickly and tellingly responsive. If there was anything to which his nature was abhorrent, it was disregard to properly constituted authority. He looked upon the "false freedom" prevailing in our social, ecclesiastical, and national life, as the root of all the evils of the day, especially those which assume the form of denominational bigotry, sectarianism and fanaticism. How was this hydra-headed monster to be checked and tamed? This was the question which agitated his soul. Wherever a shadow of an answer presented itself, thither he anxiously looked.

The effects of his German studies upon his mind are best described in his own language: "I will not pretend to particularize the points in which my doctrinal theology was affected by the practical, hermeneutical and historical experiences of which I have now spoken. . . . Different influences and tendencies wrought in my mind at this time toward the production of a common spiritual movement. . . . It had for its scope and aim . . . the right adjustment of the objective and subjective sides of Christianity, its supernatural substance, and its natural form, in their relation to each other; and there belonged to it also throughout an inward determination toward Christ, as offering in the constitution of His own person the only proper solution for the problem. . . . *It is just here that the key to my whole religious history lies*" (1870).

He now sees that, at the basis of all that was wrong in his earlier life was what he called a pietistic subjectivity or unhistorical spiritualism, with which was connected a *latent* element of rationalism. The only possible help for it was to be found in that substantial realism which is presented to and for the faith of the believer in the divine and heavenly "objectivities" entering into the constitution of the Kingdom of God. When on the one hand he became convinced that the incarnation was not only

* See "Life and Work," p. 279.

the central fact in the economy of redemption, but of all history, and on the other from his "hermeneutical experiences" he found that the letter of the Bible could be twisted like a nose of wax to suit the caprices of any and every upstart sect, he was brought to the conviction that the Apostles' Creed, in the original historical sense, was the only proper norm for biblical interpretation, and that the historical Church was the organ for the transmission and unfolding of the supernatural order of being which was implanted into the life of our race, when the "Word became flesh and dwelt among us." In a word, as over against the false subjectivism before referred to, he knew at this time of no true objectivism except that which is found in a pronounced high-church position. The result was that he lost all confidence in modern evangelical Protestantism, and while always referring in most respectful terms to elements in the Roman Catholic Church which were specifically anti-Protestant, he was fond of recommending to his friends the works of Sadler and other tractarian authors. At this time the subjects which prominently engaged his attention were those of Apostolic succession, the sacraments as grace-bearing ordinances, and a full ritualistic cultus. The altar was elevated above the pulpit, the Church above the Bible, and adherence to ecclesiastical tradition and practice above the states and experiences of the inner life and mind of the believer. This is what the Creed seemed to him to require, what historical Christianity involved, and the distracted state of the Church made peremptorily necessary.

While now his Anglican proclivities became more and more pronounced, he never was disabused of the impression made upon his mind by his German "practical, hermeneutical, and historical experiences," which found in the mystical element of his nature a genial lodgment, and which led him toward a sounder Christology. These crop out again and again in all his writings, and seem to slumber in a dream-like way beneath his "Kirchenschmerz," only to burst forth anew in overwhelming intensity. Whether he was conscious of a dualism here or not, Dorner saw what he considered a weak point in his adversary's harness, and upon it were concentrated the sledge-hammer strokes of the Telemonian Ajax of German Theology. Dr. Nevin never forgot that the subjective element of man's nature, the free and ethical side of the personal creature had, likewise, its God-given rights, and that violence to its inalienable claims, come from whatever quarter it may, however sovereign

or holy, is destructive of all true human advancement. He never renounced his conception of faith, as this is unfolded in his three Articles on the Creed, a conception which he claimed was to all intents and purposes that of Luther himself, namely, as being that Heaven-born organ, by which the believer was enabled not only to behold, but enter and lay hold upon the realities of the spiritual and eternal world made present in God's revelation of Himself to man. Further, he never countenanced a literal adherence to any form of orthodoxy, and deprecated a repristination of the theology of any past century. The intellectualism of the post-Reformation systems and confessions, in its icy logical constructions and dialectics, stood exposed before him in all its inadequacy and weakness. This was nowhere more clearly exemplified than in the Westminster Confession, to which he decidedly preferred the Heidelberg Catechism. This "most ecumenical of all the Protestant symbols" he continued to admire until the end, on account of its deeper, more vital, and more mystical view of the work of redemption, which, as the divine and eternal substance of Revelation, it sets forth as the proper object of faith, thus doing full justice to the objective facts of Christianity, as well as to the conditions and requirements of the inner life of man. On this basis he advanced, and to these convictions he remained true. The movement of his later life and thought involved contradiction to much that had gone before, and the tearing away of much that entered into an earlier superstructure. What was solid and true stood. He maintained the consciousness of a steady and legitimate advancement toward a position in which every shadow of dualism disappeared, and all former antagonisms were dissolved. What this is he tells us on page 570 of his answer to Dorner: "Faith has to do with the substantial matter of Revelation lying back of the written Word. But such revelation, it is seen, must come to its completion in Christ, and it is in Him that faith finds its full object. This now would seem to bring us to the *Christocentric view*."

In 1861 a work appeared in Germany which created a memorable commotion in the theological circles. It was Rothe's famous "Zur Dogmatik," in which the whole subject of Revelation, Inspiration, and the Bible was placed in the alembic of a fearfully critical investigation. A few years later it fell into Dr. Nevin's hands. His mind was now as deeply aroused on the subject of the Sacred Scriptures as it had been previously on that of the Church question

by Rothe's "Anfänge." The Church had always believed and taught that the Scriptures were the Inspired Word of God. According to Rothe, they are neither inspired nor the Word of God. They are nothing but human records of facts which Rothe believed to be divine and supernatural. The ascertainment of these facts depends upon the skill of the biblical critic and exegete. Still, the substance of Revelation is at hand, and is the object of the believer's faith. Rothe throws himself back with the fullest confidence upon the old doctrine of the *Testimonium Spiritus Sancti internum*. He sets it forth in a new light, with many quotations from the old dogmatists. Dr. Nevin now became convinced in a way never before clear to him that not only the Scriptures carry in their own bosom the force of self-authentication for all who in the fear of God approach them to get that life and light which they were intended to convey, but that, as Rothe holds, they are the means by which faith finds its own proper object, the living, personal Christ, in a manner answerable to his own and to the Reformers' idea of faith which was always clear before his mind. He is now more convinced than ever that the modern hermeneutical methods are further astray than those of the Church fathers, which have been rejected as the cast-off clothing of a childish and superstitious age. They sought and found their once crucified, but now risen and glorified Lord, on every hand in the Holy Word. Now comes the question: Can Christ be found on every page? He calls to mind what he regarded the vagaries of a crack-brained enthusiast. Could he derive any help from Emanuel Swedenborg? Had not Ralph Waldo Emerson pronounced Swedenborg the interpreter of the symbolism of nature above all others known in the world? Might he not be able to throw some light on that of the Bible? Facts are stubborn things. So Dr. Nevin discovered. Much that must be called Swedenborgianism (for he was one of the last to be guilty of disguising his indebtedness to any man) shows itself in his later writings. But who ever heard him say that Swedenborg was a divinely inspired and infallible expounder of God's Word; or that he conversed with Aristotle, Luther, Leibnitz in Heaven, and with the Apostle Paul in Hell; or that the sect arrogating to themselves the title of the New Church have a better claim to regard than the first next best society that adds one to the multitudinous divisions of the Church of Christ? He found in the writings of Swedenborg a system of thought and religious belief far

more comprehensive, more fully rounded out and complete, and more vitally and organically *one*, than that of Rothe, whose sublime and solid *architectonik* had ever been the object of his admiration and the source of so much inspiration. But while Rothe's fell far short of his own Christological idea, this idea entered into that of the Swedish seer in a form of which he had but dimly dreamed. From Rothe and Thiersch he had learned a lesson which prepared the way for his believing, contrary to his historical development theory, that the elements prevailing in Christendom in the form of individualism, rationalism, and fanaticism, as well as irrational ecclesiasticism, are rendering necessary a new order of things. He now finds that all that is involved in the second coming of our Lord is embraced in the light which He is anew beginning to shed upon His Word, in which He will continue more and more to come to all who seek and are willing to meet and find Him there. Now he sees as never before, that the contents of revelation can authenticate themselves to the faith of the believer, in the orderly way of homogeneity and correlation with the constitution of the human mind without logical intellectual constraint on the one hand, or blind submission to ecclesiastical authority on the other. The only real, substantial, objective order of being remains that of the Apostles' Creed, in which it stands as ever firmly fixed, only with a new flood of light poured in upon it from every hand; which, as it is the most ancient symbol of the Church, "though not *formally inspired, so far as we know* (!), yet born most certainly in the beauty of holiness from the womb of the morning, in the dew of its youth,"* is now beginning again to prove its claims to be the only standard around which the hosts of God's people are to rally, if the angry and soul-destructive conflicts raging within the bosom of the Church are to be assuaged, or if the enemy, coming in upon us like a flood, is to be effectively withstood.

FOR THE MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

SAINT CATHERINE OF SIENA.

BY ÉMILE GEBHART.

From the *Revue des deux Mondes*, Tome XCV., 1^{re} Livraison, (September, 1889.

Condensed translation by Rev. CHARLES C. STARBUCK, Andover, Mass.

OLD pictures of saintliness sometimes

* See the last article he wrote, *Reformed Quarterly Review*, January, 1883.

show, at the end of a bluish plain traversed by clear winding rivers, an aerial city, perched on an azure mountain, well encompassed by battlemented walls, crowned by a forest of towers and spires. The steepness of the mountain seems to preclude access; only angels from heaven could enter. But the Holy Family seated in the white light below, among golden and azure flowers, the prostrate shepherds around the youthful God, the good pilgrims crossing the mead, the noble bishops solemnly pacing in copes of purple velvet, crosier in hand, in this smiling wilderness, have no misgiving as to the city on high; they seem to say: "This is our little Jerusalem the Golden, the visible vestibule of Paradise, the mystic mansion where the simple-hearted find shelter; we know well the way thither; we return thither evening by evening with the vesper bell."

Siena, seen from afar, watching on her rock a large horizon of wooded hills, divided by deep ravines, always reminds the passer-by of the landscapes of Botticelli or Perugino. The interior is not less striking. The city of the fourteenth century has remained intact, and the nefarious work which in fifteen years has destroyed Rome will not touch Siena so soon. The insolences of modern masonry, which flaunt themselves everywhere amid the classic and Christian antiquities of Rome, are impossible at Siena, unless the present city should be laid low. Siena is still the mediæval commune, less austere than Florence, more familiar, less penetrated by modern life. Her people, a steadily good-humored race, speak the purest Italian of the whole peninsula. Certain parts of Siena, the semi-amphitheatre of the piazza, the cathedral and its neighborhood, have kept their archaic physiognomy; occasional nooks of the city are as solitary as in Oriental towns; the church of St. Dominic, preserving the famous frescoes of Sodoma, rises at the end of a verdant terrace, frequented familiarly by poultry and donkeys, from which, as from an acropolis, we contemplate, like tumultuous waves, the azure peaks of the hills which undulate over the Etruscan region as far as Perugia and Orvieto, Volterra and Florence.

There is a soul in the charming body of the old city, a memory everywhere present, which unceasingly recalls the living to times far remote, an angelic vision which hovers everywhere in the sweet air of Siena. St. Catherine there is still queen. All the churches have some ray of her aureole; the *Libreria* of the Duomo is wholly covered with the paintings of Pinturicchio, fresh

and blooming as from the artist's hand, and representing, among the acts of the Siennese pope, Pius II., the beatification of the Dominican nun. The little children are all perfectly familiar with the steep and narrow lane in which are hidden the house and oratory of "the holy lady," to which, for three sous, they are glad to conduct the stranger. Her little miracles are all matter of common note, especially those in which the devil appears befooled, according to the Italian tradition, and flees in confusion with the frying-pan full of the right hell-fire, with which he had meant to torment her. Had James de Voragine written a century later he would have consecrated to Catherine, in his Golden Legend, a pretty chapel near the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus or the amiable St. Clara. But the Bishop of Genoa, all taken up with the supernatural life and with prodigies, did not unfold very clearly the part which the saints had taken in the temporal affairs of our poor world. Now it is by politics and diplomacy that St. Catherine has been great in the history of Italy and of the Church.

The life of this woman has been one of the most fascinating in the history of the Papacy. It was by her genius, in truth, by her obstinate sweetness, that in the fourteenth century, at the most dolorous period of the Middle Ages in Italy, the eternal Roman Question was resolved. And this, too, is a miracle, the most surprising of those wrought by St. Catherine. In this endeavor the two grand idealists of the peninsula, Dante and Petrarch, failed lamentably; she alone, the little Tuscan nun, knew how to succeed.

I.

SHE was born on Palm Sunday in 1347. Her father, Jacopo Benincasa, was a modest burgher of the dyers' guild. Her mother, Lapa, was the daughter of a now soundly forgotten poet, Muzio Piagenti. Catherine had twenty-four brothers and sisters. Around her cradle raged the great calamity of the century, the plague of 1348, which in and around Siena carried off eighty thousand souls. The child grew up in the bosom of a very pious family and of a city in mourning. At six years old she had her first vision: she saw Christ, vested in light, accompanied by St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. John the Evangelist; the Saviour lifted His right hand and blessed her. These apparitions kept reappearing, and the call of God seemed so urgent to the young girl that she resolved to flee to the wilderness and to live there after the manner of the legendary

eremites, in the retirement of a cave. She took a loaf for the journey, doubting not to be afterward fed daily by the birds. Leaving Siena, she went on until, to her weariness, it seemed as if she had reached the end of the world, and then halted at the foot of a cliff. In the evening Benincasa brought his child back from her Thebaïd. Catherine thenceforth gave up the plan of eremitical solitude, but promised to live only for Jesus and to dedicate herself to the conversion of heretics and sinners. In her thirteenth year her parents wished to marry her, and constrained her to put on ornaments, in the hope of drawing the eyes of some suitor. She ran to her confessor, the Blessed Fra Raimondo, accusing herself of culpable vanity. The indulgent monk replied that a flower in the hair or a silken girdle was no very great sin; but she, assuming already toward her confessor the austere tone with which she is afterward to address the chiefs of the Church, exclaimed: "O Lord my God! what sort of confessor have I chosen! here is one who no longer sees my sins." Another preacher, with more insight of his penitent, while speaking of the snares which the devil sets for upright souls by the very attractions of the religious life, advised her, in order to test her, to cut her hair, as then no one would want to marry her, which she did. Seeing then in a dream the founders of the great monastic orders, she let pass those who required of their nuns absolute seclusion, like Benedict and Francis, when next appeared St. Dominic in his white robe, holding his white nosegay of lilies. She stretched her arms toward him, and the terrible monk came to her with radiant and smiling visage and threw on the shoulders of the child the black cloak of the *mantellate*, the Sisters Hospitallers of Penitence affiliated with the Dominicans. Her family, however, dreaming only of nuptials, withstood her. But a fortunate attack of the small-pox decided the domestic struggle. "I shall surely die," said she to her mother, "unless I become the bride of the Lord in the house where you know that He awaits me." The Dominican nuns, however, refused to receive the young enthusiast. They were forming a sort of Tertiary order, or Bèguinage, of liberal vows, and accepting only widows or at least ladies of ripe age, tried by the storms of life and now seeking a haven of repose. To receive a girl of fifteen, of ardent imagination, appeared to the good *mantellate* a perilous novelty. Happily, Catherine had lost her beauty. There only remained to her a melancholy grace, that *morbidezza*

dear to Italian painting, easy to rediscover in the frescoes in which Sodoma has represented her. Her confessor Raimondo said, in bad Latin, with a shade of unconscious regret: "Nature had not given her too beguiling an aspect," *Speciositas naturaliter in ea non inerat excessiva*. The sisterhood finally yielded to such piety and so many tears. On a Sunday of the year 1362, in the convent once honored as the abode of St. Thomas Aquinas, Catherine received the habit of the daughters of St. Dominic. From the first day she established for herself a very rigid personal discipline, going out only to mass, opening her mouth only at the tribunal of penance. But already the consciousness of a lofty mission to be fulfilled was stirring within her; the cries of distress uttered by Italy and by the Church penetrated even to her humble cell; she wrote, or rather dictated—for she did not learn to write before thirty—these words addressed to her mother: "God hath chosen me and sent me on earth to remedy a great scandal."

She first laid hold of a lesser scandal. Before her eyes, in the councils of the commune as well as in the street, the citizens of Siena were devouring each other. It was Florentine anarchy on a narrower stage. "Thy foresight is very keen," once said Dante to his city, "and yet what thou hast spun in October dureth not until mid-November." At Siena constitutions were more short-lived than the seasons, they were born and died according to the shiftings of the civil war between Guelphs and Ghibellines, on the one hand, nobles, burgesses, and the lower commons on the other. In 1368 a new Signoria, approved by the Emperor, took the pompous name of Reformers. But they were very far from reforming themselves. Signoria within and the Commune without quarrelled alike. Catherine then took up, by letters, the preacher's task toward the *reggitori* of Siena. She addressed them in that slightly lachrymose tone which Italian preaching has always preserved: "I love you more than you love yourselves, I love peace and your salvation as much as I love you. The love which I bear you, and all the citizens, and the grief caused me by your ways of acting and by your manners, so little agreeable to the will of God, are my excuse before Him and before you; I would fain weep over your blindness." Some years later still higher pretensions and still grosser misconduct of the magistrates drew out from Catherine another sermon, this time sharp enough, in which the selfishness and even the cruelty of these petty tyrants is

scourged with a firm hand. Well might it be; for a citizen, Agnolo di Andrea, having given some friends a *fête champêtre*, saw himself condemned to death for not having asked to it any of the *Reformatori*.

Little by little the frail virginal voice, repeating ever the same words of charity and of justice, reached the hearts of some of these magistrates, such as the podestà, Pietro del Monte, and Andrea di Vanni, Captain of the People, who became Catherine's fervent disciple, and with his own hand painted an ecstasy of the saint in the Chapel of the Vaults at St. Dominic's Church. The method of government which she recommended to the cities and the lords was of a thoroughly evangelical simplicity: "Settle yourselves," said she, "on the living rock, on the sweet Jesus Christ, and mingle prayers with all your public acts." She repeated on all sides the same advice, to the ferocious Belforti of Volterra, to the consuls and gonfaloniers of Bologna, as well as to the Signoria of Siena. Alone, in that bleeding Italy of the fourteenth century, that "*hospice of woe*" which Dante had cursed fifty years before, she sent forth, without ever letting herself grow weary, the same cry of love and of compassion. At the very moment when the intellectual primacy of Petrarch, the greatest which the Middle Ages have known, came to an end, St. Catherine assumed in the religion of a Christendom off its bearings, as having lost the real presence of the popes, an extraordinary ascendancy. But as then every human or political work was held to be of God and all power appeared a delegation given by God, the nun of St. Dominic, thanks to her mystic prestige, appeared to her century as the living witness of the Heavenly Father, the umpire of the peoples, the inspired guide of Italy in the revolutionary crisis, in which there was evolving from end to end of the peninsula an entirely new social order. The great listened respectfully to her and the lowly stretched out toward her their suppliant hands. The boroughs of the county of Siena, troubled by the secular enmities of the families, summoned Catherine, and without delay she brought them the olive-branch. Long had it been since Italy had heard the echo of the Sermon on the Mount and since any one had spoken there of blessedness to those that wept and suffered for justice or liberty! The apostolate of St. Francis of Assisi was exhausted. Those of his brethren who had suffered themselves to be seduced by the appeal of the temporal Church, satisfied with their riches and with their grand convents, had sunk into the

slothful sleep of that monastic selfishness which the founder had believed that he was destroying. The others, the independents, ardent souls, always in revolt against the secular power of Rome, impatient of all dogmatic order, had glided to the very border of heresy, and the fourteenth century beheld the flaming piles of those sweet dreamers that aspired after an ideal religion and dared still to preach the poor and naked Jesus of Bethlehem, the God of the wretched and oppressed, who had not even possessed so much as a stone on which to pillow His head.

II.

MEANWHILE Catherine turned toward the great martyr of this century, the Christian Church. She had rejoiced in the return of Urban V. to Rome. But this French pope, grave Benedictine and learned jurisconsult, had quickly wearied of his new residence. It is for him that these pungent words were written, imitated from the *Acta Petri*. The King of France says to the Pope: *Domine, quo vadis?* "*Romam, iterum crucifigi*," replies the Pope. ("Lord, whither goest Thou?" "To Rome to be crucified again"). Innocent VI. having sent him at an earlier time to Bernabò Visconti, the enemy of the popes, the tyrant had returned the pontifical letter to him with the words: "Abbot, swallow this letter, or you are a dead man." The letter had been swallowed, and Urban V. thenceforth detested the Italians. Terrified by the violence of the factions, harassed by the prayers of his French cardinals, who sighed for their Avignon palaces, he had after three years returned to the Provençal exile, despite the prophecies of St. Brigitta, of Sweden, and the remonstrances of the Roman deputies who rejoined him at Montefiascone, and whom he sent back with the happy turn of speech: "Farewell, my children; the Holy Ghost brought me to Rome; and the Holy Ghost conducts me from it for the honor of the Church."

This flight of the pontiff aggravated the ecclesiastical question. At the beginning of the century the transfer of the Holy See, by the powerful will of Philip the Fair, after the violences of the reign of Boniface VIII., might have appeared a prudent retreat beneath the mantle of the French King. But the hope had been that this absence would be brief. Now, in returning to France, desolated as she was under the English wars, Urban seemed to be making a final abdication by an act of despair, and in the name of the Church, of the immemorial right of

Rome to be the Papal See. Doubtless the Italians had long been doing their best to make papal residence in the mansion of St. Peter impossible. From Charlemagne to Boniface VIII. one would not have found ten pontiffs who had not been persecuted, outraged by the Roman people or the nobles, chased away, recalled, chased away again, sometimes fairly stoned away, incessantly humiliated by the Capitol, always trembling and out of their wits with fear before those barons whose towers rose like a forest above the city and stretched through the wilderness of the Campagna from the walls of Rome to the Sabine Mountains and to the sea. The Papacy made its exodus, and Italy, led by Dante, exclaimed against the apostasy. In the pit into which he plunges the simoniacs, head down, Dante has assigned a place to Clement V., above him to Boniface VIII. and Nicholas III. It is hard to imagine with what impatience the Italians endured the Church of Avignon. They covered with odium or ridicule pontiffs who count among the best, the most learned, and the most humane of the Middle Ages. They were delighted to learn from a necromancer that Clement V. was burning at the very bottom of the infernal pit. They would not recognize in John XXII. the restorer of learning in the great schools of the Occident, and even in the Latin colleges of Armenia. They put into the mouth of the modest Benedict XII. the day of his election the words: *Ave te eletto un asino* ("you have elected an ass"); then they invented for him the proverb: *Bibere papaliter* ("to drink like a pope"). Having themselves given to the Church Boniface VIII. and so many popes that were strangers to the spirit of the Gospel, they now accused Clement VI. of being *poco religioso* ("not very pious"), forgetting the charity of the French pontiff during the Black Death, and also how, as Froissart says, "The poor Jews, hunted down by all the world, found safety in the lands of the Church under the keys of the pope." Petrarch made himself merry over Innocent VI., from whom, nevertheless, he found no difficulty in accepting benefices and canonries. These little fits of spite were harmless enough. Italy, which had suffered herself, without taking them very seriously to heart, to be invaded by all the great heresies of the Middle Ages, Rome, which had entertained so many imperial antipopes, without for a single day deserting the apostolic tradition, were little inclined, before Urban V., to break by schism the unity of the Church. But the *gran rifiuto* of Urban created a

situation altogether new and menacing. Had not Gregory XI. returned to die at the Vatican, the schism might easily have broken out during his life. But at this moment a rupture, by the act of Italy, would have been vastly more disastrous for Christendom, and in another sense than it was later on, beginning with Urban VI., by the long divorce of the Latin nations separated from Rome by the Schism of the Occident.

The Church of Avignon, although she had always been in possession of the legitimate pope, was losing little by little the œcumenical and catholic character. She was now nothing more than the national church of France. The King, as contemporaries allow, did not want the pope to go back, because as the cardinals were his kinsmen or friends, he managed him at his pleasure. This French Church, a vassal of the King, suzeraine of the other churches, cause of uneasiness to them in this day of the French ascendant, was, at this very point of the century, in the wretchedness of the Hundred Years' War, feeble, and destitute of doctrinal authority. The Roman pope, he at least being, in all his exiles, all his distresses, the Universal Bishop, from whose hands, as happened to Gregory VII. and Gelasius II., a robber-band might snatch the chalice at the very altar of his basilica, always bore with him the prestige of his ancient see, of that city which God had consecrated with the blood of the martyrs as eternal Queen of mankind. The French Church would very quickly have disconcerted all Christendom alike by her lofty religious qualities and by her intellectual infirmities. She had a genuine uprightness of soul, a veneration for the written dogma, a love of moral purity; but she was decidedly scholastic, pedantic, chained to texts, a little dry-souled, too closely affiliated to the University of Paris, spoiling the analysis of the delicate affairs of the conscience by the mediocrity of the views of our ancient jurists, which was generally ill-affected toward the mystic imagination, and preferring for the discipline of the faith syllogism to ecstasy. It had once required all the politic suppleness of the Roman Church to retain under one crook, on some terms of accord, the different families of Christendom, not to speak of the marvellous art which Rome had displayed for a century and a half in the training of those faithful shepherd-dogs, the Preachers and the Minors, whose character and vigilance varied according to the region where their flocks pastured. The Pastor of Avignon would have seen the flock of the Lord

scattering toward every point of the horizon. The German Church had too often followed the antipopes not to have been zealous to obey an imperial pope. The Spanish Church, ignorant, fanatical, always in the fever of the Arab crusade, would have found decidedly insipid the tempered Christianity of Gerson and of the monastery of St. Victor. She showed subsequently, by her antipope, Peter de Luna, Benedict XIII., in the course of the Great Schism, of what an acrid obstinacy she was capable, when once launched in the path of religious revolt. Benedict, excommunicated successively by Gregory XII., Boniface IX., Alexander V., John XXIII., Martin V., rejected by France and by the Empire, possessing no longer anything except a cliff and a tower in the sea on the coast of Valentia, went on for fifteen years excommunicating all churches and all kings, and on his deathbed made his three Spanish cardinals swear to choose him a successor. As to the Italian Church, it is in her that there would have been the gravest peril, even for the unity of the faith. So violent a shock, Italy thrown out of the traditional path, carried off by antipopes to all the excesses of religious passion, would have involved the return to the revolutionary crisis of the thirteenth century, which it cost the regular popes such pains to control. The great day foreseen by Joachim, Abbot of Floris, toward the year 1200, expected by John of Parma and the ardent Franciscans under Innocent IV., sung by Frá Jacopone under Boniface VIII., celebrated in the dungeons of the inquisition and at the very stake by the multitude of the *fraticelli* and of the *spirituales*, this era of profound renovation in the relations of God with mankind seemed about to dawn.

One of the signs of this great event of the Advent of the definitive religion was to be, according to the prophets, the overthrow of the secular Church and the fall of the Roman pontificate. Once already the enthusiasts had believed themselves to discern the dawn of the new age; the predecessor of Boniface VIII., a poor inspired hermit, living like an owl in a hole of the rock, Celestine V., had been chosen by the inexplicable whim of a conclave held at Perugia. He had been brought down from his mountain, seated on an ass, surrounded by bishops and knights, his withered, ascetic countenance agitated by fear, the pontifical cope concealing under its folds of purple and gold the ragged cassock of the aged *fraticellus*. And King Charles II. of Naples and his son, forming an escort with the Angevin nobility, the Sacred College, and an innumerable

throng of monks and people, had conducted from Aquila, where he had been consecrated, to Naples, where he made haste to hide himself in the depths of a cell, this strange successor of the Gregories and the Innocents. At the end of some weeks, dizzied by his own greatness, Celestine V. tranquilly laid aside the tiara. The grief and wrath of the Neapolitan populace, heated to excess by the hermits and the apostles of the cross-roads, permit us to suspect what novelties were expected from an anchorite pope, a stranger to the world, advanced out of the ranks of the *spirituales*. Doubtless it was no longer the Eternal Gospel of the pure Joachimites, the law of the Holy Spirit taking the place of the law of the Word, Love succeeding to Grace. The transcendent idealism, the delicate theology of John of Parma, had had their day, or were no longer represented except by some solitary consciences incapable of grouping around them a religious society. The aspiration was less, under the later Avignon popes, for a dogmatic symbol of faith than for an absolute liberty of souls as to the form and the measure of their faith, as to sacramental practice, as to the degree of obedience to be rendered to the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The Acta of the martyred *fraticelli*, recently published by P. Denifle, the letters and the history of the *Seven Tribulations* of Angelo Clareno, who endured a persecution of fifty years, initiate us sufficiently into the hopes of these independent Christians disseminated throughout Italy. They were weary, in truth, of the haughty government of Rome, of the tyranny of the bishops, of the rigidity of the councils, of the oppressions of the inquisition; that which they demanded above all was to be able to pray as they would, even on the steppes of Latium, on the high plateaus of Calabria, even without church, or priest, or liturgy. They dreamed of the simple Christianity of a Father in the wilderness, delivered from the embarrassments of the body-politic, of a familiar intercourse with God, in which the priest would not interpose as interpreter, of an eternal *Pater noster*, babbled far from cities, in the peace of the hills, by the trembling light of the stars.

But this was a religion of poets, too destitute of discipline, and having nothing in common with the Roman Christianity, slowly elaborated according to the necessities of the times, with which popes and councils had enveloped, as with a suit of armor, all the members of the social order. If the episode of Celestine V. had been renewed, this time by the election of an antipope, it

would have rallied all the irregular, apocalyptic Christians, and morbid literati, like Rienzi, who after his fall turned eremite and began to study Merlin. In a few years the Italian Church, invaded by individual religion, might have gone to pieces. Imagine, on the other hand, the Italian antipope seriously attached to the severe tradition of the Roman pontificate; as he would no longer have possessed the integrity of apostolic authority and the unanimous adhesion of Christendom, he would have found himself in conflict with a very tenacious religious opposition, stunned by the outbursts of prophetic voices, by the complaints of the faithful devoted to the legitimate Papacy, by the agitation of the little sects, once so tumultuous at the epoch of the great movement of Franciscan faith. The heaven of the heresies which then were bursting forth on the north of the Alps, theistic, semi-Moslem, or indecently mystic, would have been transplanted, with seducing effect, into Italy, which had not forgotten corresponding movements of her own. The Italian Tyrants, moreover, bent on establishing their personal power, would not have been ill-inclined to see the fall of the Church, whose tradition had long favored the communal and national party. The political overthrow of such an antipope, dispossessing Rome of all temporal influence, would have been, for the rising Tyranny, an incomparable good fortune. An atheistic and cruel Tyrant, like Bernabò Visconti, would have been willing to lead Antichrist in person by the hand to St. John Lateran, in order to remain the unmolested master of Milan and the terror of Italy.

In his farewell letter to the Romans, Urban V. had a presentiment of the religious crises which might possibly follow the return of the Papacy to Avignon. "My departure," he said to them, "is for you the cause of a great sorrow, and you may possibly fear that my successors will never re-enter Rome. I shall always be with you in spirit *so long as you persist in your devotion to the Holy See*; from afar I shall bear you in mind with a father's care; it is the part of wise and established Christians peaceably to support my exile." He died six months later. Italy believed that God had smitten him, and Petrarch wrote: "Pope Urban would have ranked eternally with the most illustrious men if he had caused his bed of death to be set down on the altar-steps of St. Peter's, and had then fallen asleep with a conscience at peace, taking God and the world to witness that if ever again a pope deserted Rome, the blame

of so shameful a flight was not with him, but with God." Now Petrarch's words, in his later years, were a gospel for all Italy. He had always put into magnificent phrase the vague Italian feeling of the time. To Rome, above all, he was devoted, that Rome which had crowned him with the laurel, had advanced and had ratified his various greatness. He had shared in Rienzi's dreams of the *Buono Stato*. He longed and sought unweariedly for an emperor or pope who should restore to Rome the sceptre of the Occident. No one had criticised with more keenness the sojourn of the popes at Avignon, a barbarous city, swept by a furious wind, bathed by a river wretched indeed compared with the sacred Tiber. Even the French, for him, were barbarians, the mildest of all, it is true, *barbarorum omnium mitiores*. But France was only the rightful slave of Rome, a slave whose successful revolt united Italy could soon repress. The letter on the death of Urban V. is written in December, 1370; this original view of the relations of France and Rome dates from the early reign of Gregory XI. By this final manifesto Petrarch exalted in a dangerous fashion for the Church the sentiment of the historic primacy of Rome. Evidently Italy was losing patience; any day she might be brought to rend the seamless coat. How many months or years would she continue to acknowledge Urban's successor? At this moment the Roman Question assumed, for Christianity itself, a capital importance. Petrarch died tranquilly, one clear summer morning in 1374, his head reclined on a Greek book, leaving to happier men the care of resolving the thorny problems which had tormented his old age, but which he had aggravated by his eloquence. The restorative mission of St. Catherine of Siena was about to commence.

III.

THE successor of Urban V., Pierre de Rogier, a Limousin, the seventh French pope, had been chosen in a few days, December 30th, 1370, by the conclave of Avignon. Nephew of Clement VI., cardinal at sixteen, he was as yet only a deacon when he was raised to the pontificate, at the age of thirty-eight. He was already gaining note as a canonist. He was a timid clerk, of great purity of life, of very delicate health, pale, often ill. Some days after his consecration he demanded of a bishop of the court of Avignon why he was out of residence. "We will all reside," replied the bishop, "when the pope shall reside in

his great bishopric of Rome." This utterance, bold for a courtier, had caused Gregory XI. to reflect. But he was just then reading a pamphlet of French authorship on the edifying text : " A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves." Jericho was explained as meaning Rome and the Patrimony of St. Peter. Gregory's parents kept repeating to their son that this corner of France was the most beautiful kingdom of the world for the chief of the Church, and the good people of Avignon dinned into his ears the proverb invented by Provençals : " Where the pope is, there is Rome." Italy, on her side, was entering upon a revolutionary period, which very soon reached its acute stage. The Ghibelline party, led by the Viscontis ; the Guelph party, communal and republican, irritated by the growth of the Tyrannies ; the populace of the great cities, exasperated by the miseries of the times, all the regulated forces and all the brutal passions of the peninsula, approached each other and began to come to an understanding as against the Church. Since the Church had no more use for Rome, by what title did she pretend to oppress Rome and the vassal cities of the ancient pontifical metropolis ? The bloody and fragile work of the Spanish Cardinal Albornoz, who, under Innocent VI. and Urban V., had imposed, by terror, on the States of the Church, vicars or legates in great part French, was destroyed in a few months. And, indeed, these legates of the Holy See poured oil on the fire, and were losing by their outrages the cities which the popes had entrusted to them. At Perugia a noble lady threw herself out of her palace-window to escape a nephew of Gérard du Puy, abbot of Montmayeur. This nephew carried off another woman, whom his uncle sentenced him, on the pain of death, to restore within the reasonable term of fifty days. At Bologna, Cardinal William Noellet hired of the English free lance, Captain Hawkwood, the Aguto of the Italians, one of those terrible companies which passed from the service of one Tyrant to that of another, and left only ruins on their way ; the Legate baptized this company of brigands by the name of the Holy Company, and turned it loose against Tuscany. Florence raised her red banner, embroidered in silver letters with the word *Libertas*, made alliance with Bernabò, and summoned all Italy to war against the Church. Twenty-four cities, almost all Tuscany, and Queen Joanna of Naples rallied around Florence. In this latter city the revolution became at once a veritable

Jacquerie. Not only were the ecclesiastical possessions confiscated and sold, the dungeons of the Inquisition demolished, the Church courts suppressed, but, to cries of : " Death to the priests ! Long live Liberty ! " the populace dismembered clerks and monks or buried them alive ; a prior of the Chartreuse monks, pontifical legate, was tormented with pincers and then torn in pieces by the crowd. By November, 1375, the flame had reached the cities of the Ecclesiastical State. Perugia forced the Abbot-Legate to capitulate ; Romagna, the Marches, Ravenna, the pious Umbria, the mystic Assisi, then the Patrimony, then the Campagna, flung out from the tops of their towers the ensanguined banner. Bologna, held by her cardinal, quivered with rage. Rome alone in this tempest, while Italy was rising with a thoroughly national energy such as had not been seen since the days of the Lombard League, in the twelfth century—Rome seemed indifferent, and the tocsin refused to sound from the Capitol.

And yet the letters of the Florentine Signoria to the Roman people were sufficiently sonorous. They denounced the hungry French, *Gallicos voratores*, that were gnawing Italy city by city. They pointed to Latium, sanctuary of the ancient civilization, now dishonored by the barbarians. But Rome claimed to settle her own affairs in her own way. The great Italian movement into which Florence was endeavoring to drag her appeared to her quite as much directed against herself as against the Holy See. She was suspicious of the secret thoughts of Florence, which had been so harshly scourged by Pope Boniface, and whose memory was long ; nor had she forgotten how, when all Italy was ready to gather around Rienzi, the selfish abstinence of Florence had ruined the Roman Revolution. Rome had everything to lose if, exhausted by sixty years of anarchy, she fell under the paw of Florence, of Milan, or of Naples. She was now awakened from the dream of a Universal Republic, in which Rienzi, following Arnold of Brescia, had rocked her for a few months. And if a Tyranny was to replace within her the communal authority, what a fall, to pass from the hands of the pope, king of the spiritual world, to the savage domination of a Colonna or an Orsini ! The Church being once destroyed or proscribed forever, Rome was thenceforth merely an Italian city, more wretched than Florence, Venice, Milan, Bologna, or Naples, because she had neither a wealthy citizenship, nor industry, nor a fertile territory, nor maritime com-

merce, and because her population, thanks to street-wars, to plague and famine, was at that moment barely seventeen thousand, thinly strewn over the Seven Hills. Rome, therefore, awaited the return of the Papacy. She desired the legitimate pope, the pale and gentle pontiff of Avignon. Doubtless, the disastrous schism, of which the theoretical conditions have just been noted, was imminent at the opening of 1376. Should Gregory XI. still linger at the foot of the Calvary which Urban V. had not had the strength to climb, what would befall at the hour when the Roman people and clergy should begin to recollect their ancient privilege of choosing the Holy Father by popular acclamation?

St. Catherine, after having tended the victims of the plague in Siena, had been passing most of the year 1375 at Pisa. She had gone thither with her confessor Raimondo, several Dominican preachers, and the ladies of her sisterhood. The Tyrant Gambacorti, the Archbishop Moricotti di Vico, had received her with great honors. She had had trances in the church of St. Christina, and had risen from a vision bearing in hands and feet the stigmata of the Crucified. She had preached in the Cistercian house of the island of Gorgona concerning the way to vanquish temptation. She had been much occupied with the scheme of a crusade against the Turks, who were threatening Rhodes. To this she often recurred; she invited to a share in it Queen Joanna of Naples, Bernabò Visconti, King Charles V. of France (who then had quite other cares), the Queen of Hungary, all the Italian princes. The pope, naturally, was to be the head of the enterprise. Catherine forgot that Crusades, now given up for a century, had never been in favor among the Italians, except in the maritime cities, which had found in them an excellent opportunity of setting up Levantine factories under the shield of Christendom. But the Holy War, for her, meant peace between the allies, the reconciliation of the peoples around the First Bishop, the essay of a Christian commonwealth governed by the pope, a return to the religious royalty of Innocent III. While awaiting this happy day, she had given herself much pains to convert the people of Pisa and Lucca to the cause of the Holy See; it appears that she had obtained from them a sort of armistice or vague promises of pacification. "But they are deeply embarrassed," she exclaims in her first letter to Gregory XI., "for they receive no consolation from you, and the party antagonistic to you threatens them

and stirs them up to the league against the Church." It was at Pisa, as here intimated, that Catherine first came to the consciousness of the deepest seat of the malady that was devouring Italy and caught a glimpse of the remedy for so many sufferings—namely, the pope's return to Rome. She promised God to obtain it.

This letter dates from her return to Siena, about January, 1376. The tone of it is very free, sometimes even audacious; in all her correspondence the saint writes in the name of God, without any constraint. But the letters to Gregory XI., full of accents of tenderness, are charming; she exhorts the young pontiff, supplicates him, reprimands him, caresses him, calls him *my father*, *my grandfather*, *babbo mio*, and after having scolded him, humbly demands his benediction. Subsequently, writing to Urban VI., she develops, in order to express the state of the soul which is imbued with virtue and love divine, a figure doubtless familiar to a nun whose rule by no means condemned innocent dainties. She compares the Christian soul to a conserved orange, from which a gentle fire has withdrawn the bitterness; within, they put all sorts of good things, and around the rind, hardened and steeped in sugar, a light goldfoil, which renders the fruit very pleasant to the view. Such is our conscience when divested of all acrimony, purified of its selfishness by the fire of faith, filled with meekness and patience, conserved in charity, attractive by the gleaming of grace to the eyes of God and of the world. In each of her letters she plunges once or twice into the subtle symbolism so dear to the fourteenth century, and which had spoiled more than one sonnet of Petrarch. The virtues, the intellectual qualities, or the vices of the heart about which she writes often recall the allegories of the Roman de la Rose. The letter sometimes turns to litany. For instance, there are three cardinals that are hesitating between Urban VI. and the false pope, Clement VII., and whom she rebukes for their lukewarmness; they were placed, she says, on the bosom of the Church as flowers from which men expect a refreshing fragrance, against the fabric of the Church as columns destined to uphold the seat of the true pontiff, upon the candelabrum of the Church as lamps to enlighten the faithful. But by the base remissness of the three prelates the flowers are withered, the columns are fallen, the lamps are gone out. All this flows from the religious rhetoric of the time. That which is distinctly peculiar to St. Catherine is the feminine turn of the

thought. The scholastic spirit, God be thanked, has not glided into it. She disdains the grave demonstration of the doctors of the Middle Ages, who never advanced unless escorted, on one hand, by a syllogism, and on the other by a text of Scripture. Catherine does not reason ; she affirms, entreats, threatens, or weeps ; she has nothing to do with the testimony of the sacred books ; she, too, is a prophet, and all the thunderings of Isaiah, all the visions of Ezekiel, would not be worth one of the cries of her heart. She returns incessantly to certain pretty images, the flock of God's sheep, the beautiful garden of Holy Church, all radiant with flowers which give forth a scent, when the gardener addresses himself to plucking up from among them the poisonous herbs. But there are some thorns in the poetical nosegay which she offers to popes, to princes, and to bishops ; she knows it, and it is even because it pricks that she offers the bouquet. "Alas ! alas ! my very sweet grandpapa," she writes to Gregory, "pardon my presumption for what I have said to you and for what I am saying to you to-day ; but the First Truth (God) obliges me to speak thus ; it is His will, Father, which commands you." All these detours lead the way sometimes to a severity of counsel which must have confounded the correspondent of the saint, such as the discreet advice to abdicate the tiara, sometimes to some weakness of the pontifical soul, which she had divined and which she denounces to him ; for instance, the somewhat infantine tenderness of Gregory for his father and mother. In the process of canonization presided over by Pius II., the Italian Church has lovingly emphasized the diplomatic penetration of Catherine. "She read the conscience," her disciple Stefano Magoni had said ; "she knew the disposition of the soul as others do by the expression of the countenance ; she discovered the secret thoughts of those who were visiting her." "It is more dangerous to be near you, if we wish to conceal our thoughts, than to sail on the trackless deep," wrote the same Stefano, "for you see all our hearts."

The style of St. Catherine, so unlike that of his doctors and canonists, perhaps threw the papal jurisconsult off his bearings ; but the enterprises proposed by the young woman to Gregory, in these first weeks of 1376, must have disconcerted him still more. I pass by the scheme of the crusade ; it was conceivable, and was to be long a matter of talk, very platonically taken, it is true. To re-enter Rome after a fortunate debarkation

on the Maremma coast was, perhaps, only a hazardous adventure. But to resume, as a real master, the government of the then so limited pontifical domain, and at the same time to commence, as a true pastor, the reform of the Church, of the cardinals and Italian prelates first, the problem was really almost insoluble. Doubtless, the idea of religious reformation was old : in the eleventh century Gregory VII. and Peter Damiani had made it their dearest hope ; all the Italian dissidents, the Patarins of Milan, the Arnoldists, Joachimites, Fraticelli, Eremites, had embraced it passionately. But how could Gregory XI. have even essayed what the historic conditions of an age of violence had hindered Gregory VII. from accomplishing ? The pope, in the very attempt to purify the Church—that is, to bring the ecclesiastical body back to the Gospel, saw himself constrained, by the necessary restoration of his terrestrial power, to contradict once more the evangelical word : "My kingdom is not of this world." The temporal domination had corrupted the Church ; but the Church had been obliged, in order to endure through the disorders of the Middle Ages, to establish her religious primacy upon the very precarious domination of the popes in the centre of Italy. She had had to enter into the political system of the Occident, in order to remain mistress of Christendom ; to take her place in the feudal order that she might not be annihilated by Roman feudality ; to make of Rome her commune at the epoch of communes ; to oppose the triple crown of the Pontiff to the closed crown of the Emperor. An intense and fatal struggle to keep the strip of territory with which she could not dispense had surrendered her to the terrible greeds which formed the greatness and the wretchedness of the men of the Middle Ages. She had succumbed to the seductions of wealth, to the pride of secular power ; righteousness, modesty, and compassion had withdrawn, little by little, from her sanctuaries. Many things had changed in Italy since the exodus of the Papacy into France ; the communal system was disappearing, ruined by its own excesses ; the communes and the old feudal regime were fusing themselves into a new regime, the Tyranny. Already the Viscontis of Milan were showing how the great Tyrannies would absorb the lesser. As to the Empire, after the ignominious reigns of Henry VII., Lewis of Bavaria, and Charles IV., it had become in Italian eyes a mere archæological curiosity. The realist statecraft of the Italian Renaissance was building up its

work, the absolutely personal power of Machiavel's *principe nuovo*, the unscrupulous master whose pure will is law, and who no longer knows either communal charters or feudal rights or republican traditions. Now the Holy Roman See, scarcely re-established in its historic city, found itself constrained to follow the general evolution of the peninsula; the premature attempt of Boniface VIII. to constitute the pontifical royalty became thenceforward opportune; the independence of the Church, in face of an Italy of princes, could no longer be guaranteed except by the Ecclesiastical Principality. It was needful, therefore, to recommence the combat for life and to set up a new tent for the Bishop of Rome. But the Holy See, entirely absorbed, down to the end of the fifteenth century, in this great terrestrial interest, shaken, moreover, by the Schism, curtailed in its religious primacy by the councils of Constance and Basel, became more impotent than ever for the work of reformation. A hundred and twenty years after St. Catherine the despairing cries of Savonarola were lost in the wilderness. The deep aspiration of these two great souls did not seriously move the Roman Church until toward the middle of the sixteenth century, when the Christian society had divided itself into two irreconcilable families.

Catherine had a sufficiently clear consciousness of the hindrance which the temporal restoration of the Holy See interposed to the moral regeneration of the Church and of Christianity. In the second letter to Gregory XI. she seeks a sort of mean term between the secular sovereignty and the purely spiritual royalty of the pope. She surrenders nothing as respects Rome and the presence in Rome of the successor of St. Peter. "As Vicar of Christ," she writes in her fourth letter, "you ought to repose in the city which appertains immediately to you." "Without doubt," she wrote in the second letter, "you might say, Holy Father: In good conscience, I am bound to maintain and to recover the goods of Holy Church. Alas! I confess, this is true; but it seems right to guard still better a dearer thing. The treasure of the Church is the blood of Christ poured out for souls, and which was not given in order to buy temporal riches, but for the salvation of mankind. Grant that you are held bound to conquer and to keep the treasure and the lordship of the cities which the Church has lost. But you are much more strictly bound to find again so many sheep, which

are no less the treasure of the Church; and when she loses them she becomes poor indeed. It is, then, much better to lose the gold of temporal than the gold of spiritual things; do, then, what it is possible for you to do, and then you will be excused before God and the world; you will smite men with the truncheon of goodness, of love, and of peace much better than with the truncheon of war, and you will recover your goods, both spiritual and temporal. My soul has been shut up all alone with God, with a great thirst for your salvation, for the reformation of Holy Church, and for the blessedness of the whole world, and I believe not that God has left you any other remedy than that of peace. Peace! peace, then, for the love of Jesus Christ crucified!" And in the fourth letter she said again: "Oh, my most holy and sweet grandpapa, to find again your sheep that have rebelliously quitted the fold of Holy Church, I see no other means than peace."

Italy pacified; Rome, apostolic capital of the Occident, but a capital without a kingdom, governed by her Bishop; the pope undisputed master of his basilicas, of the Capitol, of the noblest ruins of the world, and of a melancholy desert stretching to the Sabine range and to the sea, such, in the early months of 1376, was St. Catherine's thought. Florence assumed the duty of dissipating this generous chimera. She answered the pacific overtures of Gregory by the insurrection of Bologna, which, helped by a Florentine troop, expelled its cardinal legate, crying, in its turn: "Death to the Church!" Gregory, dragged on by the French cardinals, replied by a thunderbolt against Florence, the most terrible that a pope has ever hurled. He excommunicated the city, decreed the closing of the churches, put out of the protection of Christian law the persons and the goods of all the Florentines; he permitted any one that might encounter a Florentine to plunder him and take him as a slave, *ut capientium fiant servi*. Florence, whose factories, wares, and florins were diffused from the coasts of the Black Sea to the centre of England, staggered under the pontifical blows. The pontiff of Avignon, not being able to reach her in the heart of the peninsula, began to ruin her in the rest of the world. Already he was chasing the Florentines from the county of Venaissin. The war-party, represented by the Eight, allowed the Signoria of the Priors to despatch to Siena an embassy praying Catherine to mediate between Florence and Gregory XI.

IV.

It was, doubtless, as the wonder-working friend of God that she was summoned by the ancient Guelph city to negotiate a peace. "It was known," writes a chronicler, "that she had lived for days together nourished only by the Host. Secluded from affairs from her very youth, she had passed from contemplation to action by the working of the Divine will. Ignorant of Latin, and not having even learned to read by natural means, she gave profound interpretations of Holy Scripture by virtue of a supernatural revelation. Thus she was often summoned to reconcile adversaries, deliver the possessed, console the afflicted." Catherine entered Florence in May, 1376. Niccolò Soderini received her into his house and presented the Signoria to her. She forthwith took up her diplomatic enterprise. She despatched Fra Raimondo to Avignon, fortified with a message in which she did not spare the pope vigorous home-thrusts of truth. If God, she said, had reft His spouse of her provinces and her joy, it was that He would give witness of His will that He might "see the Church returning to her first estate, poor, humble, and mild, the condition of the holy ages, when she thought only on the honor of God and the salvation of souls, on things spiritual, not temporal, which last have brought her from bad to worse." She added, with a tone of singular authority: "Reply to the Holy Spirit who summons you. I say to you: Come, come, come, and wait not on time, which waits not on you. . . . No longer put off the servants of God, who in affliction await you, and wretched me, who have not the strength to await you longer." Some days later she announces to Gregory her speedy coming: she will herself bear Florence to the pontiff's feet. "I believe that Divine goodness has touched these mighty wolves and is turning them into lambs. You, their father, you, I am sure, will receive them, despite their outrages, for you will call to mind the Word of God and the Good Shepherd, who, finding His wandering sheep, lifts it on His shoulder and brings it back to the fold." But the pope, still inflexible, was sending into Italy a new army of Bretons, commanded by Cardinal Robert of Geneva. The bands of "l'Aguto" (Hawkwood) laid Faenza waste. Imola, Camerino, Macerata, in their turn, shook off the pontifical yoke and set up Tyrants. Florence, refusing to disarm, enticed Rodolfo da Varano from the papal service to make him the Captain-general of the League. The final horrors

threatened Italy. Catherine could delay no longer; she summoned from Siena and from Pisa her dearest disciples and set out for France. June 18th she arrived at Avignon, with an escort of monks and knights. Gregory had made ready for her "a beautiful house, with a highly ornamented chapel." At the end of two days he received her in solemn consistory, seated on the throne, in presence of the Sacred College. The Holy Father and Catherine conversed through an interpreter. She spoke the vernacular Tuscan, and Fra Raimondo translated into Latin. From the very first audience the pope was profoundly moved, and said to her: "In order that you may see clearly that I wish for peace, I remit all things into your hands, I recommend to you only the honor and the possessions of Holy Church."

From this moment she multiplies her measures and her letters. She solicits, at Avignon, the cardinals and the lords attached to the court of Gregory; she scolds, at Florence, the *Eight of the War*, who had just been laying an unseasonable impost on the possessions of the clergy; she urges on the despatch of the Florentine embassy. "You are spoiling for me, by your heedless acts, all that I am sowing here," writes she. The pope, on his part, was impatient at the delays of the Florentines, and began to say: "Believe me, they have deceived me already, and they will deceive you, too." Finally there appeared three deputies of the *Eight*; but they were tricksters charged by their masters, who only wished the prolongation of the imbroglio, with the business of bringing all to naught. Catherine entreated them to confide in her, "in the name of her great love of Florence, for which she was ready to die;" they reply that they do not recognize her powers, and are to treat with the pope alone. But with him they assume so arrogant a tone that the negotiations are broken off. All sorts of intrigues—the jealousy of the courtiers, the hostility of the cardinals, who dread the setting out for Rome, the malevolent curiosity of the Avignon ladies, who mock at the virtue of Catherine—embarrass the young woman's action in the gravest way. While Gregory XI. is glad to converse with her, consults her in the presence of the Sacred College and solicits her prayers, the French prelates hunt her to the very recesses of her cell with their perfidious questionings on the subtleties of theology; they seek to disconcert the Italian mysticism by their scholastic arrogance, to tempt her in her faith, as afterward the inquisitors will do to Joan of Arc. A niece of the pope surprises her in a trance at the

communion-table and runs a needle into her foot; Catherine, awakened by the pain, totters bleeding out of the church.

She struggled meanwhile, without being discouraged; demanded in vehement cries, in face of the cardinals and the clergy, the re-establishment of primitive austerity in the Church, the abolition of simony, a return to the evangelical papacy; she believed that she laid hand on the leader of the crusade in Lewis of Anjou, second son of Charles V.; she reproached Gregory with his timidity and the excess of his amiability; above all, she insisted that the Apostolic See should return to Rome without delay. Never, possibly, since the time of the Jewish prophets had the priesthood been addressed with a more audacious resoluteness. The pope, whose conscience she troubled, felt as it were a strange spell when she stood at his feet; she at once drew on the noble soul of Gregory and wounded it. During the days of this extraordinary apostolate the daughter of the dyer of Siena was really the mistress of the Church and of Christendom. Little by little she chased away the terror which the pope had of the tragic memories of Rome, of the moral tortures endured by Urban V., of the return of his predecessor to Avignon. She bent the will of Gregory, answered his objections, persuaded him that she alone had the right of it against the solicitations of the French king and the Duke of Anjou, the interested uneasiness of the Sacred College, who essayed to frighten the pontiff by bringing up the historic poisonings of the century, the growing feeling of the city, which presumed, even at the cost of a revolt, to hold back the Head of the Church. The Duke of Anjou said to the pope, according to Froissart: "If you die by this step, which you plainly will, as your physicians say, the Romans, who are marvellous traitors, will be masters and lords of all the cardinals, and will make a pope by force at their will." Unquestionably, Gregory XI. was not fearing the enervating climate of Rome, the pestilential vapors of the Tiber, the poisoned figs of which it was said that Benedict XI. had died; he was convinced that God spoke to him by His servant Catherine; nor was it the revolution which this departure was about to add to the troubled history of the Church that he dreaded; but he was suffering in advance the sadness of the last farewells, of the bitter hour, said Dante, "when one has taken leave of his sweet friends." Catherine also divined in him the affright of timid souls that are cast down by the thought of a grave and irrevocable resolu-

tion; he was resigning himself to quitting France, to throwing himself into the Italian furnace, but he did not dare to say, "Tomorrow!" Then she wrote to him that curious letter in which she recommends to him the stratagem "of a holy trick, *un santo inganno*"—"Make as if you would prolong your stay for some time, and then set off on a sudden and very promptly." But she still added: "Let us despatch the matter, my dear Father, without any fear; if God is with you, no one will be against you."

Gregory XI. half agreed to the pleasant deceit which Catherine urged upon him; he secretly caused a galley to be made ready on the Rhone. On September 13th the gates of the pontifical palace opened all at once; the pope, accompanied by fifteen cardinals, made ready to descend toward the river. The mule intended for him at first reared and refused his rider, which seemed an accident of evil augury. The father of the pope ran to him all in tears, and uttering loud cries to prevent his son's departure. "Thou shalt pass first over my body," he said. Gregory replied: "God hath declared: Thou shalt tread upon the lion and the adder, the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet." The crowd, in silence, divided to leave the way open to the Roman Church returning to the Eternal City. At Marseilles, where the company stopped eleven days, twenty galleys, French and Italian, were waiting at anchor, under command of the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. The fleet, assailed on the sea by a violent tempest, which carried off by a wave the Bishop of Luni, was sixteen days in reaching Genoa. St. Catherine had taken the land route, and arrived in Genoa just in time to raise the sinking courage of Gregory. Worn out with the voyage, he was giving way before the importunities of his courtiers; already Rome, stirred up by the emissaries of Florence, was assuming a menacing tone toward the approach of her Bishop; the Holy Father, forgetful of his promises, was engaging himself in open consistency to set out on the return to Provence. Catherine then had recourse to secret interviews at night in the convent cell to which she had withdrawn. Gregory used to come out strengthened from these mystic *tête-à-têtes*; he received from the young woman the illusion of heroism, and she, in the long hours of sleeplessness which followed these furtive meetings, would say to God: "O Eternal Love, if the hesitation of Thy Vicar displeases Thee, punish my frame,

which I offer to Thee ; smite it and destroy it at Thy good pleasure."

On October 20th the pope re-embarked. The sea was even more merciless to him than before. His life was more than once in peril ; his cardinals fell sick ; the Cardinal of Narbonne had to be set on land, and went off to Pisa to die. This passage, interrupted by frequent stoppages at the ports of Liguria and Tuscany, was of astonishing length. The tempest forced the voyagers to delay nine days at Leghorn. They touched at the island of Elba, at Piombino, at Orbitello, at Cape Argentaro, and disembarked at Corneto, December 5th. Negotiations were at once opened between the Cardinals of Porto, Ostia, and Sabina, and the popular parliament of the Capitol, and the treaty formerly concluded with Urban V. was renewed. Rome restored to the pope the rights of feudal sovereignty over the Patrimony, the bridges, gates, towers, and strongholds of the city, the Trastevere and the Leonine city ; the pope promised to leave in office the officers of justice and the communal militia, whose captains were to take the oath to him. After having solemnized a doleful Christmas at Corneto, Gregory had once more to embark upon his Provençal galley, for the revolt of Viterbo and Civita Vecchia closed the land route against him. The next day he landed at Ostia, the desolated region of the embouchure of the Tiber. Toward evening appeared the Roman deputations bringing the treaty ; at night there were dances by torchlight. On the morrow the pope ascended the Tiber in his galley ; the people ran with lights to see the apostolic bark gliding in the darkness under the basilica of St. Paul, that phantom of ancient days. The crew cast anchor in the middle of the stream, and at sunrise Gregory disembarked in presence of the crowd. The train began its march : at the head went mountebanks dressed in white, leaping and clapping their hands ; then two thousand men-at-arms under the orders of Raymond of Turenne. St. Catherine, however, had recommended the avoidance of all military display. "Simply hold the cross in your hand !" she wrote some days previously. The magistrates on horseback, the militia and the cross-bowmen surrounded the pontiff, who rode a richly caparisoned palfrey under a baldachin of purple, whose staves were borne by the Senator and the nobles. The march followed, between the Tiber and the Aventine, the solemn desert of Rome ; before the gate and the battlemented walls of St. Paul were ranged the clergy and the

monks ; it was there that the keys of the city were restored to the pope. The crowd covered even the house roofs ; the women wept for joy ; a rain of flowers fell where the Holy Father passed. Not till toward evening did the procession arrive at St. Peter's, where there were burning eighteen thousand lamps, and Gregory XI., exhausted, threw himself with open arms upon the tomb of the two great apostles, fathers of Christianity and of the Church.

Catherine was not a witness of this triumph prepared by her for the Papacy. She had modestly re-entered her poor house at Siena, believing her mission at an end. An atrocious event came to draw her from her retirement. The ill-understanding between Italy and the Holy See was complicated by an unforeseen tragedy. The city of Cesena had revolted, February 1st, against its Breton garrison, and had massacred three hundred of them ; the Legate brought in the mercenary garrison of Faenza to chastise the rebels. Eight thousand people succeeded in fleeing through the fields ; about four thousand were cut down in the streets or in their houses. The peninsula uttered a cry of affright, and Florence invoked the pity of the princes of Christendom. Rome, whose enthusiasm had soon cooled down, already began to lift her head once more with a gesture of menace. The treaty with the pope remained a dead letter. The nobles and the demagogic Capitol were conspiring simultaneously. Gregory, in May, withdrew to Anagni, the city where Boniface VIII. had drunk his bitter cup. He remained in the fortress until early in November. The Cesena butchery, which might give the signal for a war of extermination, brought the Italian League to serious thought ; notwithstanding the defection of Hawkwood, who sold himself to Florence, the defeat of a nephew of the pope, and the still hostile dispositions of Bernabò Visconti, the Holy See succeeded in bringing back Bologna to the obedience of the Church ; it at the same time deprived the League of its Captain-general, Rodolfo da Varano ; it was reconciling itself with the Romans. It then signed a new treaty of peace, which was subscribed by the assembly of the people. Moreover, if the titles of the magistrates of the commune attached to the parchment give us to note the narrow range which the thoroughly republican constitution of Rome at that time left to the sovereignty of the Head of the Church, nevertheless the Pope had resumed the keys of St. Peter, and the faith of the Christian world was finding again its fixed point of orientation.

Florence, however, still resisted the peace; she offered Gregory unacceptable terms, refused to restore the goods of the Church, to re-establish the ecclesiastical courts, to break with the League. So long as she maintained the rebel cities around her standard, the Roman pontificate remained at the mercy of any surprise. This attitude of the Church's traditional ally is well worthy of attention. It is curious to find again, sixty years after the *Divina Commedia*, in the popular feeling as well as in the government of this city, the mortal hatred of Dante toward the Holy See. Florence felt herself in truth the intellectual capital of Italy, which owed to her the decisive development of her literary language, her greatest poet, her first great school of painting. Why should she not inherit, in the peninsula and in Christendom, by civilization, science, and art the eminent place which Rome had long occupied by virtue of her mystic function? And would she not descend to the second rank on the day when Rome, reknitting the apostolic tradition, should regain the religious supremacy of the world? She brought to this dream of grandeur the passion of a thoroughly democratic city, which believed in the perpetuity of her liberties, while her populace, more and more imperious, repelled disdainfully, on the eve of the Socialist insurrection of the *Ciompi*, this pontifical authority, the highest of the authorities which it proposed to abase. Already the Florentine government was essaying a sort of religious schism. The *Eight of the War*, ringleaders of the party desperate for hostilities, issued an edict in virtue of which the pontifical interdict which, during seventeen months, had closed the churches of the city and of the county, was considered as null, and worship resumed in spite of the Holy See.

Gregory XI. then bethought himself of Catherine of Siena. The latter wrote without delay a letter to the people of Florence, taking for text the words of the Saviour: "With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer." Then she set out. Niccolò Soderini and the citizens devoted to the Church received her with respect. The singular spectacle which at this moment was presented by Florentine Christianity moved her to the heart. The faithful, being no longer able to pray in the churches, were forming lay fraternities, which, joined with companies of Flagellants, spread themselves through the streets singing *lauds* in the vulgar tongue. This fashion of meeting the needs of the con-

science without clergy or liturgy already gave a presage of the free faith of the Reformed. But these symptoms of religious anarchy disquieted the saint the more, as the *fraticelli* were displaying with less constraint their exceedingly personal Christianity, and the heretics, or rather the unbelievers, favored by the Ghibelline Signoria, believed themselves already back in the good old days of the Farinatas and the Cavalcantis. Catherine judged necessary the promptest peace, both religious and political, between the Holy See and Florence. It appertained to the Holy See to tranquillize souls by raising the interdict, and the last two letters of the young woman to Gregory are an appeal to compassion. But, as to political reconciliation, it was for Florence to take the first step. The world of devotees, the old bourgeoisie of the *arts*, reassured by the presence of the nun, aided, by a movement of opinion more apparent than real, the captains of the Guelph *parte* to assure to themselves the preponderance in public affairs. They were, during some weeks, the masters of the government; but, according to the good old revolutionary tradition, far from seeking peace, they smote hard on their Ghibelline adversaries, the creatures of the *Eight*; by the measure of *l'ammonizione* they expelled about a hundred citizens from their magistracies. Stirred up by the *Eight*, encouraged by the gonfalonier of justice, Silvestre de' Mediciis, who was then founding, on the basis of the demagogic party, the growing fortunes of his house, the populace, by a brutal rising, made a first essay of the closely impending revolution of the *Ciompi*. They massacred all the Guelphs they could, pillaged their houses, and having emptied them, burned them. The report ran that Catherine had been the cause of the captain's outrages; the crowd marched upon the house where she abode. Her friends drew her into a garden of the neighborhood; but the riotous throng burst into the garden with cries of death; she had sunk on her knees, and was praying: "It is I," said she to the first who approached her; "take me and kill me! but I command thee, in the name of God, to spare all my friends here!" "These words," she writes, "were like a knife that pierced his heart." When these madmen had withdrawn, she said to her companions: "Wretched woman that I am, who have not been found worthy of martyrdom!" But it was thenceforth evident that the influence of Catherine, all-powerful over the soul of the pope, was lost for Florence. The intervention of the King of

France and of Bernabò himself completed the work on which her strength exhausted itself in vain. The two adversaries agreed to fix the conditions of peace in a congress at Sarzane. The delegates of Florence and those of Rome had scarcely opened the negotiations when Gregory XI. died, March 27th, 1378, after a stay in Italy of fourteen months.

V.

POSSIBLY he died at the right time for the Holy See and for Christendom, for the honor of his name and the repose of Catherine's conscience. He was homesick to desperation for France, felt himself an exile at Rome, lived sad and solitary in the recesses of the Vatican. Already some began to whisper to him counsels of flight; he longed to see once more the sky of Provence. The rumor of his probable departure disquieted the city. His life failed suddenly at the very hour when, by an act of weakness, he might have brought a catastrophe on the Church. The uncertainty which every morrow then offered to Christianity, the approach of the Schism, which he foresaw as men feel a storm coming, filled his soul with an immense anguish. Judging himself near death, he dictated a bull to facilitate the holding of a conclave. He directed the cardinals present at his court to convene instantly, without citing or awaiting their absent colleagues; the conclave might be held indifferently within or without Rome; the election, which was to be as rapid as possible, should be valid even with less than the traditional majority of two thirds; the pope, whoever he might be, that should be chosen by the fathers of the conclave, was to be venerated by the Christian world as legitimate pontiff; Gregory supplicated his cardinals to choose the purest and the worthiest.

I know not if there has ever been a stranger conclave than that which was opened the morrow after the funeral of Gregory XI. The Roman commune, dreading the English bands that were marauding near by, was under arms; the garrisons of Latium were encamped in Rome; the chiefs of the signorial families had been removed from the city, the treasures of the Church transported to the castle of Saint Angelo. The magistrates solicited of the cardinals an Italian pope. On April 7th the Sacred College gathered at the Vatican just as a storm broke over it. While the lightning was descending upon the apostolic palace, a furious crowd, scarce restrained by the communal militia, was crying without: *Romano*

o italiano lo volemo! The French cardinals formed the majority of the electors; they were sincerely willing to give up the election of a new French pope. There were only two Roman cardinals, Tibaldeschi, a mere dotard from age, and Orsini, too young, and of too dangerous a family. The cardinals of Florence and of Milan belonged to cities ill-affected to the Church. The embarrassment was great, the situation terrible. The captains of the wards forced their way into the chapel of the conclave and said, according to Froissart: "Give us a Roman pope, who will stay with us, or we will make your heads redder than your hats." The French then designated, outside the Sacred College, the Vice-Chancellor of the Church, Bartolomeo Prignano, Archbishop of Bari, an austere and learned priest, a client of the House of Anjou, who might be expected to unite the interests of Italy and France. A first ballot was favorable to Prignano. It was about midnight; the people were still crying; were fighting with the guards of the conclave, heaping combustible matters around the Vatican, and sounding the tocsin from all the campaniles. The second ballot gave Prignano all the votes except Orsini's. The latter, out of revenge, while the cardinals were supping, spread on the piazza of St. Peter's the rumor that Tibaldeschi had been chosen, and the joyful populace beat in the doors of the palace and stormed into the conclave to adore their Roman pope. The cardinals, pale with terror, hastily set a pontifical mitre on the aged Tibaldeschi's head, threw a cope over his shoulders, seated the trembling old man on the throne, and abandoning this pope of straw and the true pope concealed, half-dead with fright, in a chamber of the pontifical apartments, escaped in the tumult bareheaded, *sine capis et capellis*. When Tibaldeschi came to his senses, he frankly avowed the tragi-comedy and named the really elected pope. The people, irritated at the treachery, succeeded in overtaking some of the fathers, and dragged them back by force to the conclave, where they confessed the stratagem and proclaimed the true pontiff. The tumult then reached such a pitch that they once more managed to escape from the Vatican, some taking refuge in Saint Angelo, others, in utter bewilderment, fleeing beyond the walls, over the Campagna. The coolness of the chiefs of the commune was the saving of the Church and of the city. The Cardinal of Florence convinced them of the validity of the election; the people cooled down; after all, the new pope was an Italian. Prignano

demanded a third scrutiny; the refugee cardinals at Saint Angelo sent in their votes by writing, while those who were wandering about in the *agro romano* came back one by one to St. Peter's and gave in their adhesion. On April 18th, Easter Day, Urban VI. was crowned according to the rites of immemorial use, and took possession of St. John Lateran.

The Schism did not long have to be waited for. Urban VI. was the very pope to set the Church on fire. So unexpected an elevation exacerbated the pride and the violence of this Neapolitan. From the very first day he was exasperatingly severe toward the cardinals who had just summoned him from his petty bishopric to the government of Christendom. At the first consistory he enjoined on them to return forthwith to apostolic simplicity, to reside in their dioceses, to refuse the presents of princes. This abrupt style of imposing reform displeased the French cardinals, who at once formed, around Robert of Geneva, a party of opposition, encouraged by Joanna of Naples. At the end of May the *Ultramon-tanes* (so called from the Italian point of view) withdrew to Anagni to breathe, as they said, a more salubrious air, leaving Urban at Rome alone with his four Italian cardinals. The pope also took a change of air, and established himself at Tivoli. Meanwhile the Breton bands, responding to the summons of the Sacred College, pushed on to the very walls of Rome, defeated the Romans at the bridge Salara, and then deployed to Anagni. The rebel cardinals, seeing themselves thus supported by an army, on July 20th launched their manifesto. They declared the election of Urban VI. null, as being made under the duress of bodily fear. Urban, with a political wisdom which his reign was not to sustain, declared himself ready to submit to the decision of a council. The irreconcilables rejected this proposition, and, August 9th, published an encyclical enjoining on Urban to abdicate, and on Christendom to refuse him obedience. Notwithstanding the opinions rendered by the first canonists of the time, all favorable to the election, and the last words of poor Tibaldeschi, the sham pope of the night of April 7th, who on his death-bed attested the sincerity of the ballot, the dissidents opened at Fundi a new conclave, to which the three surviving Italian cardinals allowed themselves to be enticed by the hope held out to each of being elected. September 21st, the Cardinal of Geneva, his hands still red with the blood of Cesena, was chosen as Clement VII. The three

Italians protested, and went to hide their shame in a castle of the Orsinis.

Urban returned to Rome. Not being able to re-enter the Vatican, as Saint Angelo was commanded by a French partisan, he, after some shiftings, established himself at Santa Maria Trastevere. He no longer had near him a single one of his cardinals; his prelates, one by one, left him for the pope of Fundi. Never had the Holy Roman See fallen into a desolation more profound. But Catherine was still watching over the Church. At the very opening of the new pontificate, she had found means to bend the haughty soul of Urban in favor of Florence; a peace had been concluded on moderate terms, the interdict taken off, and the city of Dante had again become, writes Matteo Villani, "the right arm of the Church." At the first symptoms of the Schism, she admonished the cardinals of the parricide which they were about to commit; she engaged the pope to name as quickly as possible an Italian consistory. In one day he gave the purple to twenty prelates, two being Orsinis, two Colonnas. He was not prompt enough; France, the University of Paris, Joanna of Naples, a great number of bishops, declared for Clement VII.; they were followed by Savoy, Spain, Scotland; already the Occident no longer distinguished the regular pope from the antipope. In desperation Urban summoned St. Catherine, who tranquilly came to seat herself beside the Roman Chair. He besought her to assemble in the Apostolic City the most eminent Christians of Italy; at a sign of her hand the saints hastened from the depths of their solitudes, from the forests of Vallombrosa, from the mountains of Nizza or of Spoleto. She wrote entreating the monasteries to offer prayer night and day for the Universal Bishop. In the consistories she sustained the courage of the pope and of the Sacred College. Urban VI., reassured by the words of this remarkable woman, resolutely assumed the offensive. He hired a condottiere, Alberigo Barbiano, who defeated the Bretons of Clement VII., and to whom he gave, to adorn his triumph, a banner inscribed, in letters of gold, with the words which were to be afterward the war-cry of Julius II.: "Italy Delivered from Barbarians." Having retaken Saint Angelo, he returned to the Vatican barefooted, in solemn procession, amid throngs of people. The antipope took refuge at Naples, then at Avignon. Urban VI. was thenceforward the Pope of Rome and of Italy. But, like almost all his predecessors, he was only so

far master at Rome as suited the good pleasure of the people. On one day of sedition, the armed crowd invaded the Vatican; Urban VI. recalled to mind the majesty of the final act of Boniface VIII.; he put on the pontifical vestments, and with tiara on brow, seated on the throne, he awaited the rebels, and said to them, as of old our Lord to the Jews: "Whom seek ye?" They stopped in confusion, and silently retired. Catherine still employed herself in pacifying men's minds, preaching to the pope indulgence and charity, to the seditious repentance, to the people of Rome obedience. She solicited the princes of Clement's party, the King of France, Queen Joanna; she encouraged Venice in the acknowledgment of Urban VI.; she aided in the alliance of Lewis of Hungary and Charles of Durazzo, great-grandson of Charles of Anjou, with the Holy See. She thus hastened with a certain feverishness, feeling herself at odds with an historic necessity too strong for her powers, beholding the shadow of death already lengthening out along the path in which she was journeying so dolorously for the glory of God since the day of her first Florentine mission. She was thirty-three years old; so impassioned an apostolate had destroyed her health; she was touching the limit of her pilgrimage. On January 30th, 1380, she wrote for the last time to Urban VI. She recommended prudence to the impetuous pontiff. On February 15th, with extreme difficulty, she dictated her last farewell messages to the faithful Raimondo, her spiritual father. In this letter, in which she imagines that God speaks to her, she sketched, with her accustomed subtilty of observation, the character of the pope: "Look at things in me, Catherine, and see the husband of this bride, the Sovereign Pontiff; see his holy and good intention, which carries him beyond all bounds. I permit him, by his want of self-restraint, and the terror with which he inspires his subjects, to cleanse the Holy Church; but others will come who shall master it by love. Bid my Vicar that he render his authority just, and grant peace to whomsoever shall be willing to receive it." To the disciples who surrounded her bed she addressed the words of the Saviour at His Last Supper, the words of the dying St. Francis to his brethren: "Love one another, my brethren, love one another tenderly, and you will thus show that you still would have me for your mother. . . . Believe firmly, my very sweet children, that, separating myself from my body, I have in truth consumed my life for Holy Church,

and this is my particular gift. I depart from the world where I have suffered without measure, I go to repose myself in the pacific sea, the Eternal God; but I promise you that, far from the darkness of life, united with the true light, I shall be more useful to you than I was here below." At the moment of yielding up her soul, she turned toward her friends and her mother, and said: "My last prayer is that you may always confess with all boldness that Urban is the true pontiff, and that you may not hesitate to die for him and for the Church." She then lifted her hand and traced the sign of the cross over the bowed heads of all those whom she had loved the most, murmured the sacred words: "Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit," and expired with an angelic expression of countenance, April 29th, 1380.

Events of unparalleled horror followed close on the death of St. Catherine. Urban VI. seemed seized with frenzy. He hurled upon the kingdom of Naples Charles of Durazzo, who defeated the army of Joanna I., gained possession of the aged queen, and caused her to be strangled with a silken cord. The Antipope of Avignon, on his side, launched his pretender, another Angevin, Lewis, at the head of a French army. Urban gathered all of Hawkwood's bands that he could and marched on Naples to the aid of his pupil. In a few days he became mortally embroiled with Charles; in place of returning to Rome, he shut himself up with his cardinals in the citadel of Nocera. The Sacred College, which hated him, conspired; in midwinter he had six cardinals thrown to the bottom of a miry cistern, full of reptiles; while the poor creatures, benumbed and famishing, were crying for mercy, the pope, breviary in hand, went up and down, praying with a loud voice, along a gallery from which he could see the cistern, "his face," writes a witness, "glowing like a torch from excess of wrath"—"like a raving madman," write the cardinals who had had the good fortune to remain at Naples. Urban put the kingdom under interdict and deposed Charles, who came to besiege Nocera. To the sound of trumpets, all around the ramparts, the king promised ten thousand florins of gold to any man that should deliver to him the Holy Father, alive or dead. Twice a day the pope appeared at a window of his castle, a bell in one hand, a torch in the other, and excommunicated the Angevin army. An Orsini succeeded in opening to the besieged a passage through the ranks of the besiegers. Urban VI. fled, escorted by some hundreds

of soldiers of fortune of all nations, who only meant to sell him for a few crowns; he carried off his cardinals, almost dying, after seven months of cistern, strapped to their horses. Then began an extraordinary chase, the Pope and the Church fleeing, under the flaming sky of August, through the mountains and the valleys, first toward Salerno, then toward the Adriatic. *En route*, the pope put to death the Bishop of Aquila, and resumed his demoniac course, leaving the corpse lying in the white dust of the highway. At last, still pursued, the cortege reached the sea near Trani; in the offing were seen the Genoese galleys, which took the pontiff on board. Urban VI. did not set foot again in the Eternal City for more than three years.

Such was the strange pope whom Catherine of Siena called "my very sweet Father." Would the spectacle of this pontificate have been able to obscure the faith which "the holy lady" had in her mission, and to inspire in her some regret for having brought back the Papacy from France to Italy, to the seat of the first apostle, to the corner-stone of the Church? The mystics and the prophets have graces peculiar to their state; unworthy as may be the terrestrial instruments of which God makes use to realize His designs, they know that these designs are faultless, and that human crimes and miseries derogate nothing from their beauty. At the beginning of the Schism she had foretold that the Church would pass through cruel trials, but that after the days of mourning would come the time of peace and joy. History has needed many a year to put St. Catherine in the right, and possibly it has not, even down to our day, responded to all her hopes. But, with the prophets and the mystics, time counts for little, for they read in the Book of Eternity secrets which are their consolation and the ratification of their apostolate.

THE LATE CARDINAL NEWMAN.

From *The Living Church* (Episcopalian), Chicago, August 16th, 1890.

CARDINAL NEWMAN, for nearly half a century the most conspicuous figure in the ecclesiastical world; died at the oratory, Birmingham, England, last Monday evening, [Aug. 11] in the ninetieth year of his age. This deceased prelate of the Roman Communion, by the extraordinary circumstances of his career, and from the exalted excellence of his mind and character, was widely known, and enjoyed the profound respect of all

Christian people, as well as those of his own communion. Dr. Newman was reared in the Church of England, under Low Church, Calvinistic traditions. He became a brilliant scholar, Fellow of Oxford, and in 1824, curate of St. Clement's. With what feelings he entered upon the ministry he has since told, in these words:

"Can I forget! I never can forget the day when, in my youth, I first bound myself to the ministry of God in that old church of St. Frieden-side, the patroness of Oxford, nor how I wept most abundant and most sweet tears when I thought what I then had become, though I looked on ordination as no sacramental rite nor even to baptism ascribed any supernatural virtue."

In 1828 he became vicar of St. Mary's whence his fame and influence rapidly radiated. His "Plain and Parochial Sermons" (1834) gave evidence of extraordinary ability as a writer and preacher. These sermons are treasured to-day by many Anglican clergy as the choicest and best books of their collection. It was a sermon of Keble, on "National Apostasy" (1833), that moved Newman to enter upon the aggressive work of Catholic reform in the Church of England, for which recent studies had prepared him, and which culminated in "Tract No. 90," over which the entire Anglican Communion was agitated. This was "the Oxford movement," which was led by Newman, Pusey, and Keble, and to which the Catholic revival in the Anglican Communion is due. There were other great souls enlisted in this struggle for the recovery of the life and liberty which seemed almost to have departed, but by general assent the name of Newman is written first.

The sequel to the twelve years' conflict was a surprise and grief to many. In 1845, Dr. Newman sought rest in the Roman obedience, and the Church of England suffered the loss of other beloved and respected sons. It was a crisis such as we pray may never come again, when some of the wisest and worthiest lost faith in the dear mother that gave them spiritual birth, and turned for shelter and comfort to an alien. By what process of thought and experience the distinguished Oxford priest was brought to give in his submission to the papacy, and to renounce his allegiance to the Apostolic Church of his own country, cannot be fully comprehended. Dr. Newman has essayed to explain his course in the famous "Apologia." Great as was the genius of the departed prelate, trained, and logical, and acute as was his intellect, he was perhaps lacking in the synthetic, scientific quality of mind, by which the premises of dialectics must be tested, and the impulses of piety

and imagination be controlled. One cannot fail to discover in his writings, moreover, how largely the sympathetic and ideal elements dominated his life, and how discouraging to a nature so constituted was the treatment which he and his compeers received from the Churchmen of the day. This is expressed in the following beautiful and pathetic passage from the last sermon which he preached in St. Mary's, Oxford (1843) :

O my mother, whence is this unto thee that thou hast good things poured upon thee and canst not keep them, and bearest children yet darest not own them? Why hast thou not the skill to use their services, nor the heart to rejoice in their love? How is it that whatever is generous in purpose and tender or deep in devotion, thy flower and thy promise, falls from thy bosom and finds no home within thine arms? Thine own offspring, the fruit of thy womb, who love thee and who would toil for thee, thou dost gaze upon with fear, as though a portent, or thou dost loathe as an offence.

It was not that he and his companions in the Tractarian movement were subjected to obloquy and opposed with a bitterness that was almost brutal, but that the Church of England was subjected to Puritan domination, degraded under Erastianism, and humiliated on all sides by the betrayal of her ancient heritage, so that in his mind she was become a hopeless wreck, discredited, unchurched, and unworthy of the allegiance of Catholics. To his fervent imagination the Church of Rome presented an ideal power and authority which was captivating, and he fondly thought to find there the infallibility, peace, and rest for which his weary spirit longed.

Dr. Newman's career in the Roman Communion was one of high honor. In abjuring his allegiance to the mother Church he forfeited position, emoluments, confidence, and, as he thought, friends. But all these soon came back to him. In 1879 he was made a Cardinal, the highest office he could attain, under the Pope. Through all his remarkable career he has been loved for the sweetness and purity of his character as greatly as he has been distinguished for the pre-eminence of his gifts.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

BY REV. S. F. HOTCHKIN.

From *Standard of the Cross and The Church* (Episcopalian), Philadelphia, August 2d, 1890.

THE study of the Fathers, which is increasing in these days, bodes well for Church

unity, for we must go back to early days to find the platform on which the religious world agreed before division came. When the Fathers wrote, the footsteps of Christ and His Apostles were still fresh on the earth, and their voices yet lingered in echoes in the air. Even in the Post-Nicene age, how different was the life of St. Jerome, in his cave at Bethlehem, laying the foundations of the Vulgate, from that of a modern rector, with the busy whirl of a city about him, with its electric railways and newspapers! The work of St. Augustine in Africa would seem strange to a Bishop in the United States.

The Ante-Nicene Fathers show an utter and simple faith in Holy Scripture. Their temple of devout worship had no fellowship with the arena of German criticism of to-day. In modern hypercriticism an absurdity is sometimes uttered which should shame a thoughtful school-boy; and a learned Doctor of Divinity replies to it and thus advertises it. The work of the Fathers in combating heresy is useful now. St. Irenæus, in writing against the Gnostics and other heretics, forged weapons which may yet be wielded. These early writers constantly appeal to Holy Scripture and quote it at length. The Eastern mind is meditative, while the West is full of action. So we find much allegory in the Fathers. They also see Christ in many a passage where dull eyes would not behold Him, as a lover is reminded of the object of his affections at every turn. In persecution heaven is near and earth unimportant, and this feeling is prominent.

Some extracts from these writers will best show their tone of mind, as they speak for themselves. In St. Clement of Rome a beautiful passage occurs, in which he represents the night as sinking to sleep and the day arising, and the "dry and naked" seed as types of the resurrection. Polycarp's adoring hymn to Father, Son and Holy Ghost, at his cruel martyrdom, showed how Christian faith could shine in the darkest night. After the martyr has named the high priest and pro-consul, he bursts forth in these words: "But Jesus Christ being King forever, to whom be glory, honor, majesty and an everlasting throne, from generation to generation. Amen." Compare St. Paul's doxologies. Reverence and worship inspired the early Church. The vividness of the Epistle of Barnabas in calling Satan "the black one" brings out the reality in the mind of the writer.

The quotations of Scripture in these writers are accompanied with comments, which

in the case of St. Hippolytus are extended and not merely in passing. The allegorizing may sometimes teach us that we get too little out of Scripture, and do not meditate enough over it. St. Paul, in referring the muzzled ox to the half-fed clergyman, or Hagar and Sinai to the two Covenants, gives some sanction to this mode of using Scripture. There is an intense reality and earnestness in the Fathers in treating of eternal things. As to Church order, Ignatius commends the Ephesians thus: "Your justly renowned presbytery, worthy of God, is fitted as exactly to the Bishop as the strings are to the harp. Therefore, in your concord and harmonious love Jesus Christ is sung." The nearness in time to the Apostles is manifest when St. Ignatius writes to the Ephesians as having been taught by "Paul, the Christ-bearer, and Timothy, the most faithful."

As to the spirit of this martyr, read the following: "Let our present and true joy be only this, to be found in Christ Jesus, that we may truly live. Do not at any time desire so much as even to breathe apart from Him. For He is my hope; He is my boast; He is my never-failing riches, on whose account I bear about with me these bonds from Syria to Rome." Again he says: "That faith and love toward Christ Jesus which are the beginning and the end of life." "For the beginning is faith and the end is love." Compare 1 Tim. 1:14. As to Church unity, his Epistle to the Magnesians says: "I commend the churches, in which I pray for a union both of the flesh and the spirit of Jesus Christ, the constant source of our life and of faith and love." There were less books about Scripture in early days and the Scriptures themselves were deeply studied by the Fathers, who were permeated with their spirit. Their devotion to the Person of Christ was intense, as was their love to Him and readiness to suffer for Him. The memory of His good deeds was strong, and the blessed Name of Christ was, indeed, "as ointment poured forth," or as honey in the mouth and music in the ear. As to Sunday, St. Ignatius says: "Let every friend of Christ keep the Lord's Day as a festival, the resurrection day, the queen and chief of all the days of the week." His expression for covetous men is striking. It is literally, "whirlpools of wealth." As to baptism, he writes to the Trallians: "That by believing in His (Christ's) death ye may by baptism be made partakers of His resurrection." He desired not flattery, but said that those who commended him scourged

him. As to false doctrine his injunction is, "Stop your ears, therefore, when any one speaks to you at variance with Jesus Christ."

This reminds one of the effect when an unlearned believer, in an ancient church council, merely recited the Creed and brought those arguing to worship God in a wonderful manner. There is now, perhaps, too much of running after the details of heresy, and filling the mind with rubbish, when it is more needful to stock it with truth. The Incarnation and Divinity of Christ are strongly insisted on by Ignatius. The heresy of the Docetæ was then active and torturing to one who was ready to die by the wild beasts for attesting the reality of Christ's incarnation. We find him, like St. Paul, asking the prayers of his brethren. As to his martyrdom he writes the Romans: "Pray, then, do not seek to confer any greater favor upon me than that I be sacrificed to God while the altar is still prepared; that, being gathered together in love, ye may sing praise to the Father, through Christ Jesus, that God has deemed me, the Bishop of Syria, worthy to be sent for from the East unto the West. It is good to set from the world unto God, that I may rise again to Him." He had an earnest desire for martyrdom, thus expressed: "I write to the churches and impress on them all that I shall willingly die for God, unless ye hinder me. I beseech of you not to show an unseasonable goodwill toward me. Suffer me to become food for the wild beasts, through whose instrumentality it will be granted to me to attain to God. I am the wheat of God, and let me be ground by the teeth of the wild beasts that I may be found the pure bread of Christ. . . . Wher I suffer I shall be the freed-man of Jesus, and shall rise again emancipated in Him. . . . Let fire and the cross; let the crowds of wild beasts; let tearings, breakings and dislocation of bones; let cutting off of members; let shatterings of the whole body; and let the dreadful torments of the devil come upon me; only let me attain to Jesus Christ. . . . It is better for me to die in behalf of Jesus Christ" (literally, "into Jesus Christ") "than to reign over all the ends of the earth." In his expression, "My Love has been crucified," it seems to be a question as to whether the reference is to Christ or the "natural desires of the heart."

As to the wedded state of the Apostles, the following words of St. Ignatius to the Philadelphians are important: "Peter and Paul and the rest of the Apostles that were

married men." As to the Old Testament, he says: "I do also love the prophets as those who announced Christ, and as being partakers of the same Spirit with the Apostles. . . . Being reckoned along with [us] in the gospel of the common hope." The words of this martyr to Polycarp, "Stand firm as does an anvil which is beaten," inspired a fine poem written by Bishop G. W. Doane. He also says to his brother martyr: "Let your baptism endure as your arms; your faith as your helmet; your love as your spear; your patience as a complete panoply." When Ignatius is in danger of death he thinks of his beloved Church at Antioch, and desires Polycarp to see that messengers were sent to it from Smyrna and the adjacent churches.

The warmth of the Eastern mind is displayed in these ancient writings. Idolatry pressed on the Christian teachers then as on the missionaries now. In the anonymous Epistle to Diognetus, in treating of the "Vanity of Idols," the following words occur: "Is not one of them a stone similar to that on which we tread? Is not a second brass, in no way superior to those vessels which are constructed for our ordinary use? Is not a third wood, and that already rotten? Is not a fourth silver, which needs a man to watch it lest it be stolen? Is not a fifth iron, consumed by rust? Is not a sixth earthenware, in no degree more valuable than that which is formed for the humblest purposes? Are not all these of corruptible matter?" The indignation of the writer at the folly of idolatry may be compared to the spirit of Isaiah. As to the character and success of Christians, he said: "Every foreign land is to them as their native country, and every land of their birth as a land of strangers." He says that the Christians increase in number, though persecuted. Of Christ, he writes: "Through whom the Church is enriched and grace widely spread, increases in the saints, furnishing understanding, revealing mysteries." As to worship: "Then the fear of the law is chanted, and the grace of the prophets is known, and the faith of the Gospels is established, and the tradition of the Apostles is preserved, and the grace of the Church exults."

"The Pastor of Hermas" consists of visions, commandments and similitudes. In one of the commandments a small piece of wormwood is described as destroying the sweetness of a jar of honey, if put into it; and thus, it is added, anger pollutes patience. As to fasting, one of the similitudes suggests that the price of the dishes

intended to be eaten, but refrained from, should be given to a widow or an orphan, or some person in want. In allegorizing, there was a widening of Scripture meaning, that the reader might get more spiritual food from it. In one of the similitudes respecting the Church, a white mountain beautifully represents those who were as infant children in their innocence. In a similitude of a tower round stones needed squaring to enter the wall of the tower; and so riches must be cut down by the chisel to make their owner fit for the Christian temple of Christ's Church.

The fragments of the writings of the ancient Papias show how diligently he inquired after the sayings of the Apostles.

Justin Martyr thought Plato under obligation to Moses for his account of the creation. He refers to Christ as speaking to Moses in the burning bush, and the cloud of fire which led the people. With this writer baptism was regeneration. The name of the Trinity was used, and the sacrament had been handed down from the Apostles to obtain remission of sins; and it was called illumination, because by it the understanding was enlightened. In Justin's dialogue with Trypho, the Jew, there is a dramatic opening. Justin, in a philosopher's garb, is represented as meeting Trypho and his companions in the walks of the Xystus (a long open or covered court with porticos for athletic exercises), at Ephesus. [See Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, 4, 11 and 18, about the philosophic dress and the dialogue.] Trypho hails Justin as a philosopher, and says that Corinthus, the Socratic in Argos, taught him to associate with philosophers, that perhaps he might obtain some advantage from them. He adds that Justin might give some benefit; and so, according to the old peripatetic mode of philosophic treating, Trypho and his companions follow Justin Martyr. Then comes a discourse concerning God. There is introduced a striking account of the meeting of Justin with a meek and venerable old man, when he himself was seeking quietness for meditation, in a field near the sea. Justin's description of the prophets is noteworthy. He says that they neither revered nor feared man, nor sought glory, but spake what they saw and heard when filled with the Holy Spirit. Of Christ's words, he declares that they possess a terrible power, and are sufficient to inspire those who turn aside from the path of rectitude with awe and afford the sweetest rest to those who diligently practice them. Baptism he considered able to purify the re-

pentant, and says, "this is the water of life." It is not to cleanse the flesh and body alone. He uses this expression: "Baptize the soul from wrath and from covetousness, from envy and from hatred; and lo! the body is pure." He says: "Christ is King, and Priest, and God, and Lord, and angel, and man, and captain, and stone, and a son born, and first made subject to suffering, then returning to heaven, and again coming with glory, and He is preached as having the everlasting kingdom, and so I prove from all the Scriptures." A quotation from Psalm 72 follows about God giving judgment to the king, and righteousness to the king's son. Also from Psalm 24 to show that Christ is "the Lord of hosts" before whom the "everlasting doors" are to lift up. In the diapsalm of Psalm 47, that is, after "Selah," "God is gone up with a shout," etc., and Psalm 99, "The Lord reigneth," etc., Justin argues that there is a prophecy of Christ, the Messiah. Psalm 45: "Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever," etc., and Psalm 68 as to the ascension and giving gifts to men, are also considered as referring to Christ. In the relation of the Christian to the Jew and the Gentile, there is an intense earnestness in the writings of Justin Martyr, as it was a burning question in his day. The transfixed, crossed spits of the roasted lamb reminded this devout man of the cross of his Saviour. He saw figures of Christ in the lamb and the scapegoat. The two goats, one sent away and the other sacrificed at Jerusalem, prefigured to him the two appearances of Christ, and in the second appearance he believed that the Jews would recognize Him whom they had rejected. The oblation of fine flour in the Jewish service, to him, was a figure of the Holy Communion. This was the "pure offering" in Malachi 1: 10-12.

In Justin's "Discourse to the Greeks," the "Closing Appeal" is a beautiful, strong and eloquent statement of the power of Christianity to overcome sin. But let those who would enjoy these ancient worthies read for themselves the various writers who follow those whom we have given as specimens of their time.

IS UNION POSSIBLE?

ADDRESS OF ARCHBISHOP IRELAND BEFORE
THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION,
AT ST. PAUL, MINN., JULY 10TH.

From the *New York Freeman's Journal* (R. C.), July 19, 1890.

I WILL be permitted to make at once my

profession of faith. I declare most unbounded loyalty to the Constitution of my country. I desire no favors. I claim no rights that are not in consonance with its letter and its spirit. The rights which the Constitution allows I do claim, and in doing so I am but the truer and more loyal American.

In what I may say to this distinguished audience, the principles of our common American citizenship shall inspire my words. I beg that you listen to me, and discuss my arguments in the light of these principles. I am the friend and the advocate of the State school. In the circumstances of the present time I uphold the parish school. I do sincerely wish that the need of it did not exist. I would have all schools for the children of the people State schools.

The accusation has gone abroad that Catholics are bent on destroying the State school. Never was there an accusation more unfounded. I will summarize the articles of my school creed; they follow all the lines upon which the State school is built.

The right of the State school to exist I consider, is a matter beyond the stage of discussion. I most fully concede it. To the child must be imparted instruction in no mean degree, that the man may earn for himself an honest competence, and acquit himself of the duties which society exacts from him for its own prosperity and life. This proposition, true in any country of modern times, is peculiarly true in America. The imparting of this instruction is primarily the function of the child's parent. The family is prior to the State. The appointment of Providence is that under the care and direction of the parent, the child shall grow both in body and mind. The State intervenes whenever the family cannot or will not do the work that is needed. The State's place in the function of instruction is loco parentis. As things are, tens of thousands of children will not be instructed if parents remain solely in charge of the duty. The State must come forward as an agent of instruction; else ignorance will prevail. Indeed, in the absence of State action, there never was that universal instruction which we have so nearly attained, and which we deem necessary. In the absence of State action I believe universal instruction would never in any country be possible. State action in favor of instruction implies free schools in which knowledge is conditioned in the asking; in no other manner can we bring instruction

within the reach of all children. Free schools! Blest indeed is the nation whose vales and hill-sides they adorn, and blest the generations upon whose souls are poured their treasures! No tax is more legitimate than that which is levied for the dispelling of mental darkness, and the building up within a nation's bosom of intelligent manhood and womanhood. The question cannot be raised, how much good accrues to the individual tax-payer; the general welfare is richly served, and this suffices. It is scarcely necessary to add that the money paid in school tax is the money of the State, and it is to be distributed solely by officials of the State, and solely for the specific purposes in view of which it was collected. I unreservedly favor State laws.

Instruction is so much needed by each citizen for his own sake and for that of society, that the father who neglects to provide for his child's instruction sins against the child and against society and it behooves the State to punish him. Of course, first principles must not be forgotten and since instruction is primarily the function of the parent, the State entering into action *loco parentis*, the parent enjoys the right to educate his child in the manner suitable to himself, provided, always, that the education given in this manner suffices for the ulterior duties of the child toward himself and society. Compulsory education implies attendance in schools maintained and controlled by the State, only when there is no attendance in other schools known to be competent to impart instruction in the required degree. The compulsory laws recently enacted in certain States of the Union are, to my judging, objectionable in a few of their incidental clauses. These, I am confident, will readily be altered in approaching legislative sessions. With the body of the laws, and their general intent in the direction of hastening among us universal instruction, I am in most hearty accord. It were idle for me to praise the work of the State schools of America in the imparting of secular instruction. We all confess its value. It is our pride and our glory. The Republic of the United States has solemnly affirmed its resolves that within its borders no clouds of ignorance shall settle upon the minds of the children of its people. To reach this result its generosity knows no limit. The free school of America—withered be the hand raised in sign of its destruction! What makes the parish school necessary?

Can I be suspected of enmity to the State school because I fain would widen the ex-

pense of its wings until all the children of the people find shelter beneath their cover, because I tell of defects which for very love of the State school I seek the remedy? I turn to the parish school. It exists. I repeat my regret that there is the necessity for its existence. In behalf of the State school, I call upon my fellow-Americans to aid in the removal of this necessity. Catholics are foremost in establishing parish schools. Seven hundred and fifty thousand children, it is estimated, are educated in their parish schools. A lack of material means prevents them from housing the full number of children. Lutherans exhibit great zeal in favor of parish schools. Many Episcopalians, and some in different other Protestant denominations, commend and organize parish schools. The different denominational colleges of the country are practically parish schools for the children of the richer classes. The spirit of the parish school, if not the school itself, is widespread among American Protestants, and is made manifest by their determined opposition to the exclusion of Scripture reading and devotional exercises from the school-room.

There is dissatisfaction with the State school as at present organized. The State school, it is said, tends to the elimination of religion from the minds and hearts of the youth of the country.

This is my grievance against the State schools of to-day. Believe me, my Protestant fellow-citizens, that I am absolutely sincere when I now declare that I am speaking for the weal of Protestantism as well as that of Catholicism. I am a Catholic, of course, to the tiniest fibre of my heart, unflinching and uncompromising in my faith. But God forbid that I desire to see in America the ground which Protestantism occupies exposed to the chilling and devastating blast of unbelief. Let me be your ally in stemming the swelling tide of irreligion, the death-knell of Christian life and of Christian civilization, the fatal foe of souls and of country. That is what we have to fear—the materialism that sees not beyond the universe a living, personal God, or the agnosticism which reduces Him to an indescribable perhaps. The evil is abroad, scorning salvation through the teachings and graces of Jesus Christ, sneering at the Biblical page, warring upon the sacredness of the Christian Sabbath, and the music of its church bells, telling of heaven and the hopes of immortal souls. Let us be on our guard. In our jealousies lest Protestants gain some advantage over Catholics, or

Catholics over Protestants, we play into the hands of unbelievers and secularists. We have given over to them the school, the nursery of thought. Are we not securing to them the mastery of the future? The State school is non-religious, it ignores religion.

There is and there can be no positive religious teaching where the principle of non-sectarianism rules. What follows? The school deals with immature, childish minds, upon which silent facts and examples make deepest impression. The school claims nearly all the time remaining to pupils outside of rest and recreation; to the school they will perforce amid the struggle of later life look back for inspiration. It treats of land and sea, but not of heaven; it speaks of statesmen and warriors, but is silent on God and Christ; it tells how to attain success in this world, but says nothing as to the world beyond the grave. The pupil sees and listens; the conclusion is inevitable that religion is of minor importance. Religious indifference will be his creed; his manhood will be, as his childhood in the school, estranged from God and the positive influences of religion. The brief and hurried lessons of the family fireside and the Sunday-school will not avail. At best, the time is too short for that most difficult of lessons, religion. The child is tired from the exacting drill of the school-room, and will not relish an extra task, of the necessity of which the teacher, in whom he confides most trustingly, has said nothing. The great mass of children receive no fireside lessons, and attend no Sunday-school, and the great mass of the children of America are growing up without religion. Away with theories and dreams; let us read the facts. In 10,000,000 homes of the land the father hastens to his work in the early dawn before his children have risen from their slumbers, and in the evening an exhausted frame bids him seek at once repose, with scarcely time allowed to kiss his little ones. The mother toils from morning to night that they may eat and be clothed; it is mockery to ask her to be their teacher. What may you expect from the Sunday-school? An hour in the week to learn religion is as nothing, and only the small number will be present during that hour. The churches are open and teachers are at hand, but the non-religious school has claimed the attention and the hard work of the child during the five days of the week; he is unwilling to submit to the drudgery of another hour's work on Sunday. Accidentally, and unintentionally, it may be,

but, in fact, most certainly, the State school crowds out the work of the Church, and takes from it the opportunities to secure a hearing. The State need not teach religion; but for the sake of its people, and for its own sake, it should permit and facilitate the action of the Church. It hinders this action. The children of the masses are learning no religion.

The religion of thousands, who are supposed to be religious, is the merest veneration of mind and heart. Its doctrines are vaguest and most chaotic notions as to what God is, and what our relations to Him are. Very often it is mere sentimentality, and its precepts are the decorous rulings of natural culture and natural policy. This is not the religion that built up in the past our Christian civilization, and that will maintain it in the future. This is not the religion that will subjugate passion, and repress vice. It is not the religion that will guard the family and save society.

Let the State look to itself. The mind which it polishes is a two-edged sword—an instrument for good or an instrument for evil. It were fatal to polish it without the assurance that in all likelihood it shall be an instrument for good.

I am not questioning how far we may lay at the door of the non-religious school the breaking up of Christian creeds, the growth of agnosticism and unbelief, the weakening of public and private morals, and the almost complete estrangement of the poor and working classes from the Church organizations. But I do submit that these dreaded evils of our day should awaken us from our lethargy and compel us to bestow more than the ordinary care upon the religious instruction of the children of the land, that they may have the strength to withstand the fierce temptations surrounding them, and not, rather, by their precipitation into the maelstrom, intensify the evils.

Do not say that the State school teaches morals. Christians demand religion. Morals without the positive principles of religion, giving to them root and sap, do not exist. What seem to be morals without religion are the blossoming of fortune and kindly disposed natures or habits fashioned from Christian traditions that grow weaker as the traditions become remote.

To the American people at large—religious-minded and God-fearing as I know them to be—I put the question: Ought we not to have in connection with the school religious instruction? That there are serious difficulties in the way I confess. But are we to stop at difficulties when it is in-

cumbent upon us to reach the goal? I do not mistrust the reply. Secularists and unbelievers will interpose their rights. I allow them their rights. I will not impose upon them my religion, which is Christianity. But let them not impose upon me and my fellow-Christians their religion, which is secularism. Secularism is a religion of its kind, and usually a very loud-spoken and intolerant religion, and when non-sectarianism is intended the secularist sect must not claim for itself the field which it refuses to others. I am taking my stand upon our common American citizenship. The liberty I claim, that I grant.

I come to the chief difficulty in the premises. The American people at large are Christians, but they are divided among themselves. Yes, they are divided. Not to speak of other differences, there is a radical and vital one between Protestantism of all forms and Catholicism. I am not arguing. I am relating facts. Well-meaning and well-deserving men have proposed as a remedy in this instance that there be taught in connection with the schools a common Christianity. This will not do. Catholics in fidelity to their principles cannot accept this common Christianity. What comes to them not bearing on its face the stamp of Catholicity is Protestant in form and in implication, even if it be Catholic in substance. This being the settled fact, American Catholics will not, of course, inflict Catholicism upon non-Catholic or Protestant children, and with similar fair-mindedness American Protestants do not inflict Protestantism upon Catholic children. Some compromise becomes necessary. Is it not ten thousand times better that we make the compromise rather than allow secularism to triumph and own the country? I turn to all Americans—secularists as well as Christian believers, and I address them in the name of American citizenship. We are a practical people, and when we find facts before us, whether we like or dislike them, we deal with them with an eye to the general good. Dissatisfaction will exist with the State school, because of its exclusion of religion. The dissatisfaction will exist so long as no change is made. It is founded on conscience.

Is not the fact of this dissatisfaction sufficient that Americans set to earnestly and with a good will to remove this cause? The welfare of the country demands peace and harmony among citizens. Let us put an end to the constant murmurings and bitter recriminations with which our school war fills the air. Since we are proud of

our State school and prize its advantages, let us make an effort that all the children of the people enjoy these advantages. If there be a public institution, as the State school, supported by all the people, avowedly for the benefit of all the people, let it be such that all may use it. Be there no taxation without representation in the enjoyment of the benefits thereof. Let us most studiously avoid raising barriers to the use of those benefits, and, in a most especial manner, those barriers that the opposition to them comes in the name of conscience. I invoke the spirit of American liberty and American institutions. Our views, perhaps, differ diametrically from those of others of our fellow-citizens; we may deem their views utterly wrong. Still, is not the duty of Americans that of peace and concession, so that others be as undisturbed in their conscience as we are in ours? Does it matter that we happen to be in the majority? Brute numerical force may be legal; it is not justice, it is not the spirit of America. Minorities have rights, and as speedily as it is possible with the public weal should the majority recognize them. It is no honor to America that 10,000,000 or more be required by law to pay taxes for the support of schools to which their conscience forbids access, and to be, furthermore, in order to be true to conscience, compelled by their zeal for the instruction of their children to build school-houses of their own and pay their own teachers. It is no honor for the remaining 50,000,000 to profit for themselves of the taxes paid by the 10,000,000. The cry that the State schools are open to them if they silence their consciences is not a defence that will hold before the bar of justice. The aspect of the case is the more serious when we consider that those 10,000,000 are largely among the poorer classes of the population, and they are sincerely and loyally desirous to obtain the benefits of the State school, if only the obstacles be removed. It is no honor to the American Republic that she be more than any other nation foremost in efforts to divorce religion from the schools. No country goes in this direction as far as ours. We have entered upon a terrible experiment; the very life of our civilization and of our country is at stake. I know not how to account for this condition of things, passing strange in America. Neither the genius of our country nor its history gives countenance to it. The American people are naturally reverent and religious. Their laws and public observances breathe forth the perfume of religion. The American school, as it first

reared its log walls amid the villages of New England, was religious through and through. The present favor to a non-religious school is, I verily believe, the thoughtlessness of a moment, and it will not last.

I solve the difficulty by submitting it to the calm judgment of the country. No question is insoluble to Americans, which truth and justice press home to them. Other countries, whose civilization we do not despise, have found a solution. I instance but England and Prussia. We are not inferior to them in practical legislation and the spirit of peaceful compromise. Suggestions of mine must be necessarily crude in form, and local and temporary in application. I will, however, speak them. I would permeate the regular State school with the religion of the majority of the children of the land, be it as Protestant as Protestantism can be, and I would, as they do in England, pay for the secular instruction given in denominational schools according to results—that is, each pupil passing the examination before State officials and in full accordance with the State programme would secure to his school the cost of the tuition of a pupil in the State school. This is not paying for the religious instruction given to the pupil, but for secular instructions demanded by the State, and given to the pupil as thoroughly as he could have received in the State school. Another plan: I would do as Protestants and Catholics in Poughkeepsie, and other places in our country, have agreed to do, to the great satisfaction of all citizens and the great advancement of educational interests. In Poughkeepsie the city school board rents the buildings formerly used as parish schools, and from the hour of 9 A.M. to that of 3 P.M. the school is in every particular a State school—teachers engaged and paid by the board, teachers and pupils examined, State books used, the door always open to superintendent and members of the board. There is simply the tacit understanding that so long as the teachers in those schools, Catholic in faith, pass their examinations and do their work as cleverly and loyally as other teachers under the control of the board, teachers of another faith shall not be put in their place. Nor are they allowed to teach positive religion during school hours. This is done outside the hours for which the buildings are leased to the board. The State, it is plain, pays not one cent for the religious instruction of the pupils. In the other schools Protestant devotional exercises take place, in fullest freedom, before the

usual school hour. Do not tell me of the difficulties of detail in the working out of either of my schemes. There are difficulties; but will not the result be fullest compensation for the struggle to overcome them? Other schemes more perfect in conception and easier of application will, perhaps, be presented in time; meanwhile, let us do as best we know.

Allow me one word as a Catholic. I have sought to place on the precise line where it belongs the objection of the Catholics to the State school. Is it fair, is it honest, to raise the cry that Catholics are opposed to education, to free schools, to the American school system? I do lose my patience when adversaries seek to place us in this false position, so contrary to all our convictions and resolves. In presence of this vast and distinguished assembly, to have addressed which is an honor which I shall never forget, I protest with all the energy of my soul against the charge that the schools of the nation have their enemies among the Catholics. Not one stone of the wondrous edifice which the Americans have built up in their devotion to education will Catholics remove or permit to be removed. They would fain add to the splendor and majesty by putting side by side religion and the school, neither interfering with the work of the other, each one borrowing from the other aid and dignity. Do the schools of America fear contact with religion? The Catholics demand the Christian State school. In so doing they prove themselves the truest friends of the school and the State.

ARCHBISHOP IRELAND'S TWO PROPOSALS.

From The Independent, New York, July 31, 1890.

ARCHBISHOP IRELAND, in his now famous address before the school teachers at St. Paul, after protesting his love for the American public school, and his regret that certain peculiarities in it forbade Catholics to use it, offered two compromises, either one of which would, in his view, obviate the Catholic objections. Let us briefly consider the two:

"I would permeate the regular State school with the religion of the majority of the children of the land, be it as Protestant as Protestantism can be, and I would, as they do in England, pay for the secular instruction given in denominational schools according to results. That is, each pupil passing the examination before State officials, and in full accordance with the State programme, would

secure to his school the cost of the tuition of a pupil in the State school. This is not paying for the religious instruction given to the pupil, but for secular instruction demanded by the State, and given to the pupil as thoroughly as he could have received in the State school."

It was a slip of the tongue by which the Archbishop says this would not be "paying for the religious instruction given to the pupil" in the denominational schools. If the State school is made "as Protestant as Protestantism can be," then the teacher is paid for making it so—that is, is paid for teaching religion; and by parity of reasoning, the teacher in the denominational school, is, and ought to be, paid for his religious teaching.

But, to begin with, this is not a modification, but a revolution. We Protestants cannot accept it. We do not want the State to make our public schools "as Protestant as Protestantism can be." We do not trust the State enough for that. We do not want the State to interfere with our religious matters. We cannot depend on the State to provide the sort of teachers always to whose religious instruction we are willing to commit our children. We know too well what that means. If the State can see to it that in its schools the children are taught its own Protestant religion, then it can say that this is a Protestant country, and that we do not want any but Protestants to come here; that other religions are foreign and un-American, unpatriotic and seditious; that Catholic parochial schools are a menace to our Protestant institutions, and if Catholic schools, then Catholic churches; and the step is not a long one, and is a most logical one, to persecution. A State Church means persecution. There is always quarrel until you have either an absolute persecuting State Church, or an absolutely free Church. The Protestant State Churches of Europe are rapidly becoming free Churches. So far as they are not free the religion of the minority is practised under a disadvantage. Catholics and Dissenters even in England now suffer under serious disadvantages, which are not persecution simply because England is moving perceptibly toward complete disestablishment. Archbishop Ireland knows very well how the interference of the State with the Church works in Italy or France or Spain, three most Catholic countries, or in Mexico or Brazil or the Argentine Republic, three leading American-Catholic countries; and does he wonder that we Protestants do not care to trust the State to have any control of our religious matters? Does he not remember how he and his friends, at the

late Catholic Jubilee in Baltimore praised the Amendment to the Constitution which forever separates Church and State, as the *Magna Charta* of Catholic rights and the condition of Catholic prosperity in this country, which has made this the happiest country in the world for Catholics, as it is for Protestants? And now would he have us Protestants throw away our independence and make our public schools "as Protestant as Protestantism can make them?" For ourselves, in our own self-defence, we reject the proposition, and we refuse to let the State teach any religion, whether Protestant in the State schools or Catholic or Jewish in the religious schools.

The Archbishop's other proposition is this:

"I would do as Protestants and Catholics in Poughkeepsie, and other places in our country, have agreed to do, to the great satisfaction of all citizens and the great advancement of educational interests. In Poughkeepsie the city school board rents the buildings formerly used as parish schools; and from the hour of 9 A.M. to that of 3 P.M. the school is in every particular a State school—teachers engaged and paid by the board, teachers and pupils examined, State books used, the door always open to superintendent and members of the board. There is simply the tacit understanding that so long as the teachers in those schools, Catholic in faith, pass their examinations and do their work as cleverly and loyally as other teachers under the control of the board, teachers of another faith shall not be put in their place. Nor are they allowed to teach positive religion during school hours. This is done outside the hours for which the buildings are leased to the board. The State, it is plain, pays not one cent for the religious instruction of the pupils. In the other schools let Protestant devotional exercises take place, in fullest freedom, before the usual school hour."

This, on the face of it, is more plausible. It is based on the supposition that Protestants want their schools to begin with Protestant devotional exercises or instruction, and that Catholics ought to have the same privilege. That is right, so far. Just as long as Protestants insist, against all their principles of separation of Church and State, that there shall be religious exercises in the public schools, they have no argument against the Catholics. The reading of the Bible or prayer in public schools is a relic of a State Church, such as we used to have; and the fear of dropping it, lest religion should suffer, is the survival of the cowardice which used to make the Church think it would perish if it lost the support of the State.

In further reply to this the Archbishop's alternative proposition, we make, on one side, the answer that we do not want the "Protestant devotional exercises." It opens the way for them to be required, at

any rate required of the teacher if not of the pupil, and we do not trust the State to provide teachers of devotion. For our part we repudiate and reject the privilege which this allows us.

On the other side, the State is asked to provide and pay for Catholic religious instruction. It is absurd to say that these Catholic teachers are not to be paid for teaching religion. They are paid full salary, more, probably, than the teachers in the Catholic parochial schools now receive; and, thus paid by the State, they are required by somebody, practically by the State, to teach religion. If they do not teach religion, and this particular religion, they are dismissed. Further, they are employed only on condition that they shall be Catholics and teach Catholicism. Now, if that is not going back on the fundamental principle of our American institutions, and of the First Amendment so much extolled at the Baltimore Jubilee, then we fail to understand what a contradiction is. How would the Archbishop like his own proposition in practice? Here is a Catholic school on the Poughkeepsie plan. Ten Catholics apply for examination to the school board, five of them brothers of an order approved by himself and five of them admirers of Dr. McGlynn and members of the Anti-Poverty Society. The school board decides that the latter are good enough Catholics and would make the better teachers. What a row would be immediately started! But that is just the infelicity constantly arising in a union of Church and State.

The fact is, that there is no compromise possible. It is either Free Church or Enslaved Church. Our institutions are based on the Free Church system, and Catholics like it, and we must defend them and ourselves against any other. It works well. Sir Charles Dilke says that Russia and the United States are the two most religious countries in the world, and for this reason the most dangerous in war. If we want to keep a people religious, we must trust the Church to teach them and not the State; and this is equally true for Catholics and Protestants.

THE NEW UNITARIANISM.

From *The Christian Register*, (Unitarian), Boston, July 31, 1890.

WE hear much in these days of the New Theology, but the word "new" is not very definite chronologically. Many of the po-

sitions set forth by certain advocates of the New Theology have been long familiar to Unitarians. Indeed, some of our Orthodox friends have simply taken possession of intrenchments which Unitarians have abandoned that they might go forward and occupy a more advanced position. A glance at the movement of religious thought shows that there is a new Presbyterianism and a new Episcopalianism as well as a new Orthodoxy, and it is just as true that there is a new Unitarianism. The old Unitarianism did not die without issue. Its spirit has found a reincarnation, and its life is manifested in new organic power. Mr. Frothingham tells us, in his new book on "Boston Unitarianism," that Unitarians of the type represented by his father regarded their position as final. They could "see nothing beyond but utter disbelief. Theirs was an honest conviction that development could go no further." The Transcendental movement awakened in those who had accepted Unitarianism as a final interpretation of Christianity a necessary degree of alarm. Theodore Parker wrote in 1838: "Some of the ministers think we need to have certain 'fundamentals' fixed for us all to swear by, lest the new school among the Unitarians should carry the whole body up to the height of Transcendentalism. It is notorious that the old Unitarians in the days when there was fighting for the faith had no such fundamentals. It is quite evident there are now two parties among the Unitarians: one is for progress; the other says, 'Our strength is to stand still.' Dr. Channing is the real head of the first party: the other has no head." Parker describes in the same letter a sermon of Dr. Bellows at an ordination, in which the preacher maintained that "goodness is goodness in a heathen; that the Eskimo would not be turned out of heaven if he were a good and religious man; and that a true, sincere prayer, though offered to an idol, would go to the right place, for the only God would take it. The discourse alarmed and shocked the more backward of the brethren; but the younger-hearted were not disturbed."

Here we find the stationary type of Unitarianism to which Mr. Frothingham has referred, but also a progressive element, of which Dr. Channing was the leader. The mistake has often been made of identifying Dr. Channing with the fixed Unitarian conservatism of his own day. But, if the testimony of Theodore Parker and Mr. Frothingham were not enough, we might turn to Channing's own writings to show how much he dreaded that Unitarianism

should settle down into a state of final satisfaction with the position it then held.

The fact is that Unitarianism during the life of Channing and Parker did not grow out of the limitations of the old Orthodoxy. These limitations were largely imposed by the premises on which Orthodoxy rested. Unitarianism applied a new spirit and a new method to their interpretation. It endeavored to give a rational and ethical explanation of certain traditions of human history and existence which Orthodoxy assumed and which Unitarianism accepted. The new Unitarianism could not rise until it had set aside the false premises on which the old was reared.

A fundamental assumption of the old Orthodoxy and the old Unitarianism was the infallibility of the Bible. The Bible was assumed in a special sense to be the word of God; it was the direct source of appeal, the basis of authority. There was little freedom in its interpretation: its mythology was taken for history, its poetry was accepted as fact. Hence the war between Orthodoxy and Unitarianism at first was mainly a war of texts: it was the battleground of exegesis. The real question of the authority of the Bible was left untouched, because undisputed. In his discourse on "The Latest Form of Infidelity," Prof. Norton expressed the opinion of the conservative Unitarianism of his time when he said, "Of the facts on which religion is founded we can pretend to no assurance, except that derived from the testimony of God, from the Christian revelation." Yet this ground, which seemed to Norton the only safe basis for religion, was in reality its weakest assumption. It needed the Transcendental movement, and after it the work of scientific criticism, to lead Unitarianism from its reliance on a religion of literature and tradition to reliance upon a religion of the human soul.

Another assumption of Orthodoxy accepted by early Unitarianism was the miraculous attestation of divine revelation. Channing in his Duddleian lecture assumed the necessity of miracles to attest the genuineness of Christianity. Martineau, Parker, and indeed all the early Unitarians were reared under this tradition; but a study of comparative religions eventually showed that the same miraculous evidence claimed for Christianity could be produced for all the other great religions of the world, that the evidence of Christian miracles was not different in kind or superior in character. The claim of Christianity to a special revelation could not, therefore, rest upon evi-

dence which was not its exclusive property. The old Unitarianism was working here within the lines of Orthodoxy. It was exposed therefore to the same limitations; it built on a report of external facts. And yet neither its facts nor the report which presented them were authenticated. It rejected mythology, and yet built on a mythological basis.

Another limitation of the old Unitarianism was in its Christology. This was again due to its Orthodox heritage. Orthodoxy assumed the incarnation of God in Christ. While the effect of this belief was to endow the person of Jesus with special divinity, it presented a too limited view of the divine incarnation. Unitarianism did not accept with Orthodoxy the incredible assumption that Jesus was the infinite God, but it did assume that he was the "*only* Son of God" in a special sense. The early Unitarianism was largely Arian in its doctrine of the person of Jesus. It accepted his Messianic claims and the supreme authority of his revelation. The human Jesus was very largely lost in the traditional or mythological Christ. Unitarianism has now entered into a larger and grander doctrine of the incarnation than that which it inherited from Orthodoxy. It finds God manifest in all life, and supremely incarnate in the life of man. It is becoming less Christological and more theistic, and in the true spirit of Jesus it is becoming much more humane.

Not till Unitarianism gave up its false premises could it discard the conclusions to which they inevitably led. Mr. Frothingham is right, therefore, we believe, to this extent, in saying that the new Unitarianism does not grow out of the old. It was not possible to construct the Unitarian faith of to-day out of such material as the presumed fall of Adam, the ruin of the race, the necessity of an atonement, and a special incarnation of God in the life of a single man. Unitarianism worked at first under a great disadvantage in seeking to reconcile such traditions with the results of rational inquiry. The ultimate effect of applying rational and ethical tests was not to dissolve the Orthodox argument, but utterly to dissolve the premises on which it rested. In doing so, we have found a new basis of reality. Modern science has done much, too, to clear away the debris of the old system. It has furnished it with a new cosmology, with a new history of man,—a history as poetic as any of the fictions it displaces. But it no longer builds on external facts or ancient traditions. The revelation of religion which it accepts is that which

God has made in the human soul. It is not looking backward to some seat of authority in the past, but forward for fresh manifestations of the life of God in the life of man.

Unitarianism has thus been moving, not away from the mystery and power of religion, but more and more toward its very fount and centre. It is escaping from the reproach of identifying religion with Christianity, and Christianity with the Scriptures; yet it is only in a nominal sense that it has, as Mr. Frothingham says, overstepped "the boundary of Scriptures and even of Christianity," for Unitarianism is an historic development of Christianity, and the best homage of gratitude it can pay to its Christian origin is to lead the Christian name into a newer and more humane significance. This is what the early Unitarians struggled for. Their aim was a noble one. Let not their work be underrated. Priestley exposed the corruptions of Christianity, Channing followed him with "The Moral Argument against Calvinism," Parker followed with his arraignment, not only of Christian superstition, but of Christian society. Yet something more has been needed than simply the renovation of Christianity from the inoculations of mediæval error. It has been necessary to adjust it to new conceptions of God, man, and the universe, to make it a religion of the nineteenth century. In seeking to do this, Unitarianism has done as much for Christianity as for the cause of free, pure, and undefiled religion.

THE SHANGHAI CONFERENCE.

BY WILLIAM WRIGHT, D.D.

From *The Sunday-School Times*, Philadelphia, August 16, 1890.

THE most important Christian assemblage ever held in China met in May last, and remained in session for a fortnight. It was perhaps the largest conference of missionaries ever brought together in one place. From all parts of China, from Manchuria, Japan, and other eastern lands, the missionaries and their allies came together, with their accumulated experience, to compare notes and take measures for the advancement and consolidation of their work. The deliberations and finding of such an assembly cannot fail to interest Christian workers everywhere, and, as a member of the conference, and an interested spectator,

I propose to give a summary of the results arrived at.

The enormous increase in the number of missionaries was very striking. There were present about 432 members as compared with 129 at the previous conference, in 1877. Indeed, there were more missionaries at the conference than were in all China at the date of the previous conference. There are now over 1,300 missionaries in China, representing forty-two organizations, besides individual workers who belong to no organization. The increase in the number of converts keeps pace with the increase of missionaries. In 1877 there were a little more than 13,000 communicants, at the end of last year they numbered 37,287; and their contributions in support of the religion which they had just adopted were \$36,884.54, which is almost at the rate of a dollar each. Statistics furnished to the conference show that there are in China 520 organized churches, of which ninety-four are entirely self-supporting, and forty-nine partially so. There are sixty-one hospitals, in which, during last year, 348,439 wretched sufferers felt the beneficent influence of Christian missionary doctors.

When the conference met, about fifty essays were placed in the hands of the members. These papers were prepared by missionary experts, and dealt with the various principles and methods of procedure which, to the missionaries in China, have become of absorbing interest. Summaries of these papers were presented by the authors and discussed by the conference; and resolutions were passed with a view to giving practical effect to the conclusions arrived at. These papers, with reports of the discussions, will be published in a large volume, which will be the most important Christian milestone yet set up in China.

By far the most important subject brought before the conference was the question of Bible translation. For forty years a strife of versions had existed in China, and the Book, which should have united all, became a fruitful cause of division. The difficulty arose in this way. Three British and two American missionaries were selected delegates to make a version of the Bible in the classical style which should be understood by all who could read the Chinese language. Before the delegates had reached the close of the New Testament, serious differences of opinion arose on questions of translation, and, before they had proceeded far in the Old Testament, the two American delegates withdrew from their British colleagues, and brought out a version of their own. The

British missionaries stood by the version brought out by their colleagues, which was called by them "The Delegates' Version." Most of the American missionaries held by the version produced by their missionaries, which they called "The Bridgeman and Cuthbertson Version."

Both the versions had great excellences. The so-called "Delegates'" was a model of exquisitely polished Chinese, but was occasionally rather free in its renderings. "The Bridgeman and Cuthbertson" was a more literal rendering, but harsh in style. There were other differences in substances, of more or less importance; but so strong was the feeling on the part of the advocates of the rival versions, that, for a time, they were not able to meet in united prayer.

Other versions, necessary to China, partook, to some extent, of the characteristics of the leading versions; and individual efforts, well meant, but without the sanction of general approval, added to the perplexing confusion. The bewildering multiplicity of versions was felt to be a serious drawback, and I was deputed, by the British and Foreign Bible Society, to endeavor, if possible, to induce the conference to unite in giving one version of the Bible to the people of China.

Nothing could have been simpler or more plausible than the propositions which I had to submit. First, that the best of all books, the Bible, should be given to the Chinese in the best possible form. Second, that the conference should devote the highest intelligence and best scholarship of the mission to the production of a version that would be acceptable to all.

Everybody admitted the importance of these propositions, and the urgent necessity for having them carried into effect; but there was a general consensus of opinion that it would be impossible to undertake the work. Preliminary meetings brought to the surface the delicate personal element, and the opening meetings of the conference made it plain to all that a union version, though desirable, was impossible. "Impossible" was the word that met me on every hand. I have learned, however, that when any service for the Master ought to be done, but is considered impossible, the time has then arrived for carrying it into effect.

When we had discovered our inability to solve the difficulties in the way of union, the Spirit of God took possession of the conference. The questions at issue were referred to large and representative committees, and their reports, when presented to

the conference, were found to be practically unanimous in favor of united versions. When it became known that a simple but satisfactory arrangement had been made for securing the one version that all desired, the whole assemblage rose like one man, and sang, "Praise God, from whom all blessings flow." The singing began with a great shout, but, before it had proceeded far, the members became conscious that the version strife of forty years had come to a close. There were many moist eyes. One after another of the older members sank into his seat, and the anthem ended in a thin, plaintive treble. This happy close of a long controversy was the crowning act of the conference.

Permanent committees have been chosen by the conference to proceed with versions of the Bible in the high classical, the low classical, the mandarin, the local dialects, and the rendering of the Scriptures for the blind. A committee has also been appointed to bring out a paragraph Bible with sectional headings and necessary explanations. When the committees were chosen, and precise and definite rules for their guidance drawn up, the conference resolved itself into a meeting for united thanksgiving to Almighty God.

The conference also appointed a representative committee for the production of an annotated Bible which will not only be a fitting companion to the union Bible, but will supply a long-felt want. One text for all these versions will be followed, and the various translation committees will form one committee, as far as the text to be followed is concerned.

The next most important subject that occupied the conference was the framing of an appeal to the Christian churches for one thousand additional missionaries to be sent out during the next five years.

The suggestion was first thrown out by Mr. Hudson Taylor; but the subject was taken up by the conference with great enthusiasm, as a matter of pressing practical importance. The success of the past few years, and the present encouraging state of matters, emboldened the missionaries to ask the home churches to make a supreme and immediate effort for China.

The opium question was dealt with by men acquainted with the evil effects of the drug, and a temperate protest was made against its production and sale. A committee was also appointed to make inquiries as to the use of alcoholic liquors by native Christians, and to prepare a report on the subject.

Very earnest consideration was given to the supply of healthy educational text-books and attractive Christian literature; and important committees were appointed, composed of educational experts, to prepare and get into circulation a series of works for the promotion of Christian education in China.

A committee was appointed to prepare an appeal to the Chinese Government setting forth the object of Christian missions, thanking the Government for their protection, and also requesting that malicious charges against the missionaries should be suppressed. The conference were not unanimous as to the wisdom of presenting such an appeal; but it was hoped that, coming from so large and influential a body, it might be of some use.

Questions as to women's work, medical missions, and other matters of general interest, were discussed, and the mind of the conference taken as to their practical bearing.

One paper, prepared by an eminent Chinese scholar, not now a missionary, supplied the burning question of the conference. It was a plea for toleration in the matter of ancestral worship. But it was clear that the conference was not in a mood to tolerate idolatry in its most amiable form.

The subject of territorial divisions received the attention its importance entitled it to, and there was a committee appointed to report on the subject. The unanimous desire seemed to be that the missionary brethren should respect each other's fields of labor.

Indeed, the spirit of Christian union was manifest throughout the whole conference. The forty-two societies showed no disposition to emphasize their distinctive characteristics. Rather, they strove to show that they were simply regiments in the great army of the Lord in China. No important question was shirked because it might cause difference of opinion, but the discussions were conducted with courage, candor, and courtesy; and men who had been working silently and alone found that other solitary workers had been perplexed with the same problems and difficulties with which they themselves had been beset. So they were more ready to learn wisdom from the experience of others, than to push their own pet theories; and their rivalry was the legitimate effort to excel in lowly service.

The practical results of the conference show that it was a great success; but the best influences of such a meeting of devoted men and women lie beyond the range of statistics.

London, England.

THE COLORED MINISTRY: ITS DEFECTS AND NEEDS.

BY BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, PRINCIPAL OF THE TUSKEGEE NORMAL SCHOOL.

From The Christian Union, New York, August 14, 1890.

WHAT is the actual condition of the colored ministry in the South, is a question that should interest every one. As a part answer to this question I give the following extracts taken from the leading editorial of the Alabama "Baptist Leader," the organ of the colored Baptists of Alabama, edited by the Rev. A. N. McEwen, of Montgomery, a well-informed and reliable minister: "The greatest object of over two-thirds of the Baptist ministers of Alabama is to collect their salaries. They care no more for the moral and intellectual training of the people than they care for the snap of their finger. They care no more for schools, for public enterprises, than if there were no such things. . . . In some parts of the country where our missionaries travel, they find preachers who do not take a paper of any sort, nor read the Bible; in fact, they cannot read, and yet they are attempting to lead the people." So far as it goes, the foregoing extract tells the truth; but in order to grasp the situation it is well to bear in mind that there are in the fifteen Southern States, including the District of Columbia, at least 7,000,000 colored people to be reached with the Gospel. In their religious opinion these people are almost equally divided between the Baptist and Methodist denominations. This is about the numerical force: Colored Baptists, 1,120,000 church members, 10,000 churches, and 7,000 ordained ministers; Methodists (divided into the African, Zion, Wesleyan, Northern, and Colored Methodist branches), with about the same numerical strength as the Baptists, making a total of 2,240,000 church members in these two denominations. In Alabama there are 21 Congregational churches, with a combined membership of 1,326 persons, and an examination will show that the average colored Congregational members in each State will fall below 1,000, the average membership for each church being about 50. Outside of the two leading denominations—Methodists and Baptists—the combined membership of all other denominations, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, etc., in the South will not equal more than half of the numerical strength of the Congregationalists, so that it is safe to say that the total membership of all other denominations, exclusive of

Methodists and Baptists, is about 22,500. About 2,264,500 of the 7,000,000 are church members. But what is the character of the preaching that these masses receive, whether church members or not, and what does belonging to the Church mean to them? The ministers representing the Congregational, Presbyterian, and Episcopalian Churches are, as a rule, intelligent and earnest, yet they are so cramped by denominational lines that they reach and influence but a small number.

Now as to the intelligence, morality, and religious earnestness. After coming into direct contact with the colored ministers for eight years in the heart of the South, I have no hesitancy in asserting that three-fourths of the Baptist ministers and two-thirds of the Methodists are unfit, either mentally or morally, or both, to preach the Gospel to any one or to attempt to lead any one. The Baptists claim ten thousand churches and seven thousand ordained ministers; but it is perfectly safe to say that each church contains an average of four persons licensed to preach, and the same is true of the Methodists. One Baptist church near Tuskegee has a total membership of two hundred, and eighteen of them are preachers; but the character of many of these preachers can be judged by one, of whom it is said that, while he was at work in a cotton field in the middle of July, he suddenly stopped, looked upward, and said, "O Lord, de work is so hard, de cotton is so grassy, and de sun am so hot, I bleave dis darkey am called to preach." With few exceptions, the preaching of the colored ministry is emotional in the highest degree, and the minister considers himself successful in proportion as he is able to set the people in all parts of the congregation to groaning, uttering wild screams, and jumping, finally going into a trance. One of the principal ends sought by most of these ministers is their salary, and to this everything else is made subservient. Most of the church service seems to resolve itself into an effort to get money. Not one in twenty has any business standing in the communities where they reside, and those who know them best mistrust them most in matters of finance and general morality.

With such spiritual leaders, the mere fact that so large a proportion of the seven million colored people in the South are church members is misleading, and is no evidence that a large proportion of these church members are not just as ignorant of true Christianity, as taught by Christ, as any people in Africa or Japan, and just as much

in need of missionary efforts as those in foreign lands.

What is the difficulty in the present mode of supply, and how can it be supplemented and enlarged? At present each denomination doing missionary work in the South has one or more theological seminaries. Those seminaries, as a rule, shape their courses of study after the model of Andover, Hartford, or Union Theological Seminaries. The consequence is that a *very* small proportion of the young colored men entering the Southern theological seminaries are mentally fitted to pursue with profit such courses. The smattering of Greek and Hebrew and other difficult branches they are dragged through merely serves to muddle many, and they leave the seminary in a muddle, knowing nothing well. But this is not so bad as the fact that a discouragingly small number enter these seminaries, and a very small proportion of those entering graduate. To illustrate: I hold in my hand the catalogues of the principal and, in some cases, the only theological schools in the South, of the Congregational, Presbyterian, and Baptist denominations. In one case the whole number to graduate this year in theology is two, and in the next six are in the graduating class; but the middle class is empty and none will graduate next year. The Baptists have concentrated their theological work upon one seminary, and while the Baptists have ten thousand churches to be kept supplied with intelligent ministers, only five ministers finish the course of study this year in their seminary. In the cases cited the courses of study occupy three and four years. Granting that those who finish courses of study are masters of what they have gone over, is it not plain that, after due allowance is made for the few qualified colored ministers educated in Northern seminaries, and for those educated at normal schools and colleges who enter the ministry without special training, the need for a helpful ministry in this country, to say nothing of Africa, is not being met even in a small degree?

It should be borne in mind that the masses of the colored people, and those most in need of help, live in the country, and that at least four-fifths of the educated colored ministers go into the cities and towns. In fact, during my eight years' residence and travelling in the country districts, I have not come into contact with a single educated minister preaching in the country, and I repeat, for emphasis, that, outside of the Baptist and Methodist denominations,

the educated ministers do not reach in their own congregations an average of over fifty persons, though they do do much general work for the uplifting of the people, and give them examples of what a church should be. I have no unfriendly word for the theological work now being done, nor should I ask that the standard of scholarship be lowered, for we need broad and deep theologians; but it is painfully evident that something needs to be done to give the masses trained and helpful ministers—to supplement the present ministerial training. I am thoroughly convinced that if a school, to be known as a Bible Seminary or Bible Training School, were established at some central point in the South, on a thoroughly Christian but *strictly* undenominational basis, with a one or two years' course covering such branches as would fit a student to get a comprehensive idea of the Bible, to teach him how to prepare a sermon, how to read a hymn, how to study, and, most important, how to reach and help the people outside of the pulpit in an unselfish Christian way, it would be a great power for good. To begin with, one teacher could do the work that I have suggested for forty or fifty students, and I am sure that such a seminary would be crowded with students from the beginning. When the school grew to the point where two or three teachers were demanded (and it would be well to have, as early as possible, the leading denominations represented in the force of teachers) \$1,500 or \$2,500 would supply the teaching force, and at the same time thirty or forty men could be sent out each year with a training that would enable them to go into the country and elsewhere among the masses of the people and help them in a most effectual way. As such a seminary would be non-sectarian, all denominations would enter it, and it would send forth every year a stream of young men who would fill Baptist and all other pulpits. In other words, they would reach the masses. In the present seminaries the tuition alone of ten or a dozen sometimes costs \$3,000 or \$4,000. With the proposed Bible seminary this sum could be made to educate many times this number.

TUSKEGEE, ALA.

A PORTABLE RELIGION.

From *The Christian Intelligencer* (Reformed Dutch), New York, August 16, 1890.

THERE are many Christians away from home about this time of the year. They

are in the mountains and on the shore, and in places where they are not very well known. They have left many things behind, but have taken with them what was absolutely essential for comfort during a brief stay. There are few necessities nowadays which cannot be compressed into a small compass, and so be made portable. Religion ought certainly to be among these. It is. There is nothing quite so portable as real religion. In fact, one may test true religion by that quality.

For to be truly religious is to have come into a personal sympathy with the Lord and have the love of the soul fed by direct contact with Him. In this shape it is portable. But it is rare. Our religious life takes on much more easily the character of a calling than a passion, of a business than a life. A sphere with its measured round of duties, its well-defined tastes, in which there is this to do and that to do, and in which zeal for results in tangible shape is the common measure of value. Certainly this kind of religious life is not to be despised. But it is not the highest known or possible. If it crowds out or affects to despise the contemplative it needs correcting. For the issues of life are from the heart, and the nourishment of life is love. Nor can duty to God have any value in His sight, or permanent influence in His world, unless it be the token and product of love. For the kingdom does not consist in a series of acts, each having its own influence as an antidote against a specific evil, indicated by its occurrence in its own time. As, for example, the cure of so many fevers, or the feeding of so many hungry mouths, or the making of so many coats, or the teaching of so many facts to minds ignorant of them. For all these good things may, in time, as really perish and pass by as the evils which they alleviated. But the kingdom is another mode of being controlled by other inward influences, which shall finally leave no room for curative virtues, because the personal relations shall be such as to prevent the influence for evil of the one upon the other. The preparation for such a kingdom can only be in love; that is, in the getting out of ourselves and the personal absorption in another being, even God, for whom to live, in whom to have the joy and satisfaction of being; a personal love to the Lord, by which we become identified with His life in every sense, obtaining an outward conformity to it as a consequence of the inward conformity, to which a commingling of spirit in love and trust has given rise.

Religion is the revelation of the personal

Lord to us as a Saviour, accepted by us with a living confidence. That is the religion to *experience*. It often means to men the leaving off of certain practices and the adoption of others; or the giving up of certain opinions and the adoption of others. That is a low type of religion, or rather a small part of religion. For the heart of religion is gotten at in the right answer to such questions as: Why do I prefer to do this to that? or, Why should I rather believe this than that? To which the only right answer is: From love to Him who makes known to me this as His will, and that as His opinion. Not, because it seems right to me, but because it seems right to Him. The ideal Christianity is the desire to do what He does, and to think as He thinks, because of the love we bear Him. And this is the thing set before us in religion: the desire fully to understand Him, to enter into the mind and feelings of the Lord. Only minds as yet incapable of perceiving the sufficiency of love, find it necessary to live by the details of a revelation having the characteristics of law, as distinguishable from grace. It is an insufficient way. For the Lord did not give, nor mean to give, a detailed code to live by, nor a detailed creed to believe, but did present Himself as the Way, the Truth and the Life; that, appreciated by faith, and communed with in love, He might be the constantly growing model, and the growing inspiration to a more perfect life. Or, to quote one of the many beautiful forms in which the Apostle Paul, whose conscious spiritual experiences began with a seeing of the Lord in His glory, put it: We all with unveiled face, beholding as in a mirror the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image.

The vacation which takes Christians out of the home-circle of religious duties, should invite them to a closer intimacy with the Lord Jesus in places remote from the observation of others. Worldly people go from home to enjoy the world in new phases or to dissipate. Let Christian people seek the solitude for contemplation. They need it that their hearts may be nourished, and their love strengthened as the real mainspring of life. They will need it when they get back to the round of religious work; and upon the mainspring depends the reality and vigor of our outward Christian life. For lack of love this will be either deficient or mechanical. A mechanical Christianity has little advantage over a deficient Christianity. There is little power in what is done from any lower motive than the free

desire to please Christ, because we love Him. Rightly we talk of cold words, cold prayers, cold acts. They lack the warmth of love. We often do them, because we ought to, for we are professed Christians, but we do not really like to do them. Duty impels, inclination holds back. A miserable mess we make of it. We are not altogether insincere, but how ineffectual. A poor excuse goes a good way. We are apt at calculating the amount of service that will answer the exigency or save our reputation. The whole thing is unworthy the Lord whom we profess to serve, whom we ought to love. There is a better way. Love is a marvellous faculty. It is the keenest knowledge, the safest guide. Its apparent folly is wisdom. Its self-abandonment is security. Its passiveness is force. And it outlasts and triumphs over everything. It is the portable religion. Have you it, reader? Do you find your religion just as good in one place as in another? If you have it, use your opportunity to increase it. May you come back better acquainted with your Lord, fuller of His love, and of love to Him.

THE FREE CHURCHES OF SWEDEN.

BY PROF. SAMUEL IVES CURTISS, D.D.

From *The Independent*, New York, August 14, 1890.

THE growth of the Free Churches in Sweden during the past eleven years has been phenomenal. Beginning with about seventy-five churches which became associated together in Home and Foreign Missionary work in 1878, there are now about six hundred such churches, which are acknowledged by their leading spirits, President Ekman and Lector Waldenstroem to be Congregational in their polity. These churches have a membership of not less than one hundred thousand. They are evidently near the hearts of the people as appears from the fact, that while they have received no financial aid from England and America, they are well attended, are self-supporting, and own in some cases buildings larger than those held by the State Church in the same place.

The spirit of these brethren is delightful. They are living according to New Testament principles. They love each other with a fervor which reminds one of apostolic times. They are not forgetful to entertain strangers. In the sunshine of their hospitality a Christian brother from a foreign country might well forget that he is a

stranger in a strange land ; and if he cannot speak their language he knows from the light in their eyes and from the warm pressure of their hands that he is thrice welcome in the Lord.

The movement in the direction of the formation of these churches evidently is a work of God's Spirit. Like all other reformers they have been much spoken against. Unsound doctrines and unworthy motives have been imputed to them. Those who were desirous that the State Church in Sweden should have a monopoly of religion have been busy speaking and writing against these brethren ; but the work has gone on, with marks of divine favor.

The difference between them and other Christians is certainly not a doctrinal one, except that they have not formulated any creed. They insist on three fundamental principles :

1. The independence of the local church.
2. Regeneration as a condition of church-membership.
3. Perfect doctrinal freedom within the limits of evangelical belief.

They welcome to their membership all who profess a belief in Christ, and a desire to do his work, and whose lives, on strict inquiry, are conformable to the principles of the Gospel. Those who apply may be Baptists, Methodists, or Lutherans ; they may prefer much water or little water, may believe in infant baptism, or may reject it ; may believe that death ends probation here, as a very few do, or may hope, like some of our American brethren, that the Gospel will be offered to those who have not heard it in a future life, before the final judgment ; they may be post-millenarian or pre-millenarian as all of them are : nevertheless they meet with mutual affection in the same church organization around the table of the same Lord. They do not magnify their differences. They are evangelistic in spirit. They seek to save the lost, not with wisdom of words, lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect. Their preaching is almost altogether exegetical, in the style of homilies. They inquire "What is written ?" When that is ascertained that is the end of controversy. They are churches in the youth, the freshness, and the fervor of a new Christian experience. They have been newly married to Christ, and are like a bride who is swallowed up in the joy of her new relation. Religion is the centre of their life. For it they gladly renounce worldly pleasures, because they have found a sweeter pleasure in Christ's service. They are largely from the

humbler walks of life, from the stalwart yeomanry of Sweden.

It has been said that they are without organization, but this is evidently a mistake. Their alliance, called *Verbundet*, which meets once a year in the last week in June, corresponds to a combination of our Foreign and Home Missionary Societies, and also owns and controls their theological school, which has been at *Christinehamn*, but which is to be hereafter at *Stockholm*.

Their entire home field is divided into seven districts. While each of the local churches is independent there is in connection with each of these districts a Superintendent, appointed by *Verbundet*, who has it for his duty to foster the interests of the churches in his district, by preaching, visitation, etc. Besides they have nine evangelists, or travelling preachers, and also missionaries in *Lapland*.

They have also four foreign missions : one on the Congo in Central Africa ; one in North Africa in *Algiers* ; one in Russia, including stations in *Petersburg* and *Cronstadt* ; in *Siberia*, in *Caucasus* ; in *Persia*, and in *China*.

The whole amount expended for Home and Foreign Missions was 121,773 crowns 13 oere, or about \$35,000 ; of this amount they contributed 5,960 crowns, 60 oere for mission work among the Jews.

The business interests of *Verbundet* during the year are under the care of a committee. The annual sessions are conducted with dignity and propriety. The President, the Rev. E. J. Ekman, whose portrait may be seen in Superintendent Montgomery's pamphlet ("A Wind from the Holy Spirit in Sweden and Norway," New York, 1884), is not inferior as a presiding officer to any of the presidents of our missionary societies.

While all the questions pertaining to the interests at home and abroad are discussed at the meeting of *Verbundet*, the business is prepared by the Standing Committee, who make various recommendations for the consideration of their brethren.

As Mr. Montgomery has related, in his admirable pamphlet just quoted, the ground for a Free Church movement was unwittingly prepared by C. O. Rosenius, a layman in the State Church, who was a preacher and writer of great power, and who insisted on a more spiritual life in the State Church. Of a Free Church movement he did not dream. While multitudes were attracted to his ministry he was much misrepresented.

In process of time the seed sown sprang

up. The spiritually minded people felt that it was wrong for them to receive the Lord's Supper from the hands of unconverted clergymen, and in company with worldly and ungodly people. What were known as Lord's Supper Societies began to be formed. They celebrated the rite with closed doors, and sought to secure pious Lutheran priests to administer the sacraments. Such a course was contrary to the law of the land.

A committee was therefore appointed to draw up a petition, to secure signatures, and when all was ready to wait on the King. The petition simply sought from the King that the laws might be so changed that these Lord's Supper Societies might celebrate the Supper outside of the churches, with closed doors, without being held guilty of breaking the law. This petition, of which I have seen a copy, was signed by 22,334 persons, among whom were 42 clergymen. The petition was taken to the King on the 5th of October, 1876, by a committee of nine. The first three names were those of P. Waldenstroem, professor in a gymnasium, E. J. Ekman, pastor in the State Church, and C. J. Nyvall, a lay preacher.

The King received them graciously and promised to consult the bishops of the State Church. Near the close of the interview, Lector Waldenstroem said: "Your Majesty, this is the first time I have ever had an interview with you, and I may never have another; may I be permitted to say something further?" The King replied, "Certainly." Lector Waldenstroem continued: "Many of your people are concerned for your soul's welfare and are praying for your conversion." The eyes of the King overflowed with tears as he listened to this touching statement, which he received with the utmost kindness. This account, which I received from Dr. Waldenstroem's lips, was exceedingly interesting to me, as I have heard him speak to men, women and children, among the peasants about their souls; but I was not aware until he told me that he had spoken to the King.

This petition was fruitless. The bishops returned scornful and superficial replies. Thus this Church within a Church, contrary to its own desire, was being brought to the birth.

I have alluded to the fact that the Lord's Supper Societies sought to get pious Lutheran priests to officiate for them. To accede to such a request was to go counter to statute law. Although Lector Walden-

stroem was not a pastor he was ordained and had the right to administer the sacraments in the State Church, but was not required to do so. As he continued to officiate for these Lord's Supper Societies, he was warned, reprimanded and, finally, prosecuted. The case, which was appealed to the highest court, went against him. The Church within a Church, contrary to Dr. Waldenstroem's desire, who sought a reformation in the State Church, was thus again brought near to birth.

Pastor Ekman was also prosecuted for refusing, contrary to law as a minister of the State Church, to perform the act of confirmation, also for holding a view which was proved from Luther's writings not to be in harmony with Lutheran teaching, namely, that Christ did not die to redeem the world, but only to redeem those who should believe in him.

Thus not to enter into chronological details, the Free Churches *in posse*, became Free Churches *in esse*, not because of the plans of ambitious men, but because the people were led of the Spirit of God.

Now there comes what to us Americans must seem the strangest part of the whole history. The members of these Free Churches are in the eye of the law at the same time members of the State Church with the right to participate in the election of Lutheran pastors, a right which they exercise, sometimes greatly to their advantage, in securing pastors in the State Church who are godly men, and who are not unfriendly to the Free Churches.

The question may arise why they should continue to be members of the State Church. The reasons are as follows:

1. Every citizen is by birth, baptism, and confirmation a member of the State Church unless he seeks to leave that Church. If this is the case he must apply to the priest of the Church of which he is a member, and must at the same time state with what Church he proposes to unite. Again after two months he must appear again and indicate that he perseveres in his desire.

2. The Church of which he is to become a member must be able to show in a legal way that it holds doctrines which are distinctly different from those of the State Church; but as the Free Churches have no creed, and do not wish to formulate any, they cannot be recognized by the State Church, as organizations of which those belonging to the State Church could become members. Hence while the Methodists hold an independent position, members of

the Baptist and Free Churches are members of the State Church.

3. The pastors of the State Church are in the employ of the Government to this extent, that each must keep the statistics of his parish; thus he becomes to a certain extent a government official. The members of the Free Churches are not willing that their ministers should have any such connection with the Government.

I may add in closing what will be pleasant to our Congregational brethren in America. While, as I have intimated in a previous letter, I had had no thought of being present at the meeting of Verbundet, as I had intended to visit Sweden in July, merely for recreation, I was induced by Dr. Waldenstroem to change my plans and make a trip with him, as I have done the past three weeks. In a purely unofficial way I spoke before the Verbundet, assuring them of the good will of the Congregational brethren. President Ekman replied by saying: "The Congregational Churches in Sweden send their greetings to the Congregational Churches in America."

AN ARCTIC MISSION SHIP.

From *The Episcopical Recorder* (Reformed Episcopalian), Philadelphia, August 14, 1890.

"An interesting ceremony was performed at the London Docks a few weeks since in the speeding of the missionary ship annually sent to the Moravian stations on the northeast coast of Labrador by the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, in connection with the Moravian Church and Mission Agency. This vessel is the bark *Harmony*, the fourth of the Society's ships which have borne that name. Her ordinary crew numbers twelve, exclusive of the Captain, Henry Linklater. The average duration of her voyage, including the stay on the coast and visit to the stations there is 117½ days. There are six stations in Labrador, dotted at intervals of from forty to ninety miles along some 250 miles of the rocky coast; their congregations number altogether 1250 souls. The mission was primarily established by a colony from England and Germany to the Esquimaux. But this race has for a considerable time past been decreasing, while a mixed population of Europeans and Americans with Esquimaux is increasing in number and importance. Missionary work is carried on among these settlers and among the crews of the fishing schooners which frequent the coast in the summer."

We clip the above from a recent number of the *London Record*, not only for the special interest of the details it gives so briefly, but as an illustration of the admirable Catholic spirit which it records as pre-

vailing among some Christians in England. Not only are these brethren concerned for work which can never bring them denominational prestige, but their labours and their gifts must enure to the development of a church of which they are not members.

Such instances of disinterestedness are exceedingly rare at the present day, when denominational lines are drawn with almost the rigidity which belongs to political parties, and when the great Union Societies, which have done so much good work in the past, are seriously hampered, if not threatened with extinction, from the same cause.

Nor is the instance only significant as one of catholicity; it indicates with broad and deep lines the reputation to which the Church of the United Brethren is so justly entitled.

From its inception, that Church has been conspicuous for the attention it has always bestowed upon the last command of its ascended Lord.

It has ever sought less its own denominational development at home than the spreading abroad of the good news of redemption. In so doing, it has always enjoyed the blessing of God, and we rejoice that it should receive the approval of men as well, so fittingly exhibited by the facts and incident referred to above.

We can conceive of no higher honour attaching to any church than that devotion to the cause of foreign missions which has ever been characteristic of the Moravians, and we hold in high esteem the willingness of other Christians to aid them in carrying on the noble work in which they are ever and so conspicuously engaged. Such an illustration as this incident affords of the real unity of true believers is of special value when so much time and thought is given to plans promotive of external union among Christians.

The great Union Societies at home and abroad have always afforded excellent channels for the efforts and the contributions of those who desire to anticipate here the blessed identity of aim and effort which will animate the Church hereafter.

Nor does such working together of Christians in the least preclude hearty and efficient denominational activity. Experience and observation unite to show that those who are engaged in union work are among the most efficient workers in their respective churches. The subject is worthy of close attention at the present time by all warm-hearted and spiritually-minded Christians.

READY.

BY REV. C. H. SPURGEON, MINISTER OF THE
METROPOLITAN TABERNACLE, LONDON.

From a Recent Thursday Lecture: Reported Especially for this Paper by its Representative in London.

From *The Golden Rule*, Boston, August 14, 1890.

I THINK Paul might have taken the words, "I am ready," as his motto. We had once a Saxon king called "Ethelred the Unready," but here we have an apostle who might be called "Paul the Ready."

He had no sooner been converted than he was ready for action, and we find him speaking in the synagogue at Damascus. All through his life, whatever happened to him, he was always found up to the mark. If he had to speak to crowds in the streets, he had fitting words; or if to the élite upon Mars Hill, he was ready for the philosophers; and if he talked to Pharisees, he knew how to address them. See him before Felix and Agrippa! He was ready. And when he came to stand before Nero, God was with him and delivered him out of the mouth of the lion.

In Romans 1:15 we have his readiness *to work*. "As much as in me is, I am ready to preach the gospel to you that are at Rome also." He had preached the gospel throughout Asia, he had crossed into Europe, he had proclaimed the word through Greece, and if he could get to the capital of the world, whatever might be the danger, he was prepared to go. Anywhere for Jesus, anywhere with the gospel, anywhere to win a soul, anywhere to comfort the people of God. Are we as ready as that, or do we feel that we could work only at home, could not bear to go to Australia, or into some heathen land? O, may God keep us always on tiptoe, ready to move if the cloud moves, ready to stay where we are, if the cloud still stayeth. Paul was ready; lions had no terror for him; he had fought with beasts at Ephesus; in spirit he had died in the mouth of the lion many a time, and counted not his life dear to him. I wish we were ready for all dangers, for all slanders, all contumely, all adversity, all of anything that it might cost us to preach Christ where He is not known. The apostle was ready to go anywhere with the gospel; he was not ready to preach another gospel; you could not make him ready for that. He was not ready to hide the gospel, he was not ready to abridge it or to expand it; he felt that he was "not ashamed of the gospel of Christ; for it is the power of

God unto salvation to every one that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek."

In Acts 21:13 you will find that Paul was as ready *to suffer* as he was to preach. He says, "I am ready, not to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus." This is, perhaps, a greater thing than the former. Some of us would be ready to preach the gospel, but here was a man that was ready to suffer for it, so ready that he could not be dissuaded from it. He might preach the gospel, but why must he go to Jerusalem? All the world was before him, why must he go to that persecuting city? Everybody told him that he would have bonds and imprisonment, and perhaps death, but he cares nothing about them; he says, "I am ready, I am ready." Are we ready to be scoffed at, to be thought idiots; are we ready? Perhaps so. Are we ready to lose friends for Christ, to have the cold shoulder for Christ? Perhaps so. Are we ready, if it be the Lord's will, to go home, go upstairs, and lie there for the next three months? I should not wonder if you were saying to yourselves, "This is above us as yet." We shall need more teaching of the Holy Spirit to be got ready for unknown suffering, for lonely suffering, suffering that seems to have no good in it,—useless suffering,—to being laid aside from the holy services of God's house. Are you ready? So it should be, so it was with Paul.

In 2 Tim. 4:6 we have this: "For I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand." Paul was ready *to die*. He was ready to loose his cable from earth, and sail away to the haven of rest. And well he might be, for he could add, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day, and not to me only, but unto all them also that love His appearing." We cannot be ready to die unless we have been taught how to live. We must go on with our fighting till we can say, "I have fought a good fight;" we must go on with our running till we can say, "I have finished my course;" we must go on with the word of God till we can say, "I have kept the faith." It is nothing but keeping the faith that will enable us to treat death as a friend. One neglect of duty will be sufficient to rob you of all comfort. When the traveller is walking, a very small stone will lame him. A very small offence against the integrity

that God requires of His servants may do us great mischief. Lord, keep us right! If He teaches us how to live, we shall know how to die.

NEW COMBINATIONS OF TEMPERANCE FORCES.

BY JOSEPH COOK.

From *The Advance* (Congregationalist), Chicago, August 14, 1890.

I.

CHURCH AND STATE HAND IN HAND IN THE TEMPERANCE CAUSE.

It may now be said to be the general rule among Protestants to exclude rum-sellers from church membership. In the United States the Presbyterians and the Methodists do so by official declarations of their national assemblies and conferences. The Baptists and Congregationalists, almost without exception, although acting as self-governed single churches, deny church membership to rum-sellers. The same is true of many smaller but not less consistent and earnest religious denominations. If the Roman Catholic Church could be brought up to the level of excluding rum-sellers from her communion important results would follow. It is the conviction of the present writer that *nothing is more needed in the settlement of the relations of the Churches to the Temperance Cause than consistency and unanimity in denying church membership to rum-sellers*. It is assumed in this article that there is a general admission of the wisdom and justice of the exclusion of rum-sellers from the church. But consistency on the part of church members in the support of the principles that justify such exclusion has far-reaching social and political consequences.

It is often debated whether rum-selling is a sin *per se*, or only a sin in its consequences. This query need not detain long an alert and practical mind. Whether a sin in itself, or only in its consequences, or in both respects, it is certain that rum selling as a business is so mischievous that after many decades of discussion, the general Protestant rule is to exclude the rum-seller from church membership. This large and indisputable temperance fact has many sides.

1. Any business which justly excludes the man who practices it from church membership, cannot be consistently licensed, or in any way legalized, by Christian votes. One and the same church cannot without self-contradiction exclude rum-sellers from church membership and also favor the legal sanction of rum-sellers. It cannot in reason

or honor with one hand make rum-sellers and with the other excommunicate rum-sellers.

2. Any business which justly excludes the man who practices it from church membership, cannot be legalized without sin. This is the official and very memorable declaration of the Methodist Church in the United States, and is the level to which all churches that exclude rum-sellers from church membership ought in simple Christian consistency to rise. Logical consistency requires this level.

3. Any business which justly excludes the man who practices it from church membership, ought not to be legalized by the State.

4. Any business which justly excludes the man who practices it from church membership, cannot be legalized by a free State depending on the votes of a free church which excludes rum-sellers from membership, unless by the disloyalty of Christians to their principles.

5. *As no rum-seller ought to be a church member, no political party that proposes to legalize rum-selling can be consistently supported by Christian votes.*

The five propositions are only the different sides of a single pentagon. If the churches were consistent with themselves and were to exhibit unanimity within the defences of this pentagon, there is no political party in the Republic whose policy, in regard to the liquor traffic, might not be brought gradually into harmony with Christian principles. Let the churches make the liquor traffic an outlaw, and ultimately the State must do so.

The churches will support law and order by the whole force of their moral and social and political influence. Although Christians may not vote for license, yet, if a license law is on the statute book, Christians will help to execute it. License outlaws a part of the traffic and at the same time legalizes a part. Fourteen murders are not better than twenty, if in order to reduce the twenty to fourteen you must legalize the fourteen. To vote for a license law is to do evil that good may come. In helping to execute a license law, for which they have not voted, Christians simply emphasize its instructive features, without making themselves responsible for its permissive features.

While the churches as such need not declare for any one political party, they ought to declare that church members as individuals should support no political party that is dominated by the whiskey rings. Christians who exclude rum-sellers from church membership can never consistently

assist in admitting rum-sellers to sovereignty in politics. Christians on their knees before God, will never vote for any party on its knees before the liquor traffic.

II.

CHURCH AND SCHOOL HAND IN HAND IN THE TEMPERANCE CAUSE.

It is safe to assert that the churches ought to rise to the temperance level of the public schools. Mandatory instruction in the schools of twenty-seven States and all the Territories of the American Union, has recently set up in the name of science, a new, unassailable and alluring standard. Below that standard the voluntary temperance inculcations, directly or indirectly given by the precept and example of the churches, ought not to be allowed to fall. This does not necessarily mean that the churches should devote as much time as the schools do to scientific temperance instruction, nor that they should employ the methods of the schools. But it does mean that they should not be satisfied with inferior results. The standard enforced by voluntary Christian action in the religious training of the family in the matter of temperance, ought not to be lower than the standard made mandatory by public law in their secular training. This principle of reform in the relation of the churches to the temperance cause is as fair and safe as it is comprehensive and radical. It means that the Sunday-schools should be taught as sound temperance doctrine as the secular schools. It means that preachers should all lift their precept and example in the pulpit and parlor to the level which secular teachers are now required to attain at the school desk. It means that the church members everywhere should rise to the temperance level of compulsory instruction in the common schools.

What is the level? The mandatory temperance instruction now given in the public schools requires everywhere total abstinence from all narcotics—that is, from both alcohol and tobacco. A majority of the future citizens of the nation are now in schools which teach total abstinence. Such instruction is mandatory in all the schools, naval and military, as well as territorial, now under the care of our Federal Government. It has been necessary to achieve a great victory over apathetic, corrupt or hostile State legislatures, in order to secure this advanced temperance instruction by authority of public law. It has been necessary to achieve a greater victory over the foremost publishers of text-books, to induce them to

issue sound temperance doctrines in volumes on physiology and hygiene. Both these victories by the blessing of heaven on the labors of Mrs. Hunt and her assistants in the Woman's National Christian Temperance Union, have been achieved, and so a new era dawns. Great publishing houses, such as the Appletons, A. S. Barnes & Co., Ivison, Blakeman & Co., and Van Antwerp, Bragg & Co., or such as the syndicate of text-book publishers lately organized, now issue approved temperance text-books all keyed up to the level of total abstinence.

If standard and approved temperance text-books are used, nothing less than total abstinence can be taught in the secular schools. It is highly important that a school teacher should bring his personal example up to the level of his official precept; but, in twenty-seven States and Territories of the American Union, every teacher must now bring his official precept up to the level of total abstinence. If a teacher should be a total abstainer, then, for yet stronger reasons, every preacher should be, and every church member.

As to the methods by which the temperance instruction of the young is to be brought up in the churches to at least the level it has attained in the schools, each church must of course decide for itself. I venture to suggest only that by pulpit hints or special addresses and lectures, by Sabbath-school instruction, by the use of pledges, and by the circulation of sound temperance literature, and especially by personal example, the standard of total abstinence should be everywhere reached in the churches. Mr. Spurgeon was many years a wine-drinker, but now he says, "More men have been killed by grape juice than by grape shot."

The new, approved temperance text-books, which are now moulding the secular schools of the nation, ought to be in all Sunday-school libraries. Once a month at least, instruction in harmony with these standard books should in some way be effectually given in all Sunday-schools. Lift the youth, the adult membership and all the preachers of our churches to the level of total abstinence, which is now the level, not only of the secular schools, but even of the life assurance societies, and immense results must sooner or later follow. The new heights and uplands of scientific temperance instruction and religious precept and example will form a vast water-shed, down which will flow new rivers of temperance sentiment with resistless currents and unflinching cataracts that will cleanse the land.

X.

"COWARDLY AGNOSTICISM."

A WORD WITH PROF. HUXLEY.

BY W. H. MALLOCK.

(Continued from the August number, p. 309.)

knowable; and though many agnostics consider the name fantastic, they one and all of them, if they resign the religion of humanity, consider and appeal to this as the only possible alternative.

Now I have already in this review, not many months since, endeavored to show how completely absurd and childish the first of these two religions, the Religion of Humanity, is. I do not propose, therefore, to discuss it further here, but will beg the reader to consider that for the purpose of the present argument it is brushed aside like rubbish, unworthy of a second examination. Perhaps this request will sound somewhat arbitrary and arrogant, but I have something to add which will show that it is neither. The particular views which I now aim at discussing are the views represented by Prof. Huxley; and Prof. Huxley rejects the Religion of Humanity as completely as I do, and with a great deal less ceremony, as the following passage will demonstrate:

Out of the darkness of prehistoric ages man emerges with the marks of his lowly origin strong upon him. He is a brute, only more intelligent than the other brutes; a blind prey to impulses, which, as often as not, lead him to destruction; a victim to endless illusions which, as often as not, make his mental existence a terror and a burden, and fill his physical life with barren toil and battle. He attains a certain degree of physical comfort, and develops a more or less workable theory of life, in such favorable situations as the plains of Mesopotamia or Egypt, and, then, for thousands and thousands of years, struggles with varying fortunes, attended by infinite wickedness, bloodshed, and misery, to maintain himself at this point against the greed and the ambition of his fellow-men. He makes a point of killing or otherwise persecuting all those who try to get him to move on; and when he has moved on a step, foolishly confers post-mortem deification on his victims. He exactly repeats the process with all who want to move a step yet further. And the best men of the best epoch are simply those who make the fewest blunders and commit the fewest sins. . . . I know of no study so unutterably saddening as that of the evolution of humanity as it is set forth in the annals of history; . . . [and] when the positivists order men to worship humanity—that is to say, to adore the generalized conception of men, as they ever have been, and probably ever will be—I must reply that I could just as soon bow down and worship the generalized conception of a "wilderness of apes."*

Let us pause here for a moment and look about us, so as to see where we stand. Up to a certain point the agnostics have all gone together with absolute unanimity, and I conceive myself to have gone with them. They have all been unanimous in their rejection of theology, and in regarding man and the race of men as a fugitive manifestation of the all-enduring something, which always, everywhere, and in an equal degree, is behind all other phenomena of the universe. They are unanimous also in affirming that, in spite of its fugitive character, life can afford us certain considerations and interests, which will still make duty binding on us, will still give it a meaning. At this point, however, they divide into two bands. Some of them assert that the motive and the meaning of duty is to be found in the history of humanity, regarded as a single drama, with a prolonged and glorious conclusion, complete in itself, satisfying in itself, and imparting, by the sacrament of sympathy, its own meaning and grandeur to the individual life, which would else be petty and contemptible. This is what some assert, and this is what others deny. With those who assert it we have now parted company, and are standing alone with those others who deny it—Prof. Huxley among them, as one of their chief spokesmen.

And now addressing myself to Prof. Huxley in this character, let me explain what I shall try to prove to him. If he could believe in God and in the divine authority of Christ, he admits he could account for duty and vindicate a meaning for life; but he refuses to believe, even though for some reasons he might wish to do so, because he holds that the beliefs in question have no evidence to support them. He complains that an English bishop has called this refusal "cowardly"—"has so far departed from his customary courtesy and self-respect as to speak of 'cowardly agnosticism.'" I agree with Prof. Huxley that, on the grounds advanced by the bishop, this epithet "cowardly" is entirely undeserved; but I propose to show him that, if not deserved on them, it is deserved on others, entirely unsuspected by himself. I propose to show that his agnosticism is really cowardly, but cowardly not because it refuses to believe enough, but because, tried by its own standards, it refuses to deny enough. I propose to show that the same method and principle, which is fatal to our faith in the God and the future life of theology, is equally fatal to anything which can give existence a meaning, or which can—to have recourse to Prof. Huxley's own phrases—

* Pages 51, 52.

"prevent our 'energies' from being 'paralyzed,' and 'life's beauty' from being destroyed." I propose, in other words, to show that his agnosticism is cowardly, not because it does not dare to affirm the authority of Christ, but because it does not dare to deny the meaning and the reality of duty. I propose to show that the miserable rags of argument with which he attempts to cover the life which he professes to have stripped naked of superstition, are part and parcel of that very superstition itself—that, though they are not the chasuble and the embroidered robe of theology, they are its hair-shirt, and its hair-shirt in tatters—utterly useless for the purpose to which it is despairingly applied, and serving only to make the forlorn wearer ridiculous. I propose to show that in retaining this dishonored garment, agnosticism is playing the part of an intellectual Ananias and Sapphira; and that in professing to give up all that it can not demonstrate, it is keeping back part, and the larger part of the price—not, however, from dishonesty, but from a dogged and obstinate cowardice, from a terror of facing the ruin which its own principles have made.

Some, no doubt, will think that this is a rash undertaking, or else that I am merely indulging in the luxury of a little rhetoric. I hope to convince the reader that the undertaking is not rash, and that I mean my expressions to be taken in a frigid and literal sense. Let me begin then by repeating one thing, which I have said before. When I say that agnosticism is fatal to our conception of duty, I do not mean that it is fatal to those broad rules and obligations which are obviously necessary to any civilized society, which are distinctly defensible on obvious utilitarian grounds, and which, speaking generally, can be enforced by external sanctions. These rules and obligations have existed from the earliest ages of social life, and are sure to exist as long as social life exists. But so far are they from giving life a meaning, that on Prof. Huxley's own showing they have barely made life tolerable. A general obedience to them for thousands and thousands of years has left "the evolution of man, as set forth in the annals of history," the "most unutterably saddening study" that Prof. Huxley knows. From the earliest ages to the present—Prof. Huxley admits this—the nature of man has been such that, despite their laws and their knowledge, most men have made themselves miserable by yielding to "greed" and to "ambition," and by practicing "infinite wickedness." They have proscribed their

wisest when alive, and accorded them a "foolish" hero-worship when dead. Infinite wickedness, blindness, and idiotic emotion have, then, according to Prof. Huxley's deliberate estimate, marked and marred men from the earliest ages to the present; and he deliberately says also, that "as men ever have been, they probably ever will be."

To do our duty, then, evidently implies a struggle. The impulses usually uppermost in us have to be checked, or chastened, by others, and these other impulses have to be generated, by fixing our attention on considerations which lie somehow beneath the surface. If this were not so, men would always have done their duty; and their history would not have been "unutterably saddening," as Prof. Huxley says it has been. What sort of considerations, then, must those we require be? Before answering this question let us pause for a moment, and, with Prof. Huxley's help, let us make ourselves quite clear what duty is. I have already shown that it differs from a passive obedience to external laws, in being a voluntary and active obedience to a law that is internal; but its logical aim is analogous—that is to say, the good of the community, ourselves included. Prof. Huxley describes it thus—"to devote one's self to the service of humanity, including intellectual and moral self-culture under that name"; "to pity and help all men to the best of one's ability"; "to be strong and patient," "to be ethically pure and noble" and to push our devotion to others "to the extremity of self-sacrifice." All these phrases are Prof. Huxley's own. They are plain enough in themselves; but, to make what he means yet plainer, he tells us that the best examples of the duty he has been describing are to be found among Christian martyrs and saints, such as Catherine of Sienna, and above all in the ideal Christ—"the noblest ideal of humanity," he calls it, "which mankind has yet worshiped." Finally, he says that "religion, properly understood, is simply the reverence and love for [this] ethical ideal, and the desire to realize that ideal in life which every man ought to feel." That man "ought" to feel this desire, and "ought" to act on it, "is," he says, "surely indisputable," and "agnosticism has no more to do with it than it has with music or painting."

Here, then, we come to something at last which Prof. Huxley, despite all his doubts, declares to be certain—to a conclusion which agnosticism itself, according to his view, admits to be "indisputable." Agnosticism,

however, as he has told us already, lays it down as a "fundamental axiom" that no conclusions are indisputable but such as are "demonstrated or demonstrable." The conclusion, therefore, that we ought to do our duty, and that we ought to experience what Prof. Huxley calls "religion," is evidently a conclusion which, in his opinion, is demonstrated or demonstrable with the utmost clearness and cogency. Before, however, inquiring how far this is the case, we must state the conclusion in somewhat different terms, but still in terms which we have Prof. Huxley's explicit warrant for using. Duty is a thing which men in general, "as they always have been, and probably ever will be," have lamentably failed to do, and to do which is very difficult, going as it does against some of the strongest and most victorious instincts of our nature. Prof. Huxley's conclusion, then, must be expressed thus: "We ought to do something which most of us do not do, and which we can not do without a severe and painful struggle, often involving the extremity of self-sacrifice."

And now, such being the case, let us proceed to this crucial question—What is the meaning of the all-important word "*ought*"? It does not mean merely that on utilitarian grounds the conduct in question can be defended as tending to certain beneficent results. This conclusion would be indeed barren and useless. It would merely amount to saying that some people would be happier if other people would for their sake consent to be miserable; or that men would be happier as a race if their instincts and impulses were different from "what they always have been and probably ever will be." When we say that certain conduct ought to be followed, we do not mean that its ultimate results can be shown to be beneficial to other people, but that they can be exhibited as desirable to the people to whom the conduct is recommended—and not only as desirable, but as desirable in a pre-eminent degree—desirable beyond all other results that are immediately beneficial to themselves. Now the positivists, or any other believers in the destinies of humanity, absurd as their beliefs may be, still have in their beliefs a means by which, theoretically, duty could be thus recommended. According to them, our sympathy with others is so keen, and the future in store for our descendants is so satisfying, that we have only to think of this future and we shall burn with a desire to work for it. But Prof. Huxley, and those who agree with him, utterly reject both of these sup-

positions. They say, and very rightly, that our sympathies are limited; and that the blissful future, which it is supposed will appeal to them, is moonshine. The utmost, then, in the way of objective results, that any of us can accomplish by following the path of duty, is not only little in itself, but there is no reason for supposing that it will contribute to anything great. On the contrary, it will only contribute to something which, as a whole, is "unutterably saddening."

Let us suppose, then, an individual with two ways of life open to him—the way of ordinary self-indulgence, and the way of pain, effort, and self-sacrifice. The first seems to him obviously the most advantageous; but he has heard so much fine talk in favor of the second, that he thinks it at least worth considering. He goes, we will suppose, to Prof. Huxley, and asks to have it demonstrated that this way of pain is preferable. Now what answer to that could Prof. Huxley make—he, or any other agnostic who agrees with him? He has made several answers. I am going to take them one by one; and while doing to each of them, as I hope, complete justice, to show that they are not only absolutely and ridiculously impotent to prove what is demanded of them, but they do not even succeed in touching the question at issue.

One of the answers hardly needs considering, except to show to what straits the thinker must be put who uses it. A man, says Prof. Huxley, ought to choose the way of pain and duty, because it conduces in some small degree to the good of others; and to do good to others ought to be his predominant desire, or, in other words, his religion. But the very fact in human nature that makes the question at issue worth arguing, is the fact that men naturally do not desire the good of others, or, at least, desire it in a very lukewarm way; and every consideration which the positivist school advance to make the good of others attractive and interesting to ourselves Prof. Huxley dismisses with what we may call an uproarious contempt. If, then, we are not likely to be nerved to our duty by a belief that duty done tends to produce and hasten a change that shall really make the whole human lot beautiful, we are not likely to be nerved to it by the belief that its utmost possible result will be some partial and momentary benefit to a portion of a "wilderness of apes." The positivist says to the men of the present day: "Work hard at the foundation of things social; for on these foundations one day will arise a glorious edi-

face." Prof. Huxley tells them to work equally hard, only he adds that the foundation will never support anything better than pig-sties. His attempt, then, on social grounds, to make duty binding, and give force to the moral imperative, is merely a fragment of Mr. Harrison's system, divorced from anything that gave it a theoretical meaning. Prof. Huxley has shattered that system against the hard rock of reality, and this is one of the pieces which he has picked up out of the mire.

The social argument, then, we may therefore put aside, as good perhaps for showing what duty is, but utterly useless for creating any desire to do it. Indeed, to render Prof. Huxley justice, it is not the argument on which he mainly relies. The argument, or rather the arguments, on which he mainly relies have no direct connection with things social at all. They seek to create a religion, or to give a meaning to duty, by dwelling on man's connection, not with his fellow-men, but with the universe, and thus developing in the individual a certain ethical self-reverence, or rather, perhaps, preserving his existing self-reverence from destruction. How any human being who pretends to accurate thinking can conceive that these arguments would have the effect desired—that they would either tend in any way to develop self-reverence of any kind, or that this self-reverence, if developed, could connect itself with practical duty—passes my comprehension. Influential and eminent men, however, declare that such is their opinion; and for that reason the arguments are worth analyzing. Mr. Herbert Spencer is here in almost exact accord with Prof. Huxley; we will therefore begin by referring to his way of stating the matter.

"We are obliged," he says, "to regard every phenomenon as a manifestation of some power by which we are acted on; though omnipresence is unthinkable, yet, as experience discloses no bounds to the diffusion of phenomena, we are unable to think of limits to the presence of this power; while the criticisms of science teach us that this power is incomprehensible. And this consciousness of an incomprehensible power, called omnipresent from inability to assign its limits, is just that consciousness on which religion dwells."* Now Prof. Huxley, it will be remembered, gives an account of religion quite different. He says it is a desire to realize a certain ideal in life. His terminology therefore differs from that of Mr. Spencer; but of the present matter, as

the following quotation will show, his view is substantially the same.

"Let us suppose," he says, "that knowledge is absolute, and not relative, and therefore that our conception of matter represents that which really is. Let us suppose further that we do know more of cause and effect than a certain succession; and I for my part do not see what escape there is from utter materialism and necessarianism." And this materialism, were it really what science forces on us, he admits would amply justify the darkest fears that are entertained of it. It would "drown man's soul," "impede his freedom," "paralyze his energies," "debase his moral nature," and "destroy the beauty of his life."* But, Prof. Huxley assures us, these dark fears are groundless. There is indeed only one avenue of escape from them; but that avenue truth opens to us.

"For," he says, "after all, what do we know of this terrible 'matter,' except as a name for the unknown and hypothetical cause of states of our own consciousness? And what do we know of that 'spirit' over whose extinction by matter a great lamentation is arising, . . . except that it also is a name for an unknown and hypothetical cause or condition of states of consciousness? . . . And what is the dire necessity and iron law under which men groan? Truly, most gratuitously invented bugbears. I suppose if there be an 'iron' law it is that of gravitation; and if there be a physical necessity it is that a stone unsupported must fall to the ground. But what is all we really know and can know about the latter phenomena? Simply that in all human experience stones have fallen to the ground under these conditions; that we have not the smallest reason for believing that any stone so circumstanced will not fall to the ground; and that we have, on the contrary, every reason to believe that it will so fall. . . . But when, as commonly happens, we change *will* into *must*, we introduce an idea of necessity which . . . has no warranty that I can discover anywhere. . . . Force I know, and Law I know; but who is this Necessity, save an empty shadow of my own mind's throwing?"

Let us now compare the statements of these two writers. Each states that the reality of the universe is unknowable; that just as surely as matter is always one aspect of mind, so mind is equally one aspect of matter; and that if it is true to say that the thoughts of man are material, it is equally true to say that the earth from which man is taken is spiritual. Further, from these statements each writer deduces a similar moral. The only difference between them is, that Mr. Spencer puts it positively, and Prof. Huxley negatively. Mr. Spencer says that a consciousness of the unknowable nature of the universe fills the mind with religious emotion. Prof. Huxley says that the same consciousness will preserve from

* "First Principles," p. 99.

* "Lay Sermons," pp. 122, 123, 127.

destruction the emotion that already exists in it. We will examine the positive and negative propositions in order, and see what bearing, if any, they have on practical life.

Mr. Spencer connects his religion with practical life thus: The mystery and the immensity of the All, and our own inseparable connection with it, deepen and solemnize our own conception of ourselves. They make us regard ourselves as "elements in that great evolution of which the beginning and the end are beyond our knowledge or conception"; and in especial they make us so regard our "own innermost convictions."

"It is not for nothing," says Mr. Spencer, "that a man has in him these sympathies with some principles, and repugnance to others. . . . He is a descendant of the past; he is a parent of the future; and his thoughts are as children born to him, which he may not carelessly let die. He, like every other man, may properly consider himself as one of the myriad agencies through whom works the Unknown Cause, and when the Unknown Cause produces in him a certain belief, he is thereby authorized to profess and act with this belief."*

In all the annals of intellectual self-deception it would be hard to find anything to outdo or even to approach this. What a man does or thinks, what he professes or acts out, can have no effect whatever, conceivable to ourselves, beyond such effects as it produces within the limits of this planet; and hardly any effect, worth our consideration, beyond such as it produces on himself and a few of his fellow-men. Now, how can any of these effects be connected with the evolution of the universe in such a way as to enable a consciousness of the universe to inform us that one set of effects should be aimed at by us rather than another? The positivists say that our aim should be the progress of man; and that, as I have said, forms a standard of duty, though it may not supply a motive. But what has the universe to do with the progress of man? Does it know anything about it, or care anything about it? Judging from the language of Mr. Spencer and Prof. Huxley, one would certainly suppose that it did. Surely, in that case, here is anthropomorphism with a vengeance. "It is not for nothing," says Mr. Spencer, "that the Unknowable has implanted in a man certain impulses." What is this but the old theologic doctrine of design? Can anything be more inconsistent with the entire theory of the evolutionist? Mr. Spencer's argument means, if it means anything, that the Unknowable has implanted in us one set of sympathies in

a sense in which it has not implanted others; else the impulse to deny one's belief, and not to act on it, which many people experience, would be authorized by the Unknowable as much as the impulse to profess it, and to act on it. And according to Mr. Spencer's entire theory, according to Prof. Huxley's entire theory, according to the entire theory of modern science, it is precisely this that is the case. If it is the fact that the Unknowable works through any of our actions, it works through all alike, bad, good, and indifferent, through our lies as well as through our truth-telling, through our injuries to our race as well as through our benefits to it. The attempt to connect the well-being of humanity with any general tendency observable in the universe is in fact, on agnostic principles, as hopeless as an attempt to get, in a balloon, to Jupiter. It is utterly unfit for serious men to talk about; and its proper place, if anywhere, would be in one of Jules Verne's story-books. The destinies of mankind, so far as we have any means of knowing, have as little to do with the course of the Unknowable as a whole, as the destinies of an ant-hill in South Australia have to do with the question of home rule for Ireland.

Or even supposing the Unknowable to have any feeling in the matter, how do we know that its feeling would be in our favor, and that it would not be gratified by the calamities of humanity, rather than by its improvement? Or here is a question which is more important still. Supposing the Unknowable did desire our improvement, but we, as Prof. Huxley says of us, were obstinately bent against being improved, what could the Unknowable do to us for thus thwarting its wishes?

And this leads us to another aspect of the matter. If consciousness of the Unknowable does not directly influence action, it may yet be said that the contemplation of the universe as the wonderful garment of this unspeakable mystery, is calculated to put the mind into a serious and devout condition, which would make it susceptible to the solemn voice of duty. How any devotion so produced could have any connection with duty I confess I am at a loss to see. But I need not dwell on that point, for what I wish to show is this, that contemplation of the Unknowable, from the agnostic's point of view, is not calculated to produce any sense of devoutness at all. Devoutness is made up of three things, fear, love, and wonder; but were the agnostic's thoughts really controlled by his principles (which they are not) not one of these emotions

* "First Principles," p. 123.

could the Unknowable possibly excite in him. It need hardly be said that he has no excuse for loving it, for his own first principles forbid him to say that it is lovable, or that it possesses any character, least of all any anthropomorphic character. But perhaps it is calculated to excite fear or awe in him. This idea is more plausible than the other. The universe as compared with man is a revelation of forces that are infinite, and it may be said that surely these have something awful and impressive in them. There is, however, another side to the question. This universe represents not only infinite forces, but it represents also infinite impotence. So long as we conform ourselves to certain ordinary rules we may behave as we like for anything it can do to us. We may look at it with eyes of adoration, or make faces at it, and blaspheme it, but for all its power it can not move a finger to touch us. Why, then, should a man be in awe of this lubberly All, whose blindness and impotence are at least as remarkable as its power, and from which man is as absolutely safe as a mouse in a hole is from a lion? But there still remains the emotion of wonder to be considered. Is not the universe calculated to excite our wonder? From the agnostic point of view we must certainly say No. The further science reveals to us the constitution of things the feeling borne in on us more and more strongly is this, that it is not wonderful that things happen as they do, but that it would be wonderful if they happened otherwise: while as for the Unknown Cause that is behind what science reveals to us, we can not wonder at that, for we know nothing at all about it, and, if there is any wonder involved in the matter at all, it is nothing but wonder at our own ignorance.

So much, then, for our mere emotions toward the Unknowable. There still remains, however, one way more in which it is alleged that our consciousness of it can be definitely connected with duty; and this is the way which our agnostic philosophers most commonly have in view, and to which they allude most frequently. I allude to the search after scientific truth and the proclamation of it, regardless of consequences. Whenever the agnostics are pressed as to the consequences of their principles, it is on this conception of duty that they invariably fall back. Mr. Herbert Spencer, on his own behalf, expresses the position thus:

The highest truth he sees will the wise man fearlessly utter, knowing that, let what may come of it, he is thus playing his right part in the world, knowing that if he can effect the change [in belief]

he aims at, well; if not, well also; though not so well.*

After what has been said already it will not be necessary to dwell long on this astonishing proposition. A short examination will suffice to show its emptiness. That a certain amount of truth in social intercourse is necessary for the continuance of society, and that a large number of scientific truths are useful in enabling us to add to our material comforts is, as Prof. Huxley would say, "surely indisputable." And truth thus understood it is "surely indisputable" that we should cultivate. The reason is obvious. Such truth has certain social consequences, certain things that we all desire come of it; but the highest truth which Mr. Spencer speaks of stands, according to him, on a wholly different basis, and we are to cultivate it, not because of its consequences, but in defiance of them. And what are its consequences, so far as we can see? Prof. Huxley's answer is this: "I have had, and have, the firmest conviction that . . . the *verace via*, the straight road, has led nowhere else but into the dark depths of a wild and tangled forest." Now if this be the case, what possible justification can there be for following this *verace via*? In what sense is the man who follows it playing "his right part in the world"? And when Mr. Spencer says, with regard to his conduct, "it is well," with whom is it well, or in what sense is it well? We can use such language with any warrant or with any meaning only on the supposition that the universe, or the Unknowable as manifested through the universe, is concerned with human happiness in some special way, in which it is not concerned with human misery, and that thus our knowledge of it must somehow make men happier, even though it leads them into a wild and tangled forest. It is certain that our devotion to truth will not benefit the universe; the only question is, will knowledge of the universe, beyond a certain point, benefit us? But the supposition just mentioned is merely theism in disguise. It imputes to the Unknowable design, purpose, and affection. In every way it is contrary to the first principles of agnosticism. Could we admit it, then devotion to truth might have all the meaning that Mr. Spencer claims for it: but if this supposition is denied, as all agnostics deny it, this devotion to truth, seemingly so noble and so unassailable, sinks to a superstition more abject, more meaningless, and more ridiculous than that of any African savage, groveling and mumbling before his fetich.

* "First Principles," p. 123.

We have now passed under review the main positive arguments by which our agnostics, while dismissing the existence of God as a question of lunar politics, endeavor to exhibit the reality of religion, and of duty, as a thing that is "surely indisputable." We will now pass on to their negative arguments. While by positive arguments they endeavor to prove that duty and religion are realities, by their negative arguments they endeavor to prove that duty and religion are not impossibilities. We have seen how absolutely worthless to their cause are the former; but if the former are worthless, the latter are positively fatal.

What they are the reader has already seen. I have taken the statement of them from Prof. Huxley, but Mr. Spencer uses language almost precisely similar. These arguments start with two admissions. Were all our actions linked one to another by mechanical necessity, it is admitted that responsibility and duty would be no longer conceivable. Our "energies," as Prof. Huxley admits, would be "paralyzed" by "utter necessarianism." Further, did our conception of matter represent a reality, were matter low and gross, as we are accustomed to think of it, then man, as the product of matter, would be low and gross also, and heroism and duty would be really successfully degraded, by being reduced to questions of carbon and ammonia. But from all of these difficulties Prof. Huxley professes to extricate us. Let us look back at the arguments by which he considers that he has done so.

We will begin with his method of liberating us from the "iron" law of necessity, and thus giving us back our freedom and moral character. He performs this feat, or rather, he thinks he has performed it, by drawing a distinction between what *will* happen and what *must* happen. On this distinction his entire position is based. Now in every argument used by any sensible man there is probably some meaning. Let us try fairly to see what is the meaning in this. I take it that the idea at the bottom of Prof. Huxley's mind is as follows: Though all our scientific reasoning presupposes the uniformity of the universe, we are unable to assert of the reality behind the universe, that it might not manifest itself in ways by which all present science would be baffled. But what has an idea like this to do with any practical question? So far as man, and man's will, are concerned, we have to do only with the universe as we know it; and the only knowledge we have of it, worth calling knowledge, involves, as Prof. Huxley is

constantly telling us, "the great act of faith," which leads us to take what has been as a certain index of what will be. Now, with regard to this universe, Prof. Huxley tells us that the progress of science has always meant, and "means now more than ever," "the extension of the province of . . . causation, and . . . the banishment of spontaneity."* And this applies, as he expressly says, to human thought and action as much as to the flowering of a plant. Just as there can be no voluntary action without volition, so there can be no volition without some preceding cause. Accordingly, if a man's condition at any given moment were completely known, his actions could be predicted with as much or with as little certainty as the fall of a stone could be predicted if released from the hand that held it. Now Prof. Huxley tells us that, with regard to certainty, we are justified in saying that the stone will fall; and we should, therefore, be justified in saying similarly of the man, that he will act in such and such a manner. Whether theoretically we are absolutely certain is no matter. We are absolutely certain for all practical purposes, and the question of human freedom is nothing if not practical. What then is gained—is anything gained—is the case in any way altered—by telling ourselves that, though there is certainty in the case, there is no necessity? Suppose I held a loaded pistol to Prof. Huxley's ear, and offered to pull the trigger, should I reconcile him to the operation by telling him that, though it certainly would kill him, there was not the least necessity that it should do so? And with regard to volition and action, as the result of preceding causes, is not the case precisely similar? Let Prof. Huxley turn to all the past actions of humanity. Can he point to any smallest movement of any single human being, which has not been the product of causes, which in their turn have been the product of other causes? Or can he point to any causes which, under given conditions, could have produced any effects other than those they have produced, unless he uses the word *could* in the foolish and fantastic sense which would enable him to say that unsupported stones could possibly fly upward? For all practical purposes the distinction between *must* and *will* is neither more nor less than a feeble and childish sophism. Theoretically no doubt it will bear this meaning—that the Unknowable might have so made man, that at any given moment he could be a different being: but it

* "Lay Sermons," p. 123.

does nothing to break the force of what all science teaches us—that man, formed as he is, can not act otherwise than as he does. The universe may have no necessity at the back of *it*; but its presence and its past alike are a necessity at the back of *us*; and it is not necessity, but it is doubt of necessity, that is really “the shadow of our own mind’s throwing.”

And now let us face Prof. Huxley’s other argument, which is to save life from degradation by taking away the reproach from matter. If it is true, he tells us, to say that everything, mind included, is matter, it is equally true to say that everything, matter included, is mind; and thus, he argues, the dignity we all attribute to mind, at once is seen to diffuse itself throughout the entire universe. Mr. Herbert Spencer puts the same view thus :

Such an attitude of mind [contempt for matter and dread of materialism] is significant not so much of a reverence for the Unknown Cause, as of an irreverence for those familiar forms in which the Unknown Cause is manifested to us.* . . . But whoever remembers that the forms of existence of which the uncultivated speak with so much scorn . . . are found to be the more marvelous the more they are investigated, and are also to be found to be in their natures absolutely incomprehensible . . . will see that the course proposed [a reduction of all things to terms of matter] does not imply a degradation of the so-called higher, but an elevation of the so-called lower.

The answer to this argument, so far as it touches any ethical or religious question, is at once obvious and conclusive. The one duty of ethics and of religion is to draw a distinction between two states of emotion and two courses of action—to elevate the one and to degrade the other. But the argument we are now considering, though undoubtedly true in itself, has no bearing on this distinction whatever. It is invoked to show that religion and duty remain spiritual in spite of all materialism; but it ends, with unfortunate impartiality, in showing the same thing of vice and of cynical worldliness. If the life of Christ is elevated by being seen in this light, so also is the life of Casanova; and it is as impossible in this way to make the one higher than the other as it is to make one man higher than another by taking them both up in a balloon.

I have now gone through the whole case for duty and for religion, as stated by the agnostic school, and have shown that, as thus stated, there is no case at all. I have shown their arguments to be so shallow, so irrelevant, and so contradictory, that they never could have imposed themselves on the

men who condescend to use them, if these men, upon utterly alien grounds, had not pledged themselves to the conclusion which they invoke the arguments to support. Something else, however, still remains to be done. Having seen how agnosticism fails to give a basis to either religion or duty, I will point out to the reader how it actively and mercilessly destroys them. Religion and duty, as has been constantly made evident in the course of the foregoing discussion, are, in the opinion of the agnostics, inseparably connected. Duty is a course of conduct which is more than conformity to human law; religion consists of the emotional reasons for pursuing that conduct. Now these reasons, on the showing of the agnostics themselves, are reasons that do not lie on the surface of the mind. They have to be sought out in moods of devoutness and abstraction, and the more we dwell on them, the stronger they are supposed to become. They lie above and beyond the ordinary things of life; but after communing with them, it is supposed that we shall descend to these things with our purposes sharpened and intensified. It is easy to see, however, if we divest ourselves of all prejudice, and really conceive ourselves to be convinced of nothing which is not demonstrable by the methods of agnostic science, that the more we dwell on the agnostic doctrine of the universe, the less and not the more shall duty seem to be binding on us.

I have said that agnosticism can supply us with no religion. Perhaps I was wrong in saying so, but if we will but invert the supposed tendency of religion, it can and it will supply us with a religion indeed. It will supply us with a religion which, if we describe it in theological language, we may with literal accuracy describe as the religion of the devil—of the devil, the spirit which denies. Instead of telling us of duty, that it has a meaning which does not lie on the surface, such meaning as may lie on the surface it will utterly take away. It will indeed tell us that the soul which sins shall die; but it will tell us in the same breath that the soul which does not sin shall die the same death. Instead of telling us that we are responsible for our actions, it will tell us that if anything is responsible for them it is the blind and unfathomable universe; and if we are asked to repent of any shameful sins we have committed, it will tell us we might as well be repentant about the structure of the solar system. These meditations, these communings with scientific truth, will be the exact inverse of the religious medita-

* “First Principles,” p. 556.

tions of the Christian. Every man, no doubt, has two voices—the voice of self-indulgence or indifference, and the voice of effort and duty ; but whereas the religion of the Christian enabled him to silence the one, the religion of the agnostic will forever silence the other. I say forever, but I probably ought to correct myself. Could the voice be silenced forever, then there might be peace in the sense in which Roman conquerors gave the name of peace to solitude. But it is more likely that the voice will still continue, together with the longing expressed by it, only to feel the pains of being again and again silenced, or sent back to the soul saying bitterly, I am a lie.

Such, then, is really the result of agnosticism on life, and the result is so obvious to any one who knows how to reason, that it could be hidden from nobody, except by one thing, and that is the cowardice characteristic of all our contemporary agnostics. They dare not face what they have done. They dare not look fixedly at the body of the life which they have pierced.

And now comes the final question to which all that I have thus far urged has been leading. What does theologic religion answer to the principles and to the doctrines of agnosticism ? In contemporary discussion the answer is constantly obscured, but it is of the utmost importance that it should be given clearly. It says this : If we start from and are faithful to the agnostic's fundamental principles, that nothing is to be regarded as certain which is not either demonstrated or demonstrable, then the denial of God is the only possible creed for us. To the methods of science, nothing in this universe gives any hint of either a God or a purpose. Duty and holiness, aspiration and love of truth, are "merely shadows of our own mind's throwing," but shadows which, instead of making the reality brighter, only serve to make it more ghastly and hideous. Humanity is a bubble ; the human being is a puppet cursed with the intermittent illusion that he is something more, and roused from this illusion with a pang every time it flatters him. Now, from this condition of things is there no escape ? Theologic religion answers, There is one, and one only, and this is the repudiation of the principle on which all agnosticism rests.

Let us see what this repudiation amounts to, and we shall then realize what, in the present day, is the intellectual basis which theologic religion claims. Theologic religion does not say that within limits the agnostic principle is not perfectly valid and has not led to the discovery of a vast body

of truth. But what it does say is this : That the truths which are thus discovered are not the only truths which are certainly and surely discoverable. The fundamental principle of agnosticism is that nothing is certainly true but such truths as are demonstrated or demonstrable. The fundamental principle of theologic religion is that there are other truths of which we can be equally or even more certain, and that these are the only truths that give life a meaning and redeem us from the body of death. Agnosticism says nothing is certain which can not be proved by science. Theologic religion says, nothing which is important can be. Agnosticism draws a line round its own province of knowledge, and beyond that it declares is the unknown void which thought can not enter, and in which belief can not support itself. Where Agnosticism pauses, there religion begins. On what seems to science to be unsustaining air, it lays its foundations—it builds up its fabric of certainties. Science regards them as dreams, as an "unsubstantial pageant"; and yet even to science religion can give some account of them. Prof. Huxley says, as we have seen, that "from the nature of ratiocination," it is obvious that it must start "from axioms which can not be demonstrated by ratiocination"; and that in science it must start with "one great act of faith"—faith in the uniformity of nature. Religion replies to science : "And I, too, start with a faith in one thing. I start with a faith which you, too, profess to hold—faith in the meaning of duty and the infinite importance of life ; and out of that faith my whole fabric of certainties, one after the other, is reared by the hands of reason. Do you ask for proof ? Do you ask for verification ? I can give you one only, which you may take or leave, as you choose. Deny the certainties which I declare to be certain—deny the existence of God, deny man's freedom and immortality, and by no other conceivable hypothesis can you vindicate for man's life any possible meaning, or save it from the degradation at which you profess to feel so aghast." "Is there no other way," I can conceive science asking, "no other way by which the dignity of life may be vindicated except this—the abandonment of my one fundamental principle ? Must I put my lips, in shame and humiliation, to the cup of faith I have so contemptuously cast away from me ? May not this cup pass from me ? Is there salvation in no other ?" And to this question, without passion or preference, the voice of reason and logic pitilessly answers "No."

Here is the dilemma which men, sooner or later, will see before them, in all its crudeness and nakedness, cleared from the rags with which the cowardice of contemporary agnosticism has obscured it; and they will then have to choose one alternative or the other. What their choice will be I do not venture to prophesy; but I will venture to call them happy if their choice prove to be this: To admit frankly that their present canon of certainty, true so far as it goes, is only the pettiest part of truth, and that the deepest certainties are those which, if tried by this canon, are illusions. To make this choice a struggle would be required with pride, and with what has long passed for enlightenment; and yet, when it is realized what depends on the struggle, there are some at least who will think that it must end successfully. The only way by which, in the face of science, we can ever logically arrive at a faith in life, is by the commission of what many at present will describe as an intellectual suicide. I do not for a moment admit that such an expression is justifiable, but, if I may use it provisionally, and because it points to the temper at present prevalent, I shall be simply pronouncing the judgment of frigid reason in saying that it is only through the grave and gate of death that the spirit of man can pass to its resurrection.

GOODLY WORDS.

Readings from the Mystics, selected by C. H. A. BJRRE-GAARD, of the Astor Library.

GET UNDERSTANDING.

WHAT is understanding? It is the knowledge of God. We have been told that there is nothing hidden that shall not be revealed, but the revelation must come through understanding; then there are no longer any mysteries. When we know God we know all, for God is Infinite knowledge. "Hast thou not known? hast thou not heard that the everlasting God, the Lord, the creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary? there is no searching of His understanding." When we find that for which we are seeking, we rest; but we only rest when we find God. God is rest. That which we understand we make our own; in other words, understanding means unity, oneness. When we know God we are one with God, and we find "There is no wisdom, nor understanding, nor counsel against the Lord." God is Absolute Good, there is only understanding in that which is good. Nothing that is endowed with life can be separate from God, for the Spirit within every man is the life which is God, and this Spirit is the bond of union between all created things, therefore we are not many, but one. This Spirit is given us that we may discern the things which are of God, for "Spiritual things are spiritually discerned," and

when we judge all things by the Spirit, we know all things to be of God. We see then that we are all alike endowed with a precious gift, and if we understand how to use our gift we shall know that all are God's elect. There are no weak links in the chain of humanity, all are equally strong; for they are riveted in Heaven. We are truly linked together in love. Now if we understand that love is the foundation stone upon which we are to build, for God is love, and use as our material for building the thoughts of love, our structure will be a perfect representation or manifestation of its Builder. Nothing can overthrow that which is based upon Divine love, for it is everlasting. "Shall the work say of Him that made it, He made me not? Or shall the thing say of Him that framed it, He had no understanding?" No one will question whose work we appear if we faithfully represent Him, for the glory that shines forth in His handiwork is unmistakable. Christ's life was a prophecy of that which we can attain if we will, and if we shine as the sun shines, there will go out a warmth that all shall feel, that will cause all souls to reach up out of the darkness into the light, there to blossom and produce the perfect fruit of the Spirit. Let us come into understanding that we may "Glorify the Father who is in Heaven."

A PSALM OF LOVE.

I LOVE thee now, no longer because thou lovest me, but because thou hast refused to cast me forth from thy dear heart. I reverence thee now, not because thou dost respect me, but because thou hast ceased not to treat me with the same respect, notwithstanding the great provocation I have given thee to disrespect me.

I have tried thee, and thou hast not failed; tempted thee, and thou hast not fallen.

Even now, that I have risen on thy strength, and followed in thy gentle path, I do not say, Behold thy reward! For I see a light, a rare light, O my God! that thou art beyond all reward. And I reach out to thee by not offering a return.

I have been persecuted by the world, and suffered not; tormented, and sorrowed not. But in thy perfect gentleness and untiring love I suffer and sorrow much—who can measure it?

Blessed be Love! Because of thee I suffer; because of thee I live. I suffer to live. And living evermore I suffer nevermore. Blessed be Love!

U. R. LEAFLETS for March and May, 1890.

Space is not empty, as some think, but, like The honey in its comb, is rich with life—Sustaining sweets,—the treasure-house of worlds, The dwelling-place of God. And, earthward, from It flows a living sea of golden drops—Each, a microscopic cell, wherein doth Dwell a fairy form of Life's own ichor. They are the inner workers of the world,

* * * * *

Mind is the power that fills all space. Its thoughts Are stars, that, sparkling, gem the Milky Way: It lighteth suns and maps their shining course: It formeth worlds and gives them cycling law From crystal up to microcosmic man,—A universe, in least, that doth reflect The All: A plastic wonder world wherein Doth surge the deathless pulse of lives—as beats A mighty ocean on its concrete shores. THE DIVINE SCIENCE OF HEALTH. January and February, 1890.

The following is the account of the admission of Tewekkul Beg into the order of the Qadiriyaḥ faqirs, one of the four most prominent Dervish, or Sufi mystical orders, by Molla Shah, a Saint and poet of some celebrity, who died in the year of the Hegira 1072 (1661-62 of our era), at Lahore, where his shrine was reared by the Princess Fatima, daughter of Shah-Jihan. Tewekkul is himself the narrator :

"Having been introduced, by means of Akhōnd Mollā Mohammed Say'd into the intimate circle of Mollā Shah, my heart through frequent intercourse with the Sheikh was filled with a burning desire of reaching the sublime goal [of the mystical science], and I no longer found sleep by night nor rest by day * * I passed the whole of that night without being able to shut my eyes, and betook myself to reciting a hundred thousand times the one hundred and twelfth chapter of the Qoran. I accomplished this in several days. It is well known that in this chapter of the Qoran the great Name of God is contained, and that through the power of that Name, whoever recites it a hundred thousand times may obtain all that he desires. I conceived then the wish that the Master should bestow his affection upon me. And, in fact, I convinced myself of the efficacy of this means, for hardly had I finished the hundred thousandth recitation of this chapter of the book of God, when the heart of the Master was filled with sympathy for me, and he gave order to Senghin Mohammed, his vicar, to conduct me on the following night to his presence. During that whole night he concentrated his mind upon me, while I directed my meditation upon my own heart; but the knot of my heart was not unloosed. So passed three nights, during which he made me the object of his spiritual attention, without any result being manifested. On the fourth night Mollā Shāh said, 'This night Mollā Senghin and Sālih Bég, who are both very susceptible to ecstatic emotions, will direct their whole mind upon the neophyte.' They obeyed this order, while I remained seated the whole night, my face turned towards Mecca, at the same time concentrating all my mental faculties upon my own heart. Towards daybreak, a little light and brightness came into my heart, but I could distinguish neither form nor color. After morning prayer I presented myself, and the two persons I have just mentioned, before the Master who saluted me and asked them what they had done to me. They replied: 'Ask him, himself.' Then, addressing me, he told me to relate to him my impressions. I said that I had seen a brightness in my heart; whereupon the Sheikh became animated, and said to me: 'Thy heart contains an infinity of colors, but it is become so dark that the looks of these two crocodiles of the infinite ocean [the mystic science] have not availed to bestow upon it either brightness or clearness; the moment is come when I myself will show thee how it is enlightened.' With these words he made me sit in front of him, while my senses were, so to speak, inebriated, and ordered me to reproduce within me his appearance. Then, having blindfolded me, he bade me concentrate all my mental faculties upon my heart. I obeyed, and in an instant, by the divine favor and the spiritual assistance of the Sheikh, my heart was opened. I saw then within me something like a cup, turned upside down; and this object having been turned up again, a feeling of illimitable happiness filled my whole being. I said to the Master, 'This cell, where I am sitting before you—I see a faithful reproduc-

tion of it within me, and it seems as if another Tewekkul Bég were seated before another Mollā Shāh.' He answered, 'It is well; the first vision which presents itself to thy view is the figure of the Master.' * * * He next bade me uncover my eyes, which I did, and I then saw him, by the material organ of vision, seated in front of me. Again he made me bandage them, and I perceived him by my spiritual vision, seated in front of me just the same. Full of wonder I cried out, 'O my Master, whether I look with my bodily eyes or my spiritual vision, it is always you that I see.' Meanwhile I saw advance towards me a dazzling figure, and upon my telling the Master of it, he bade me ask the apparition its name. In my spirit I put to it that question, and the figure answered me by the voice of the heart, 'My name is Abd Alkâdir Ghilânî.' I heard this answer by my spiritual ear. The Master then advised me to pray the Saint to give me his spiritual help and succor. I made this petition; and the apparition said to me, 'I had already granted to thee my spiritual assistance; hence it is that the knots of thy heart have been loosed.' Full of deep gratitude, I imposed on myself the obligation of reciting every Friday night the whole Qoran in honor of this great Saint, and for two whole years I never neglected this practice. Mollā Shāh then said, 'The spiritual world has been shown to thee in all its beauty: remain there seated, effacing thyself completely in the marvels of this unknown world.'

"I obeyed strictly the directions of my Master, and, day by day, the spiritual world became more and more unveiled before me. The next day I saw the figures of the Prophet and his chief Companions, and legions of Saints and Angels passed before my inner vision. Three months passed in this manner, after which the sphere where all color is effaced opened before me, and then all the figures disappeared. During all this time the Master ceased not to explain to me the doctrine of the union with God and of mystical intuition. But, nevertheless, the Absolute Reality would not show itself to me. It was not until after a year that the knowledge of the Absolute Reality, in its relation with the conception of my own existence came to me. The following verses revealed themselves at that moment to my heart, whence they passed unbidden to my lips:—

'That this corruptible frame was other than water and dust
I knew not: the powers of the heart and the soul and the body
I knew not,
Woe is me! that so much of my life without Thee has for ever
fled from me.
Thou wert I; but dark was my heart: I knew not the secret
transcendent.'

"I submitted to Mollā Shāh this poetical inspiration, and he rejoiced that the idea of the union with God was at last manifested to my heart; and addressing his disciples, he said: 'Tewekkul Bég has heard from my mouth the words of the doctrine of the union with God, and he will never betray the mystery. His inner eye is opened; the sphere of color and images is shown to him, and at last the sphere where all color is effaced has been revealed to him. Whoever after having passed through these phases of the union with God, has obtained the Absolute Reality, shall no more be led astray, whether by his own doubts or by those which sceptics may suggest to him.'

C. H. A. BJERREGAARD *On Sufism in The Path*,
Oct., 1886.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

ECCE VENIT. BEHOLD HE COMETH. By A. J. GORDON, D.D., author of "In Christ," "The Twofold Life," etc. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell. 12mo, 311 pp. Price, \$1.25.

As is indicated by the title, this is a treatise on the Second Coming of Christ. The view held by the author is that known as the premillenarian. The book is divided into three parts. *Part First: Foretold; Part Second: Forfeited; Part Third: Fulfilled.* Part first is devoted to setting forth, in five chapters, the Scripture basis of the doctrine of the Second Coming. The author presents here in strong array the leading Scripture references to this doctrine. He has given these Scripture passages a most careful exegetical study. He is quick to perceive and adopt in every instance that critical rendering which most favors his view, in support of which he never fails to quote, wherever he can, those Biblical scholars and exegetes whose names give weight and authority to their interpretations. The doctrine of the Second Coming is represented by the author as being in many respects the most transcendent and important doctrine of the New Testament.

Part Second undertakes to account for the origin of the erroneous views which supplanted and well-nigh extinguished in the Church that which he considers the true Apostolic doctrine: For the first two or three centuries, as long as the Church was humble and poor and kept pure by persecution, chiliasm or premillenarianism was the faith of the church universal in this matter; but after the time of Constantine the true view began to be abandoned. The papacy grew rich and powerful, and the Church was not now so anxious to have Christ speedily return. Hence Augustine's interpretation of the millennium as an indefinite period of great prosperity to the Kingdom of God found ready acceptance everywhere within an increasingly carnal church. The author considers the pope of Rome the "Man of Sin." He quotes approvingly the words of Auberlen: "Chiliasm disappeared in proportion as Roman Papal Catholicism advanced. The papacy took to itself, as a robber, that glory which is an object of hope, and can only be reached by the obedience and humility of the cross. When the Church became a harlot she ceased to be a Bride who goes forth to meet her Bridegroom, and thus Chiliasm disappeared." This resulted in an "eclipse of hope." The

post-millenarian Protestant who agrees substantially with Augustine, or who at least interprets the Second Coming differently from the author, will not be altogether satisfied with this method of accounting for the present widespread faith throughout the Church in post-millenarianism.

In part third the author finds "hope revived." "Once more, however, has come a reaction toward the ancient teaching. For in our own generation has been witnessed such a flaming-up of the torch of primitive adventism as has not been known since the first century." "Indeed, whenever men have turned from dogmatics to Scripture, a revival of millennial views has been inevitable." "Are there any swelling buds of promise now visible on the long-withered Jewish stock? We name those whose presence only the densest prejudice can fail to recognize as significant." He then proceeds to name such events as "the civil emancipation of Israel during the present century," "the tide of emigration setting toward Palestine," "the extraordinary conquests of the Gospel of late years among this people," "the world-wide proclamation of the Gospel," etc. "As for chronological signs, we believe that these are given to enable us to approximate, not to calculate, the time of the end. Those computations by which some have presumed to determine the day and the hour of the Lord's return have brought great discredit upon Apocalyptic study. Only as the prophet's lamp shines upon the prophet's calendar can we read it aright." We like this last quotation so much that it may be well to close with it. The author believes that this earth will be renovated and fitted up for the final abode of the saints; its renovation will be progressively accomplished during the millennium, and during this time the saints in their glorified resurrection bodies will sustain very much the same relation to the visible and the invisible world that Christ did during the forty days, now appearing and now disappearing. The author has brought unmistakable ability and Biblical scholarship to the exposition of his views. His work is undoubtedly one of the ablest presentations of the premillenarian doctrine of the Second Advent that has appeared of late. But we think the well-informed post-millenarian who holds the doctrine of catholic Christianity on this subject will not have his views materially altered by reading this defence of premillenarianism.

W. F. TILLET.

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IRELAND AND THE ANGLO-NORMAN CHURCH. A History of Ireland and Irish Christianity from the Anglo-Norman Conquest to the Dawn of the Reformation. By the Rev. G. T. STOKES, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Dublin, etc. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1889. Pp. xvi., 391, vol. i., 12mo, 9s.

The title sufficiently indicates the scope of this book. It is a continuation and companion volume of the author's earlier work, "Ireland and the Celtic Church." The general style and method of the two are quite similar, and must be judged from the circumstances of their preparation and the audience which the lecturer addressed. Employed, as he tells us, to teach ecclesiastical history to young university students, Dr. Stokes claims that it is his duty to make the lectures interesting, and redeem Irish history from its traditional dullness.

He justifies his departure from the methods of the great historic masters by expressing the belief that adherence to these methods would make his lecture-room a howling wilderness, and himself but the voice of one crying therein. He does not, therefore, offer either this or his former volume as exhaustive histories, but rather as interesting and graphic interpretations of results attained by the great investigators, whether living or dead. In this attempt, the author has been eminently successful, since there is hardly a dull page from preface to finis. These are much like Dean Stanley's "Lectures on the Jewish Church." While the pages glow with interest and incident, the scholarly reader feels how inadequate these lectures are to give the history of the Jewish people, as this has been elaborated by such masters as Ewald and Schürer. So, while vivid pictures of Irish life, social, political, and ecclesiastical, are presented in the book before us, the advanced student will more and more feel the need of the exhaustive treatises of Stubbs and Freeman.

To secure the object aimed at, the author largely employs the psychological method—*i.e.*, he makes a few strong characters the centres about which his main facts are grouped. Dermot MacMurrough, Strongbow, Henry II., St. Laurence O'Toole, John Comyn, Henry of London, are central figures, all strongly drawn, fixing the attention of the reader, and causing him to forget, for a time, that there is any such thing as a *people*, whose interests and happiness are of any account. This method has the great advantage of intensifying interest in the characters delineated, but it has also the vices which ever connect with hero-worship, by insensibly leading the younger and scantily informed student to suppose that these strong men are necessarily typical of the civilization of the period in which they flourished. Our author is, however, faithful in revealing to his hearers the best original authorities, by consulting which they may correct any erroneous impressions which he might inadvertently produce.

Moreover, he has a fine archæological instinct, which is shown in the minuteness with which he traces the places of landing of the invaders, and the field of their operations. To the general reader these circumstances might at first appear trivial, till he recollects that it is a Dublin Irish audience which the author is addressing, to whom such questions would be of like interest as that of the place of landing of the Pilgrims to Professor Smyth's theologues in Andover, or the story of the hiding of the royal charter to Professor Fisher's

class in Yale. The lessons taught by these lectures are many and important.

On the sharply debated question whether the Norman Conquest of Ireland had papal sanction, our author is most decided. Nothing, he believes, is more a matter of historic demonstration than that Adrian IV., in the bull granted to Henry II. in 1155, laid deep and fast the foundation of Norman and English dominion over Ireland. The opposition to this view is more sentimental than reasonable, since, talk as we may, from this conquest emerged a condition of the Irish peoples vastly more tolerable and improving than any they had before experienced. Impolitic as has often been the administration of Irish affairs since the subjugation by Henry II., protection has been more secure, desolating civil wars less frequent, property interests better guarded, personal rights more respected than under the old Celtic clanships. While the real conquest had been effected by the Fitz-Geralds and by Strongbow and his allies, nevertheless, Henry II., by his immense preparations, awed these conquerors and the native princes into submission, so that the island passed under Norman-English control without the invading army "firing a single shot in anger, or spilling, so far as we know, a single drop of Irish or Norman blood." While much in the policy of Henry II. challenges admiration, our author, with others, finds the fatal weakness of English rule in the jealousy of the Norman kings of the hereditary nobility, thus leading to frequent changes in the office of the Justiciary of Ireland. No less than seventeen chief governors ruled in Dublin during the first seventeen years of Norman power. Hence a consistent policy was impossible. Instability of purpose, want of continuity and of strength, intrigue and perpetual changes—these things constituted the weakness of Irish administration in the Plantagenet times, and led infallibly to Irish discontent and confusion.

Turning to the Church, we find that the episcopate was thoroughly secularized under Henry II. As a consequence morals sadly declined. This furnished an excuse for the royal appropriation of the ecclesiastical revenues, since the king claimed that the money could better be spent on the necessary business of the kingdom than consumed in episcopal gluttony. With the death of St. Laurence O'Toole, in 1180, ceased the Celtic archbishops of Dublin. Of the twenty-three archbishops from St. Laurence to the Reformation, not one was an Irishman. Men like John Comyn and Henry of London had not one atom of the clergyman about them. They were mere politicians—agents to execute the royal will. Religion, in any modern sense, had no place in the policy of either of these powerful archbishops. To be pastors of souls was not once thought of. The committing to the flames of all the titles, leases, and other grants which an unsuspecting tenantry had placed in his hands by Henry of London, thus giving to him the unenviable title of Scorch-Villein, well illustrates the complete divorce of religion and morality by the highest dignitaries of the Church. This book shows clearly that present Irish difficulties root in the far-off past; that to alleviate these will require the utmost patience, forbearance, and wisdom of the modern legislator; that to long for the return of the conditions of the Mediæval Church is the supremest folly; that to-day is the brightest and best which Ireland has known.

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- Bonhöffer, Adf.** *Epictet und die Stoa. Untersuchungen zur stoischen Philosophie.* Stuttgart: Enke, 1890. Pp. viii., 316, 8vo, 10 mk.
- Bremond, D'Ars, G. de.** *La Vertu morale et sociale du Christianisme.* Poitiers: Blais, 1890. Pp. iii., 443, 18mo.
- Brown, R.** *Outlines of Prophetic Truth.* London. 8vo, cloth, 12s.
- Burton, H.** *Gospel According to St. Luke.* New York: Armstrong, 1890. Pp. 402, 8vo, \$1.75.
- Cathrein, Vict.** *Moralphilosophie.* 1. Bd. Allgemeine Moralphilosophie. Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 1890. 8vo, 7.50 mk.
- Caughy, A. H., Rev., Ph.D.** *A Memoir of the Rev. S. M. J. Eaton, D.D.* Erie, Pa.: Disp. Pub. Co., 1890. Pp. 343, 12mo.
- Church, The,** *in the British Isles: Sketches of its Continuous History from the Earliest Times to the Restoration; Lectures Delivered in 1889 under the Auspices of the Church Club of New York.* New York: Young, 1890. Pp. x., 258, 12mo, cloth, \$1.25.
- Clark, John Willis, M.A., etc., and Hughes, Thomas McKenny, M.A., etc.** *The Life and Letters of the Rev. Adam Sedgewick, LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S., etc.* In 2 vols. New York: Macmillan, 1890. Pp. xi., 569; vii., 640, 8vo.
- Coit, S.** *Die ethische Bewegung in Religion. Uebersetzung von G. von Glyzcki.* Leipzig: Reissland, 1890. Pp. iii., 227, 8vo, 3 mk.
- Coerssen, Peter.** *Die altercatio Simonis Judaei et Theophilii Christiani auf ihre quellengeprüft.* Berlin: Weidmann, 1890. Pp. 34, 4to, 1.60 mk.
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- Ebrard, A.** *Der Brief Pauli an die Römer, übersetzt und erklärt. Nach dem Tode der Verfasser herausgegeben von Ph. Bachmann.* Leipzig: Deichert, 1890. Pp. iv., 411, 8vo, 6 mk.
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- Egloffstein, Herm. von.** *Fürstabt Balthasar von Dermbach und die Katholische Restauration im Hochstifte Fulda, 1570-1606.* München: Rieger. 8vo, 3mk.
- Ehrle, F.** *Historia Bibliothecæ Romanorum Pontificum tum Bonifatianæ tum Avenionensis enarrata. . . .* Tom. I. Rome: Loesch, 1890, 30 fr.
- Eibenschütz, Jonathan, Rabbi.** *Schem Olam. Philosophisch-Kabbalist. Abhandlungen und Briefe. Nach einer Handschrift aus der Bibliothek des Herrn Dr. Ad. Jellinek, nebst einer Einleitung von Dr. Rubin. Als Beitrag zur Geschichte der Eibenschütz'schen Kabbala mit erklärten Anmerkungen. Herausgegeben von Arthur S. Weismann.* Wien: Lippe. Pp. iii., 112, 8vo, 1.50 mk.
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- Gilardoni.** *L'Abbe de Haute-Fontaine et le jansénisme dans le Perthois.* Vitry-le-François: Tavernier, 1890. Pp. 261, 8vo, 2.50 fr.
- Girardeau, John L.** *Calvinism and Evangelical Arminianism; compared as to Election, Reprobation, Justification, and Related Doctrines.* Columbia, S. C.: Duffie, 1890. Pp. iv., 574, 8vo.
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Thrap, D. Bidrag til den norske Kirkes Historie i det nittende Aaerhundrede. II. Samlung. Kjobenhavn: —, 1890. Pp. 213-402, 8vo, 3.30 mk.

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Wolfsgruber, C. Gregor der Grosse. Saulgan: Kitz, 1890. Pp. xiv., 610, mit 2 Bildern. 8vo, 6 mk.

NOTICES OF MAGAZINES.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for September has this table of contents: "The Perils of Historical Narrative" (by Justin Winsor, who is himself an eminent historian and editor of historical narratives, so his competency to discuss the matter cannot be questioned); "A Chronicle of Three Little Kings," *i.e.*, Kingbirds (by Olive Thorne Miller); "Felicia, VI., VII." (by Fanny N. D. Murrefree); "Cranks as Social Motors," a bright paper (by J. C. Quincy); "Inscription for a Memorial Bust of Fielding" (which touches lightly on Fielding's indecency and half apologizes for it, by our best American poet and essayist, James Russell Lowell); "The Development of Modern European Historiography" (by J. F. Jameson); "A Son of Spain" (a paper upon a horse, by Charles Howard Shinn); "The Disasters of 1780" (by John Fiske); "Sidney, XXVI.-XXVIII." (by Margaret Deland); "Madame de Montespan, her Sisters and her Daughters" (a study in French history, by Hope Notron); "Ephemerion" (a poem, by Graham R. Tomson); "Mr. Brisbane's Journal" (of a trip through the United States in 1801, extracts of exceptional interest made by Clarence Deming); "Over the Tea-cups, X." (by Oliver Wendell Holmes, which ends with a disquisition and a poem on everlasting punishment); "Consolation" (a misnamed article on Boethius, by H. W. P. and L. D.); "American and German Schools" (in which the superiority of the latter, in some points, is pointed out, by John T. Prince); "The Tragic Muse" and "Americans at Home," two of the *Atlantic's* noticeable book reviews. "The Contributors' Club" and "Books of the Month" end the number.

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE for September presents these articles: "With Uncle Sam's Blue Jackets Afloat" (an excellent, instructive, and amusing article on the tars of the American Navy by R. F. Zogbaum; the picture given of their life is an attractive one); "Dirge" (by Frank Dempster Sherman, a poem of a far-fetched character on the death of love; but then love is not dead); "Jerry," continued novel, anonymous; "The Rights of the Citizen, V., to His Own Property" (by James S. Norton, who concludes his paper with the assertion that "the right, with reference to his own property, in which the citizen is least restrained, is the right to give it away; and that this right is of all the most precious to him who sees the just relation of property to human happiness"); "The Country House" (a beautifully illustrated article by Donald G. Mitchell); "African River and Lake Systems" (a timely article by Thomas Stevens, who, oddly enough, as it now seems, went in search of Stanley, and whose closing paragraphs call attention to the really small amount of uninterrupted river navigation in all Africa accessible from the sea, only 3375 miles in all; and to the necessity of railways, some 2000 miles in aggregate, to open up the interior); "The Clerk of the Weather" (a story by T. R. Sullivan); "Where She Comes" (a clever little poem by Charles B. Goring); "The Shêkh Abdallah" (a humorous poem by Clinton Scollard); "Nature and Man in America" (another of Professor M. S. Shaler's popular scientific articles); "A Crown Jewel" (an illustrated article by C. Emma Cheney on Heliogoland, which gives a clear and interesting account of the little mass of rock recently ceded by England to Germany); "Pity, O God!" (a poem by Grace Ellery Channing); "Millet and Recent Criticism" (by Walter Cranston Larned); "The Point of View," the strictly editorial department, concludes the number.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE for September contains another installment of Henry James's translation of Daudet's "Port Taras-

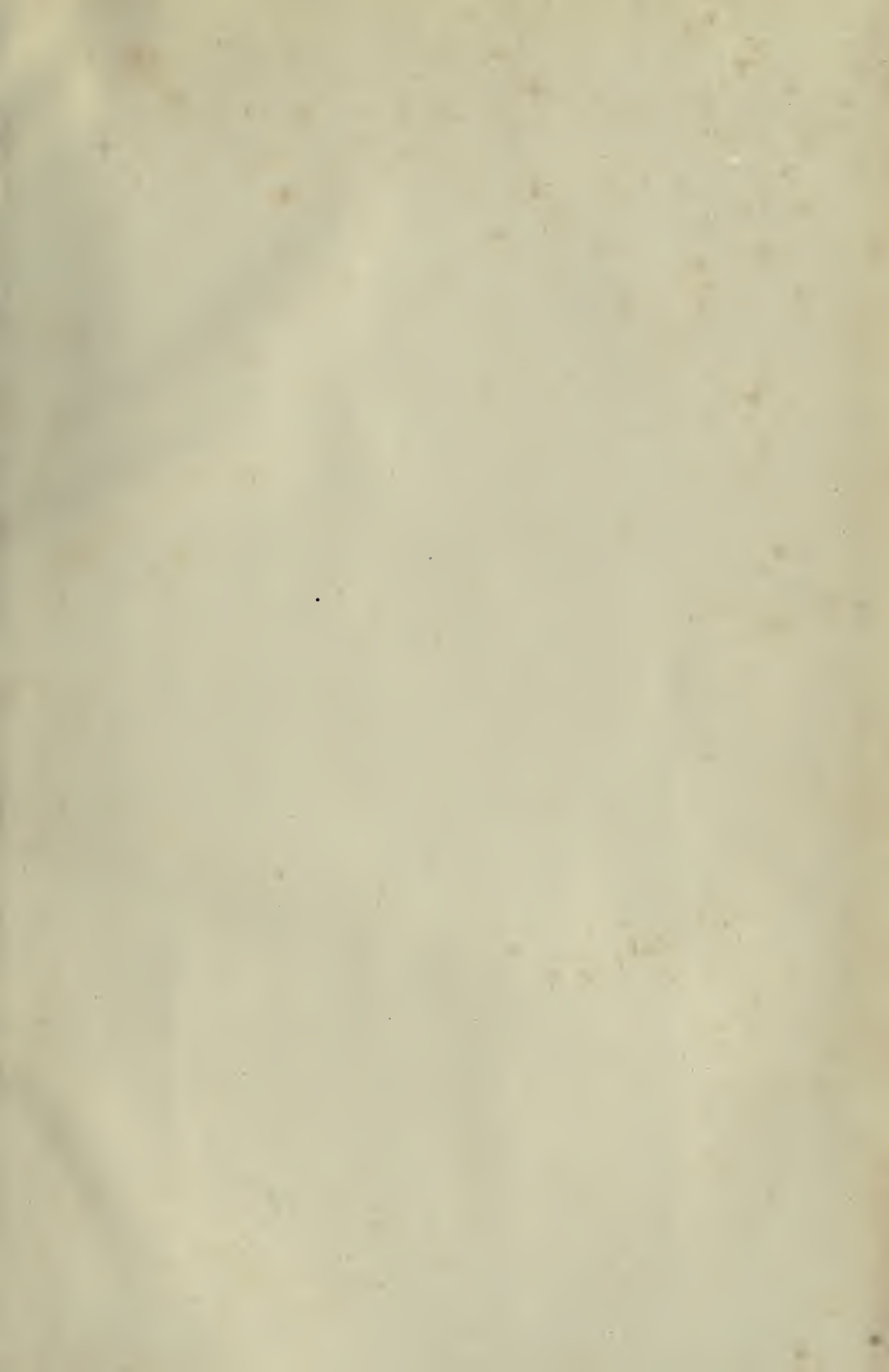
con;" there is other fiction by Mary E. Wilkins, Barnet Phillips, P. P. McLean Greene and Paul Carson; there are poems by Howard Hall, Rennell Rodd and Graham R. Thomson, and the usual departments; but that which the publishers are most inclined to boast of are Russell Sturges's article, "Recent Discoveries of Painted Greek Sculpture," James Lane Allen's "Mountain Passes of the Cumberland," W. Hamilton Gibson's "The Wild Garden," and especially Theodore Child's first illustrated paper on South America, "Across the Andes." There is also an illustrated article on yachting.

THE CENTURY for September begins its series of papers from the late General Frémont, entitled "Finding Paths to California," and promises papers on Lincoln's personal traits; also a noveltte from Mr. Frank R. Stockton, entitled "The Squirrel Inn," which is to be illustrated by the draughtsman, equally vivacious, Mr. A. B. Frost.

LIPPINCOTT'S for September opens with a complete novel, "The Mark of the Beast" (by Katharine Pearson Woods). Then come "The Nicaragua Canal" (a helpful historical article by Rear Admiral Daniel Ammen); "Crystal and Clay" (two verses by Perry Vere); "My Enemy" (a story by Emè Stuart); "Homeward" (a tender religious poem by Florence Earle Coates); "A Brief Correspondence with Paul Hamilton Hayne," the Southern poet (by John Elliot Bowen); "A Touchstone" (four lines of poetry which fill out a page, by Charles Henry Luder); "The Author of 'Metzerott, Shoemaker,'" Miss Katharine Woods, the authoress of the complete story of this number (a semi-biographical and descriptive article, by Hester Crawford Dorsey); "Outcast" (two verses by Solomon Solis-Cohen); "Current Concentration of Industrial Capital" (by the banker, Henry Clews); "Papuan Dances" (a brief description by one who has seen them, Alfred C. Haddon); "The Art of Interviewing" (an interesting article by a professional interviewer, Frank A. Burr); "To a Poet in Exile" (two verses by Maurice Francis Egan); "Superstitions about Birds" (a good article by Charles McIlvaine); "In my Love's Looks" (a pretty little poem by Dora Reed Goodale); "A Revulsion from Realism" (by Anne H. Wharton) and "The Romance of the Impossible" (by Julian Hawthorne) are both reviews of Oscar Wilde's "Picture of Dorian Gray"; "The Philosophy of Folk Tales" (by C. Staniand Wake); "Book Talk" and "New Books" end the number.

THE METHODIST REVIEW for September-October is true to its mission, to be an organ of conservative biblical and literary criticism. It is by no means a denominational review pure and simple, although, as is natural, mainly written by Methodists. The contents of the current number are as follows: "Is the Book of Daniel a Prophecy?" (by John Foucher, D.D., Professor of Exegetical Theology, De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind.); "Persistence of 'Old-school' Dogma" (by Professor Luther T. Townsend, S.T.D., Boston University, Boston, Mass.); "Was the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ Literal, Absolute, and Complete?" (by Bishop W. F. Maljalen, D.D., New Orleans, La.); "The Race Problem" (by Thomas H. Pearne, D.D., Springfield, O.); "The Pulpit Mirrored from the Pew" (by Professor James Strong, S.T.D., Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.); "National University of the City of Washington" (by Charles Wesley Broy, D.D., Philadelphia, Pa.); "The Influence of the Spanish on the French Literature" (by Professor William Rice Sims, Ph.D., University of Mississippi, University, Miss.); "Editorial Notes, and Discussions"; "The Arena"; "The Itinerant's Club," and "Editorial Reviews." There is a woodcut of Delitzsch opposite the first page, who is discussed on p. 756 sqq. in a very sympathetic way.

THE MISSIONARY REVIEW OF THE WORLD for September contains the usual variety. The first article, "The Mission in Basuto Land" (by Rev. Andrew Thomson, D.D., Edinburgh, Scotland), is of the kind a review like this is naturally expected to furnish. It is a carefully written sketch of a singularly interesting mission in South Africa. Rev. Dr. Ellinwood, Secretary of the Foreign Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church, has an article on "Woman's Work for Woman," in which is a good word for Roman Catholic Sisterhoods. Rev. D. L. Leonard's "Mormon Proselytism" is the most valuable article in this number. It lays bare the methods of the wily gang who have been so strangely successful in deceiving the peasants of Northern Europe. Their dupes come not from Roman Catholic, but exclusively from Protestant communities. "A Latter-day Son of St. Patrick is as rare as a white blackbird or a dodo." The apostasies are very numerous—"not one in twenty holds out to the end of life." The General Missionary Conference held at Shanghai, China, May 7, 1890, is treated at length. First, there is a descriptive and statistical article (by Rev. Fred. S. Curtis, Hiroshima, Japan), and then comes a letter from Dr. Hopper, who was present and rejoiced in it. The great gain was the determination to prepare a standard version of the Bible into Chinese, thus healing a division of forty years' standing. One of the most valuable departments of the *Review*, as it is probably that which costs the most labor, is that headed "Organized Missionary Work and Statistics."



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